

EUROPEAN CIVILIZATION

ITS ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT

BY
VARIOUS CONTRIBUTORS

Under the direction of
EDWARD EYRE

IN SEVEN VOLUMES

VOLUME VII
THE RELATIONS OF
EUROPE WITH NON-
EUROPEAN PEOPLES

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THE EUROPEAN FRONTIER

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*The author desires to record his thanks to his friend
Professor Arnold Toynbee for kindly reading the
proofs of his essay.*

CHAPTER I

THE SARACEN FRONTIER

EUROPE to-day covers almost the same geographical area as medieval Christendom. There has been no considerable extension beyond a certain Europeanization of Russia in the eighteenth century, parallel to the Europeanization of Turkey and of other parts of the Near and Far East in our own day. When allowance is made for a spread northwards in Scandinavia and round the Prussian Baltic, the nations of Europe live on old land, the land of Christendom and before that, as to nearly all of it, of the Roman Empire. But Christendom only succeeded to half of the Roman dominions, and grew up on the north-western provinces. The Mediterranean, which had been a Roman lake, was throughout the Middle Ages a battleground and no man's sea. Its eastern and southern shores were held for long centuries by men sharply opposed in doctrine and alien in blood to the men of Europe.

The European peninsula of the great land-mass of Asia was the seat, at first the precarious seat, of a new civilization which had to grow in the face of formidable foes. Both the Roman standards and the Christian cross failed, on the long view of the centuries, to maintain themselves in Asia Minor. For the generations which saw, in the fifth and sixth centuries, the passing of the Old Empire, and for their children who founded a new order on the old, the revolution in ideas and institutions worked itself out in an air of peril wherein no man could say what regions of the old Pax Romana would become the prey of alien conquerors.

It is the purpose of this essay to trace in outline the story of this continued uncertainty, and in particular its major consequence in consecrating the military tradition of Christendom. The new Society was built upon the fighting man, not the adventurous nomad with whom the steppes of Asia were still filled, but the strong man armed who kept his house and who could give protection for the quiet basic agricultural life to go

on. The process, which became ever more marked in the Roman Empire, of guarding the vast frontiers by arrangements with frontier tribes, settling them, absorbing them in the Roman army without destroying their own organization, taking them in, in greater numbers than were in fact digested: this process never really ceased. When towns in the very heart of Gaul became the new head-quarters of barbarian tribes, a transaction similar to the old frontier transactions took place and new muscle and heart put itself, at a high price, at the service of the civilized order of Mediterranean life. The assumption of old Roman titles of consul or patrician by tribal chiefs like Clovis was a kind of secular baptism, parallel to their baptism into the Church. What mattered was not the place of origin or the blood of the new reinforcements but their complete assimilation into the body of the faithful, the capture of their wills and imaginations by the doctrine of the baptized Empire, of the Catholicism of Rome.

The sixth century saw the end of the attempt to make of Constantinople the real capital, as Rome had once been the real capital, of the whole Empire, and with Justinian's failure to hold Italy the withdrawal from the West was definite; the Exarchate of Ravenna was an outpost, and Constantinople was not a new Rome but a great citadel holding the wall against the many vast dangers from the East. The seventh century saw the Lower or Greek Empire thrown on the defensive with the emergence of Islam, which swept the old Roman provinces of Asia and Africa in a whirlwind of conquest and carried Mohammedanism into the middle of France by 732.

When the Christian civilization of Europe, in whose decline we live, first began to take shape in the hands of the great Frank sovereigns of the eighth century, it did so as a civilization which was under constant assault. In the ninth century there was no place in western Europe which was safe from ferocious attack from pagans. The Saracens who held Spain had in fact, as was gradually to be discovered, reached their full tide in the eighth century. But from their bases in North Africa and Spain they waged constant war on the fair lands

of Europe. The Rhône valley is still full of the traces of their presence, and they lay in wait in the Alpine passes to murder and to rob. They besieged the castle of Sant' Angelo in Rome itself in the middle of the ninth century. From the north came enemies whose subsequent incorporation into Europe tends to obscure the peculiar ferocity of their first appearances. The Northmen enjoyed destruction as much as gain, and there was no river in western Europe up which they were not liable to sail, looking for some fine abbey to burn, and in fact destroying virtually all the religious buildings which the piety of previous centuries in Gaul and Britain had raised. They desecrated Charlemagne's own cathedral at Aix, one of the few large stone churches in northern Europe, within fifty years of his death. From the east came the Huns, at that time less formidable than the Northmen, but destructive menaces none the less. The great monastic foundations in northern Switzerland, of Reichenau and St. Gall, which the Irish missionaries of the seventh century had established, were irresistible prey to these eastern invaders who had been many hundreds of miles without seeing anything so good. It was this sustained military peril which made the converted Germans refuse to allow the imperial succession to fail with the failure of the line of Charlemagne, and established the authority of Henry the Fowler and Otto the Great.

The coronation of Charlemagne in St. Peter's on Christmas Day 800 is a great landmark in our history, but it is the great German leaders of the tenth century, Arnulf and Henry, Conrad and Otto, who founded the Holy Roman Empire. Charlemagne was only in a very vague sense the successor of Augustus, and his coronation, while it led to the introduction of a good deal of genuflection and other oriental ritual at Aix, did not make him vary his method of ruling his wide dominions. He was worried, for instance, at the great diversity of laws and legal customs among tribes, each of whom followed its own, but he did not try to lay the foundations for a revival of uniform Roman law. His empire was a Christian empire, his coronation a consecration and a compliment. Ecclesiastical coronation itself

was an innovation, brought among the Franks by St. Boniface but found earliest among the Visigoths in Spain and the Anglo-Saxons in Britain; it was a way of bringing home to rough diamonds their solemn duties.

The recent emergence of militant Mohammedanism, with its leader proudly acclaimed the Commander of the Faithful, suggested in 800 that the Christian peoples needed a commander as well, and the fact that at that moment a woman of evil repute, the Empress Irene, ruled at Constantinople, was a further illustration, if one were needed to convince either Franks or Romans, that the Greeks were not fitted to provide such a leader. It was this military and religious conception of the Christian Emperor which in fact survived. Charlemagne's own empire was complete in its structure by 800, and his practical achievement would not have been less had he never been crowned. But that achievement was not lasting, his successors failed, amid vast and growing difficulties, to maintain authority and unity, and, in the event, his proclamation as Emperor proved to be of colossal importance. His descendants were more than the descendants of the great Charles, they were the bearers of an imperial crown, a basis for unity among the German princes when unity was plainly vital but precedence and subordination hard to establish. When the male line of Charles failed at the end of the ninth century Arnulf of Carinthia was made Emperor by German dukes more powerful than himself, because he was of the House of Charles. But what mattered was the office, in whatever family, and it was fortunate that a high spirit of magnanimity reigned among the small group of men with whom the survival of the office rested.

It did more than survive, it emerged in the person of the Saxon Otto, as the chief office, with the Papacy, in Christendom. The Holy Roman Emperor carried in those two adjectives and in that title a clear description of his religious, traditional, and military task. He was brought into existence in Germany because Germany was the frontier of Europe against active and numerous pagans, Magyars and Huns. He rested on Rome because the civilization he defended flowed from there,

and his strong link with the old Emperor of Rome lay in the fundamentally military character of the emperor's office: the rule of one commander as the condition of effective war.

France tells the same story. The monarchy of France came into existence in the tenth century, with the rise of the Capets, Counts of Paris, to a position of leadership in the first struggle with the Danes. That struggle was ended by a grant of lands, in the age-old fashion, and Rollo became first Duke of Normandy. The Normans had no pagan frontier to extend their energies, and they pulsated with vigour. They overflowed incidentally into England, but their chief adventures as Europeans and Christians were in the eastern Mediterranean. There was the front, and they soon made their way to it.

It was no accident that the chief Chanson, which the rough rising chivalry of the eleventh-century loved to hear sung, dealt with the war of Christian knights and infidel hordes. The *Song of Roland*,¹ and the songs celebrating the heroic exploits of Count William of Orange in the next generation against the same dark foes, had for their theme not only valour but consecrated valour. The Spanish march was the frontier of two creeds and it became the natural setting for songs of war. The fighting baron was little fitted to appreciate the cultural fields which, under Abdur-Rahman the First and his lesser followers in the Moorish kingdoms in Spain, were already blossoming in the tenth century; he only knew that south of the Pyrenees lay the strongly entrenched hosts of pagans. When the Moors fall back in the *Song of Roland* and meet disaster on the Ebro, they call upon Apollo and Teivagant and Mohammed, 'their gods whom they reproached bitterly for the little gain they had brought them'.

Their religion was not understood; it was more of a mixture and more difficult to understand than the later Mohammedanism of the Ottoman Turks, but to men with the outlook of the Roland of the Chanson it was sufficient that they were infidels. The infidel not only denied the sacred truths of the Christian revelation, he removed himself by that denial from the possi-

¹ The actual word 'chivalry' is first found in this song.

bility of entering the close network of relationships cemented by oaths on which Christian society rested. Baptism was not only supremely necessary in itself, it was a necessary prelude to fealty. Men like Roland and Oliver and Archbishop Turpin, whose heroism was sung at Hastings by Taillefer to hearten the Norman and other military adventurers who had thrown in their lot with Duke William, expressed in the speeches attributed to them the normal attitude of the eleventh-century warriors.

It was extremely important that the men who wielded power, who were in a position to make great expeditions, became conscious of the infidel through the Spanish frontier. The Arab Empire was of unrivalled vastness, as it stretched from the Persian Gulf to the Pyrenees. It was not conceived of by Europeans as a unity and, indeed, was split politically from the first, but it occupied, no less than did the northern new-comers in western Europe, provinces which had been for centuries inside the Roman Empire. Round the Levant it embraced great centres of Hellenistic thought like Alexandria, and a numerous though doctrinally divided Christian minority. The western Europeans were in fact faced by a civilization which derived in great part from the same forerunners as themselves. There are many indications that the Roman life of the North African provinces was not wholly destroyed by the conquests of the seventh-century Arabs.¹ The civilization of the Moorish kingdoms in Spain came in large part from the Greeks, and the first transmitters of Greek science were the Christian communities in Syria and Egypt, living tolerated although depressed, under Arab domination. The Moorish culture spread across the Pyrenees and became the chief element in the civilization of Provence and in the new semi-pagan romanticism of the troubadours. Women play little part in the *Song of Roland*, but a new gallantry arose in the south of France which was a relaxation and refreshment, a welcome and human relief from the high tension of battle and fidelity and asceticism which marked northern chivalry. The soft love poems of the south became known and popular in the north.

¹ e.g. the Arabs kept the old Roman word for a post-horse, 'Venedus'.

The Arabs were always great traders. In the Koran it is laid down that at the day of judgement the honest truthful Moslem merchant will take rank with the martyrs of the faith, and the Caliph Omar declared that there was nowhere he would sooner meet death than in the market-place, buying and selling on behalf of his family. The Arabs, forerunners in this of the Levantines who may be encountered, even in the north of Scotland, hawking rugs, went very far north in the quest of furs, and some ten million Arab coins have been unearthed in Scandinavia to bear witness to the reality of the trade. But in the eleventh century the chiefs of feudal Europe, whose business was the sword, took little interest except to know that the dark-skinned unbeliever lay all around the confines of the Christian world. The desire to go on pilgrimage, which persisted so steadily century after century in spite of the great difficulties of the journey to the Holy Land, could only be indulged by going in larger and larger parties, as the appearance in Asia Minor of the Seljukian Turks increased the peril. The conversion of the Hungarians in the tenth century smoothed the land route as far as Constantinople, but through the eleventh century the parties or caravans of pilgrims grew greater, until by 1065 a small army makes the pilgrimage. As early as 1010 a Pope had called for an army of volunteers to go and take the Holy Places. The idea was not taken up, and Hildebrand revived it primarily as a way of saving Constantinople and the eastern Empire, whose Emperor proposed to heal the recent schism with the bargain, to be offered on occasions of extremity through the next four hundred years, that the Greeks would return to the unity of the Church, and acknowledge the Pope in return for the armed assistance of the West. These calculations of statesmanship were present to the mind of Urban II when he preached the great sermon in Clermont Cathedral which launched the First Crusade in 1096, but they were not its key-note. That expedition was a holy war for the recovery of the Holy Places. The first Crusaders came in the main from north-eastern France, and set out under the influence of the ideals embodied in the *Song of Roland*. Politics

and statesmanship and commerce were all to assert themselves when the Crusaders reached Asia Minor, and were to increase in weight in the next hundred years, but they none of them supplied the original momentum.¹ To the men who answered the call of the First Crusade there was only one way of carrying through a conquest, and they carried with them the ideas of feudalism and extended round the coast of Asia Minor a range of new fiefs and little kingdoms, reproducing western Europe in Asia. The Crusades were thus in immediate effect a huge colonial effort. The barons of north France who had already thrown offshoots as far afield as Sicily and Ireland now included Anatolia and Edessa and Greece in their imperialism.

In each case they imposed themselves as overlords in countries already old, long inhabited, with full legal and social systems of their own. They maintained themselves in the Near East throughout the twelfth century, and in the Balkans for a further hundred years. They met unbelievers on an entirely different footing to the footing in Spain. They succeeded to the Greek tradition of accommodation with the infidel, the tradition which had kept open the road to Jerusalem through the centuries between the coming of the Persians in 614 and the coming of the Seljukian Turks in 1074. Throughout those centuries the policy of the Greek emperors had been pacific, and the Empire had been on the defensive. The trading instinct was sufficiently alive to make everybody anxious for intercourse, and in particular for a stream of pilgrims to the Holy Places, with offerings to make. It was in spite of the wishes of emperors and caliphs that the journey in fact remained so full of dangers, so that the pilgrims, even in the time of Charlemagne and Haroun al Raschid, were throughout but an exiguous trickle.

All this was to end with the seizure of the main land route by the armed might of the West. The men who established themselves round the coast of Asia Minor as counts, princes, or kings did not wish to sever themselves from their origins, but

¹ The best source for tracing the Crusaders' ideal is Reusner's *Collectio Epistolarum Turcicarum*, 1598, a collection of the letters, and speeches from the earliest times, in which European public men deal with the Turkish menace. Reusner even begins with Gregory the Great

to build up a larger political unit. That one of their number, Baldwin of Flanders, became King of Jerusalem was largely accidental and due to the sudden death of the Papal legate who headed the Crusade. It had not been intended that any knight should carry off a prize that was felt at the time to be almost blasphemy, but there was not present any ecclesiastic who could have commanded the obedience of those violent and proud men, or who could have secured acceptance as patriarch. What should plainly have been a theocratic state became the chief of many lay kingdoms carved out by secular men.

The precarious balance of feudal authority was only maintained for so long through the disunion of its enemies. The first crusaders found themselves faced by their very success with practical questions of statesmanship, and in particular with the need for living peaceably as overlords among a subject population. Along the land route through Asia Minor between Constantinople and Jerusalem the crusading barons carved out principalities for themselves, and the First Crusade, together with the Norman conquest of Sicily, was the first great experiment in colonization and the European rule over peoples who were neither European nor Christian. The subject populations, of the most mingled blood, peoples well used to a change of masters, accepted the new régime, and very soon inter-marriage produced a new type not much admired by the later generations of Crusaders. The extensions of Europe into Asia Minor, the little kingdoms, Edessa, Antioch, Tripoli, Tiberias, and Jerusalem itself, were based on the complete triumph of the feudal ideas of the barons. The student can see, in the arrangements for government, the state of affairs the barons of France and England would have liked at home, had not the strong kings in both countries, aided by the Church and still more by the popular tradition of monarchy, been able to prevent it. The rulers of the Latin kingdoms in the East had their powers greatly circumscribed, and were essentially no more than first among equals. The disunion, no less than strategic weaknesses, like the failure to secure an inside line and to hold the points like Aleppo and Damascus, meant grave insecurity from

the very beginning. Disunion meant defeat as soon as Saracen weakness and division, which played so great a part in the first success of the Crusaders, had been replaced by a united and effective single command under Saladin.¹

But the hundred years between the First Crusade and the Third and Fourth transformed European feeling towards pagandom. The old simple enthusiasm did not die, we find it at full strength in de Joinville's *Life* of King Louis, but a great many other attitudes were developed by the long intimacy. Trading quarters were set apart for the Italian merchants in the cities which the Crusaders established as their capitals, and the new commerce brought new interests into the field. St. Bernard, who was astonished at the tremendous enthusiasm he was able to arouse for the Second Crusade in 1146, experienced disappointment as marked when he endeavoured four years later to kindle that enthusiasm again. The real characteristic differentiating the Second Crusade from the First was the much higher degree of organization which attended it, and the Third Crusade, while its scale showed the tremendous impression which the loss of Jerusalem made in Europe, carried still further the characteristic of elaborate organization by the heads of states. Richard Cœur de Lion gave to this Crusade a colour and a legend which have made it stand as the height of the whole movement, but it was Cœur de Lion himself who first endeavoured to strike a bargain with the Saracens and to secure Jerusalem by negotiation. He is the unexpected forerunner of the Emperor Frederick the Second in the following century.

As the western Europeans became more and more familiar figures, with policies and interests on the mainland of Asia Minor, the Greeks came to dislike them more and more. The Emperor Manuel Comnenus had asserted himself as at any rate titular suzerain of the Frankish princes, and had made marriage alliances with the new kings of Jerusalem in the middle of the twelfth century. The growing fear of the rising Saracen power gave the strongest motive to both parties to keep united;

¹ See René Grousset, *Histoire des Croisades*, 3 vols., Plon, 1935.

but a generation sufficed to bring about such mutual dislike that the Latins were massacred in Constantinople in 1182, while the Greeks entered into correspondence with Saladin, and it became the common explanation in the West for the failure of the great Third Crusade to recover Jerusalem to say that the hostility of the Greeks had ruined the enterprise. Cœur de Lion had already foreshadowed what was to come when he seized Cyprus from the Greeks. The stage was set for the disaster of 1204, when the new commercial motive asserted itself and the Venetians could persuade a crusading army to make Constantinople the object of their arms. If for a time even Pope Innocent III was hoodwinked into thinking that the capture of Constantinople was, as he had at first declared, the hand of the Lord transferring the Empire from the Greeks to the Latins as a prelude to the effective conquest of Palestine, within two years he was undeceived. The fortune of Venice had been made, and, for her, there was now a vital commercial interest in trading with a part of the world where it was very embarrassing to find the Holy Sepulchre placed. Venice and Genoa emerge in the thirteenth century as the growing embodiments of the vested commercial interest of which England was to be, one long day hence, the heir. The old enthusiasm was easily revived when Innocent made the Lateran Council in 1215 the occasion for preaching a general Crusade, and there was particular readiness to volunteer in the Scandinavian countries, for the great expedition of 1219 under the Papal legate which captured but could not hold Damietta.

But this Crusade and the later expeditions of St. Louis must not hide the fact that the real contribution of the thirteenth century to the saga of the Crusades was not military at all. It was the missionary element that was new. The friars who preached that Crusade also made a new contribution to the crusading movement against the Saracens.

The long series of failures, the hostility experienced from the Greeks and returned in kind, the dignity and magnanimity of the great Saladin, all these things gave point to the view put forward, perhaps rather belatedly, that, after all, the best way

to settle the future of Jerusalem was to convert the Saracens. St. Francis made many efforts to preach to the Moslems and, when he divided up the spheres of action for his friars, reserved Syria and Palestine for himself, and arrived at Acre in 1219 while the Papal legate's army was in the field. From 1221 dates the Franciscan colony in the Holy Land, and the Dominicans quickly followed. A generation later St. Thomas Aquinas wrote the *Summa contra Gentiles* at the instigation of his superior, as part of the great movement to convince and convert the infidel by force of reason and by other weapons than arms. But the Saracens proved impossible to convert. As was so often to be the experience of later missionaries, particularly in the nineteenth century, the friars found that the earlier history of European intercourse prevented the Saracens from being able to give a dispassionate hearing to the Christian case. Missionaries have commonly succeeded when they have come from a superior civilization but when they have preceded, not when they have followed, the soldier and the trader. The thirteenth century was a great missionary century, but its successes did not lie in the home waters and among Christendom's most habitual foes. The Moors were relatively gentle exponents of Mohammedanism, but their religion was a convinced and universal missionary creed. If some were tolerant of Christian beliefs, others believed passionately that the polytheists, as they called the Christians with reference to the Trinity, held a debased form of belief, and had nothing to teach them except certain points in the art of war.

The greatest name in the new school of thought, Raymond Lull, covers the eighty years of the transition. He links up with the Franciscans, for he was a Tertiary, and he shares St. Francis's zeal for the peaceable conversion of the Mohammedan, thinking no pains too great, and preparing his missionaries with courses in Arabic. He wrote copiously, to convince the Saracens of their philosophical error in separating theology and philosophy. He was a writer of distinction, a poet and a popularizer as well as a thinker, who devoted great gifts to converting the Saracens by whom he was finally martyred. He

represents the extreme point of contact between the two cultures.

By the middle of the thirteenth century the war against the Saracens in Palestine was plainly a war that Christendom could not wage successfully in the face of a united enemy. Christian union was increasingly hard to achieve for even the shortest periods, and the Popes from Innocent III onward had cheapened the special appeal of a holy war by extending its privileges to European wars against heresy in Languedoc and later in Bohemia, and against the enemies of the Pope, in particular the Emperor, in Europe itself.

Only in the Spanish peninsula was the story one of steady success. The early thirteenth century is the great age of the Spanish military Orders. The Order of Alcantara, the Knights of Trujillo, the Order of Our Lady of the Rosary (specially formed for war against heretics), and many local Orders not open to anybody save the men of a particular region like Navarre, stood side by side with the Templars, who had a great history in Spain as had the Knights of St. John. The Order of St. Mary was a naval one, and the Order of St. James, which owned ten clearing-houses to deal with prisoners, was also a kind of permanent intermediary body for relations of all official kinds between Christians and Mohammedans. Membership of these Orders became a way of life widely practised. The Orders held many estates on the continually shifting frontier, with privileges which more than compensated them for the risks they ran. They paid no taxes for ten years if they promised to remain another ten, and their estates everywhere were exempt from seizure for debt if their owners were absent on military expeditions. The Moors were reduced to vassalage in the course of the century and the frontier became the soft option of crusading activity. As early as the poems of the Cid and his great exploits there is a warmer and more genial note about the chivalry of Spain, and the relatively easy story of the wars combined with the southern luxuriance of the Moorish courts to make of Spanish chivalry a thing apart, less stark and undomestic than the chivalry of the north. The Moors

observed the code of chivalry better, for example, than the Germans did, in such matters as the treatment of prisoners.

From the Saracens much came into Europe whose source was not clearly known. In such a famous collection of tales as the *Gesta Romanorum*, the recreation story book of young monks in innumerable calefactories, a high proportion of the tales come in fact from the East, especially the tales of wonderful and magical things, the Sinbad and Aladdin elements in our nursery repertory.

England lay farthest from the Saracen lands of all the great European countries, yet the English vocabulary provides the clearest evidence of the growing impact of the East in the words that were borrowed and kept. Saffron, mattress, admiral, cable, start the collection, and then in the fourteenth century come syrup, lute, camphor, cotton, elixir, cipher, henna, lemon, bearing witness to a growing familiarity with the products and ways of the East, and so does 'tally ho', which is 'tha'lab huwa', which means 'Fox-he [there]'. But just when the Western peoples were beginning to think they understood something about the Arab civilization that civilization itself was overwhelmed.

CHAPTER II

THE DISCOVERY OF THE MONGOLS

THE thirteenth century, which reached the high mark of achievement in so many fields, saw the farthest geographical extension of Christian policy. The news of the appearance of Mongol invaders first reached the courts of Europe with the invasion of Hungary in 1238. The invaded countries sent messengers imploring help and describing the new and terrible enemies. The word 'Tartar' entered the European consciousness.

About this time [says Matthew Paris] special ambassadors were sent by the Saracens, chiefly on behalf of the Old Man of the Mountain to the French King, telling him that a monstrous and inhuman race of men had burst forth from the Northern mountains, and had taken possession of the extensive rich lands of the East; that they had depopulated Hungary Major, and had sent threatening letters with dreadful embassies; the chief of whom declared that he was the messenger of God on high, sent to subdue the nations who rebelled against him. These people have very large heads, by no means proportionate to their bodies, and feed on raw flesh and even on human beings; they are incomparable archers and cross over any rivers in portable boats made of hides; of robust strength and large in their bodies, impious and inexorable men; and their language is unknown to all within reach of our knowledge. They abound in flocks, herds, and breeds of horses; the horses are very swift, and able to perform a journey of three days in one; the men are well armed in front, but not behind that they may not take to flight; and their chief is a most ferocious man named Khan. These people inhabit the Northern region, either the Caspian mountains or the adjacent places, and are called Tartars from the river Tar; they are very numerous, and are believed to have been sent as a plague on mankind, and although they had sallied forth on other occasions, they seemed this year to rage more fiercely than usual. The inhabitants of Gothland and Friesland dreading their attacks, did not as was their custom, come to Yarmouth in England, at the time of the herring fisheries, at which place their ships usually loaded, and owing to this, herrings in that year were considered of

no value on account of their abundance, and about forty or fifty, although very good, were sold for one piece of silver, even in places at a great distance from the sea. This powerful and noble Saracen messenger who had come to the French King was sent on behalf of the whole of the people of the East to tell these things; and he asked assistance from the Western nations, the better to be able to repress the fury of the Tartars; he also sent a Saracen messenger from his own company to the King of England, who had arrived in England to tell these events and to say that if they themselves could not withstand the attacks of such people, nothing remained to prevent them devastating the countries of the West.¹

This mission shook people, although some were glad to hear that the Saracens were being destroyed. This attitude was well expressed by Peter des Roches, bishop of Winchester, a man very zealous for the Holy Land, who urged that no help should be sent, that the Mongols should be allowed to destroy the Saracens, after which the Christians could destroy the Mongols and the whole world would be Catholic, one shepherd and one flock. But the Pope, Gregory IX, when he heard that the Mongol general Batu was in Hungary, promised the same indulgences for taking the sword against the Mongols as could be earned by pilgrimage to the Holy Land. Europe was saved by the sudden death of Ogotay Khan, son and successor of the great Genghis, which led Batu to retreat in order to be at the heart of the Mongol Empire for the choice of a new Khan.

It was recognized that the Mongols would probably return, and among the early acts of Innocent IV after his election in 1243 was to send a friar, John de Carpini, of Cologne, who set out from Lyons with letters from the Pope to the Emperor of the Mongols, recommending him to become a Christian. At the General Council held at Lyons in 1245 the Tartars were on the agenda. It was decreed that

whereas the Tartars are the most bitter enemies of the Christian name and the Christians are still exposed to their attacks, for not having conquered them all yet, as they, in their desire to extinguish

¹ M. Paris (translat. of J. A. Giles), vol. i, p. 131. M. Paris has a great many references to the Tartars.

the religion of Christ, wish to do, they will surely come back, and the horrors seen in Poland, Russia, Hungary, and other countries, will be renewed.

The Church promised to help with funds, and all the Christian populations likely to be attacked were advised to fortify their roads and passes. Meanwhile Carpini made his way slowly to Mongolia and brought back the Emperor's answer (it still exists in the Vatican Library). It reads:

By the power of the eternal heavens, we, the oceanic Khan of the entire great people of the earth; our order. This is an order sent to the great Pope so that he may know it and understand it. . . . The petition of submission that you sent to us we have received through your ambassadors. If you act according to your own words, you, who are the great Pope, with the Kings, will come altogether in person to render us homage, and we will then have you learn our orders.¹

This sort of reply was common form at the court of the great Khan. It did not mean that he was not in fact quite inclined to adopt Christianity, which the Mongols had first encountered in Asia among the scattered Nestorian communities. The Mongol chiefs found themselves the heirs by the sword to vast dominions with no sort of unity. A common religion might provide a basis for their empire, and they can be seen looking down the line of thought which the Ottoman Turks were to follow out with such success. Of the world's great religions, Islam was the creed of the chief and immediate enemies of the Mongol power. Buddhism and Confucianism both offered advantages to statesmen, but so did Christianity, the religion of the distant Western peoples which the new dynasty might adopt, starting afresh with a new creed among Buddhist, Confucian, and Mohammedan subjects.

In the travels written by Friar William of Rubruck, who was sent by King Louis of France to Mangu Khan, the brother, and predecessor on the throne, of Kublai Khan, the reality of the Christian alternative in Mongol calculations stands out. Both Mangu and Kublai had Christian mothers. It was the

¹ The full text in French is in the *Revue de l'Orient Chrétienne*, vol. iii.

encouraging news which St. Louis received when at Cyprus on crusade, news that the name of the Pope was held in great honour by the Mongols, which led to the journey of Friar Rubruck. Rubruck took little with him but prayer-books, but he travelled safely and returned, bringing a great increase of knowledge of the East. He had many arguments, but he had to bring back evidence of unabated Mongol pride. He was allowed to make converts, baptizing more than sixty persons one Easter Eve, teaching about the Ten Commandments, the Seven Deadly Sins, and all that is necessary to be penitent and absolved. Rubruck found indeed 'a swarm of Christians there, Hungarians, Alans, Ruthenians, Georgians, Armenians, all of whom had been deprived of the Sacrament since their captivity, for the Nestorians would not admit them in their church unless they were baptized by them'. Prisoners formed a Christian element in Cathay, only second to the Nestorian Church. Rubruck found the Nestorians well entrenched at court, watchful but not unfriendly towards Latin Christendom, prepared to admit the Roman Church as the head of all churches, and saying that they would receive their patriarch from the Pope if the roads were open. When Rubruck came before Mangu Khan he told him that all his power had been given him by God and not by idols. The Khan called on Christians, Saracens, and idolaters all to meet and each to write down his own laws. Mangu combined receptivity with tolerance; he sent three secretaries, one of each religion, to arbitrate in the disputes, and only stipulated that there should be no disagreeable or injurious language. The Nestorians had little idea of argument which was not based on texts from the Bible, and relied very much on Rubruck. The most learned priest among the Nestorians asked Rubruck if the souls of animals can take refuge somewhere without being held in slavery after death. Belief in the transmigration of souls was very general among the idolaters, who chiefly tackled Rubruck for holding that there is only one God.

'Only fools', they said, 'say "there is but one God"', but the wise

uphold that there are several. Are there not in our country, several great lords and the greater one here who is Mangu Khan? Even so there are different gods, for they are different in each country.' But their great argument for polytheism was the existence of evil. 'If your God', they said, 'is what you say, why did he create half the things evil?' 'Is it not true', I said to him, 'the one who created evil is not God, and all that is, is good.' The Tuans were astonished at this reply, and they wrote it down as false or impossible. I was then asked from where does evil come. 'You put your question wrong', I replied, 'you should first ask what is evil before searching whence it comes. But let us go back to the first question, do you believe that an all-powerful God exists, and I will answer you then all that you will ask me.' He sat for a long time refusing to reply, so that the secretaries present had to order him in the name of the Khan to answer. At last he said that there did not exist a God all-powerful. Then all the Saracens laughed out loud. Silence restored, I said, 'Then none of your gods can ever save you, for it can happen that he have no power. Besides no one can serve two masters. How then can you serve so many gods in Heaven and on earth?' Those present told him to reply but he did not. And as I wanted to develop before the entire assembly the reasons for the unity and the Trinity of the divine essence, the Nestorians of the country said to me that it sufficed, and that they wanted to talk themselves. I then yielded, and as they were preparing to discuss with the Saracens, the others replied, 'We agree that your law is the true law, and that all that is in the Gospel is true, so that on no account do we wish to argue with you.' And they confessed that in all their prayers they asked God to accord them grace to die as the Christians die. There was an old priest there of the sect Jugers who say there is one God yet who make idols. They talked a long time with him, telling him all that came to pass till the coming of the anti-Christ into the world and also proved the Trinity by analogy, to him and the Saracens. Everyone listened without raising the least objection, yet no one said 'I believe I want to become a Christian'. Then the Nestorians and the Saracens sang together in a loud voice, the Tuans said not a word, and afterwards, everybody drank deeply.¹

Mangu Khan himself found the bad lives of Christians the chief objection, arguing that it was better to do what the

¹ The Journal of Friar William in *Contemporaries of Marco Polo*, ed. Kornroff, 1928, pp. 176-8.

soothsayers said than to be given Scriptures and not to follow them. 'God has given you a testament and you do not follow it, to us He has given soothsayers and we do what they tell us and we live peacefully.' He professed belief in one God, saying we believe there is but one God by whom we live and by whom we die, and we have for Him an upright heart. But he did not expound his beliefs at any great length to Friar William of Rubruck, who says 'While I was waiting for him to confess still another phase of his faith, he began to talk of my return, saying "You have been here a long while, I wish that you leave."'

The first appearance of the Mongols, or Tartars as Europeans called them, established a tradition of terror which the word Tartar has ever since retained, but it is now understood that in actual fact the main effect of their stupendous conquests from Peking to Hungary was to unite temporarily the whole of Middle Asia and to throw it open for traders and missionaries from Europe. The century between 1240 and 1340 is well named the age of the discovery of Asia. The men of the thirteenth century showed themselves as enterprising and as eager alike in the cause of the Gospel and of commerce as their successors in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. There was an immense sense of wonder and the most reasonable excitement. The Mongols appeared on the far side of the Saracen enemy, just when Christian efforts single-handed seemed always destined to failure or dubious transitory success. When Innocent IV opened the Council of Lyons in 1245, he enumerated the five great sorrows of the Church. One was, of course, the Emperor Frederick the Second, one was the general decay of discipline, and one was the hostility and schism of the Greeks, but the other two bore directly on the new peril. The first was the dangerous imminence of the Tartars, and the second the appearance of the Kharazmiens. The Kharazmiens were a good illustration of the many repercussions of the great invasion. In flight from the Tartars, they fled south and, ten thousand strong, offered their services to the Sultan of Egypt. He used them for the rapid reconquest of Jerusalem, but they proved as dangerous allies as the Saxons proved to the Britons in the traditional tale of

Hengist and Horsa and Vortigern. Very soon they made trouble for their masters, and the great Sultan Bibars, the adversary of St. Louis, was himself a slave of Turkish origin. But, of the five griefs of the Church, the Emperor was dead five years later, and the Tartars appeared on a second inspection to be far from an unmixed evil. Their first wave had struck Europe, but their second wave rolled south-west and struck the Saracens. Before the twelve-forties were out, Mongol alliances were being freely discussed, and the Mongols had made those overtures to St. Louis which resulted in the mission of the Friar William of Rubruck.

From now on, for a hundred years, the Mongol alliance figures in the calculations of statesmen and writers planning the rectification of the European frontier. Edward I of England, in the year before his accession, arranged an alliance with the Mongols to attack Antioch, and a few years later the ambassadors of the Khan of Persia appeared at Lyons before the Great Council to seek alliance with the Christians and to receive baptism. The enterprises of St. Louis, which aimed at striking directly at the north African centres of Saracen power, failed, but crusading activity was tremendously alive at the time of his death in 1270. A Crusade was still firmly established as a main object of Papal policy, tenaciously pursued by Pope after Pope. Urban IV (d. 1264) had himself been Patriarch of Jerusalem before his election, and Gregory X who was elected in 1271, while on pilgrimage to Jerusalem, had promised before leaving Acre for Rome to arrange for succour.

The outlook when the council met, at Lyons in 1274, was bright; the bishops everywhere agreed to give a tenth of their revenues to finance the Crusade, the newly elected Emperor Rudolph of Habsburg and the Kings of France and England and many other potentates took the Cross. The union of Greek and Latin Christianity was achieved with rare statesmanship by this great Pope (he was beatified later) whose untimely death in 1276 was an irreparable disaster. There had always been discordant elements, and after the Pope's death they got out of hand. The Greek clergy, not for the first or last time, wrecked the union their Emperor had achieved, and there

manœuvred in south Italy, pursuing his own unscrupulous territorial plans, the evilly ambitious Charles of Anjou, whom the Pope had sought to use against Hohenstaufen. Both Genoa and Venice pursued independent policies, and in 1263 the Genoese had even had the audacity to promise to Bibars their aid in his attack on the Christian stronghold of Acre. By 1281, in the disillusionment and enmity that followed the wreck of reunion, it was decided that the crusading fleet should go against Constantinople, and in the following year, in the famous Sicilian Vespers, the massacre of the French in Sicily wrecked the ambition of Charles of Anjou. Fortunately for Christians, the Saracens were preoccupied in resisting the Mongols, and an enormous battle took place between them in 1281, at which many Greeks appeared on the Mongol side, while the representatives of Charles of Anjou remained neutral. But no one arose in the Papal chair or on the thrones of Europe to repair and reassert the policy of Gregory X. The new Mameluke dynasty in Egypt went forward from success to success, and in 1291 Acre, the last Christian stronghold in Palestine, was taken. The blow was heavy, and produced a general sense of consternation, but it was significant of the new age that the Kings of England and France were both preoccupied at home. Edward I had given genuine proof that his zeal for the crusading policy was no mere lip-service or device of statesmanship. He had fought for many years and had only returned because his father had died. Every English king from Henry II to Henry V either formally took the Cross or made definite plans for the recovery of the Holy Places. Edward I and Henry IV actually fought as Crusaders before becoming kings. Nobody emulated Cœur de Lion in leaving his kingdom for the sake of a Crusade.

When the thirteenth century closed there was not much consciousness on the part of sovereigns of any overriding necessity to repair the recent disasters, but there was so much else that was hopeful and the new perils that were to appear in the fourteenth century had given no foretaste of what was to come. The whole horizon had widened.

Men could view with more equanimity the fall of Acre in 1291

than the loss of Jerusalem in 1187 because there were obviously so many more pieces on the board, and the existence of the Mongols meant that any Saracen conquest was of its nature insecure. The open-mindedness of the Mongols at the height of their power and before their western groups had been finally won to Islam made the age a time of golden hopes for traders and for missionaries. Hard on the wake of the friars came the archbishops appointed by the Pope to rule as far East as Peking. Both Hulagu and his successor Arghun, the Mongol rulers of Persia, had Nestorian wives, and Christian missions flourished under them. The missionaries found that they could now reach India, travelling overland to Persia and then by sea, and in India they found Christian communities and great scope for their apostolic work.

The Chinese mission, the Persian mission, the Indian mission, all carried Latin Catholicism into Asia and tidings of the new fields back to Europe. In 1278 Pope Nicholas III sent Franciscans to the Tartars with congratulations on the rumoured or hoped for baptism of the Khan. Thirteen years later another Franciscan, John de Monte Corvino,¹ having served a long apprenticeship preaching to the Saracens, went farther east, having great hopes of converting Arghun of Persia. He travelled through India, where he found the Saracens favoured, the Christians and Jews few and despised. But his real mission field was Cathay. He presented his Papal letters, but he failed to convert Kublai Khan or his son. He did convert a Nestorian prince and a fine Latin church was built near Peking. This achievement no doubt intensified the hostility of the Nestorians, who denounced Corvino as every kind of criminal. Corvino, feeling very out of touch with Europe, sent copies of his letters home to the Dominicans in Persia. He told them that while India was a promising field the Tartars of the Far East were much more promising still. Kublai Khan had been in contact with East Africa, and the Ethiopians too got into touch with Corvino, asking for missionaries: having had, they said, none since St. Matthew.

¹ For Corvino, see Beazley, *Dawn of European Geography*, vol. iii.

In Europe the news of Corvino's labours, of his thousands of converts and his high hopes, led the Pope, Clement V, to make him archbishop of Cambalieg, and to send him assistants.

Through the first half of the fourteenth century further relays of friars went out to Peking, and the mission seemed to be flourishing down to 1340. In 1338 another great party of Franciscans set out overland, remaining four years in China, and then making a detour through southern India. What destroyed the Peking mission was not European fatigue but the revolution in China itself which replaced the Mongols by the Ming dynasty. There was a persistent tradition that one of the great Tartar Khans had himself become a Christian and been baptized by Corvino, and his relics were cherished by the Franciscans. Whether or no it was the ruling Khan or some prince of his family, the story focuses the extreme friendliness of the Tartar rulers. The Mings came in on the note, so often to be repeated in Chinese history, of 'Out with the foreigners', and the gates closed.

In Persia the Dominicans took the lead, appearing in Tiflis as early as 1240, but it was not till the Mongols were established there that the missions became considerable. In the 1260's and 1270's the Popes kept up an active correspondence with the Ilkhan rulers, and in the time of Arghun great hopes were entertained. The Dominican, Ricolde of Monte Croce,¹ worked like Corvino in the Levant before going farther East. He wrote a great confutation of the Koran. He has left, in his diaries, a vivid description of the people whom he and his fellow missionaries had most hopes of converting, the Tartars. They looked, he said, like old, withered monkeys, with great broad faces, little eyes, and small beards. They were full of ingratitude, insolence, and arrogance, but demanded great respect for themselves. They admired drunkenness and skilful thieving; they hated lies and fixed abodes. They believed in one supreme God with many lesser gods, thought the world must be vastly old, claimed blood relationship with the Christians; they could

¹ Beazley, *op. cit.*

not bear to hear the name of Alexander the Great, and many people believed that they were the ten lost tribes whom Alexander the Great had shut up in the Unscalable Mountains. Others said they were the children of Gog and Magog, and that the name Mongol came from Magogoli. Ricolde, in his letter to the Church Triumphant, says that he discovered a fine disproof of the claim of the Indians that the Flood had never reached them, because all the rivers in Persia flowed to the east and into the sea of India. He went to Nineveh and Baghdad, and there heard of the loss of Acre, and met everywhere Christian slaves, and found in the Mohammedan bazaars numbers of Christian service books and sacred objects. Like other Latin missionaries, Ricolde had little difficulty in confuting the Nestorian priests, and he gives quite a favourable account, for a man naturally critical of Nestorian Christianity. Baghdad under the Mongols remained a great centre of Mohammedan learning, and Ricolde pays a high tribute to the diligent study, ardent prayer, charity, courtesy, kindness to animals, and other numerous virtues of the Mohammedan population. But the Saracens, with all their virtues, let themselves be possessed by a blind hatred of the Christian faith, and loved to defile crucifixes and statues.

As in China, the missions were maintained in Persia for half a century. The Persian rulers were anxious to maintain friendly contact with the western enemies of the enemies of Persia. Boniface VIII busied himself to supply the missions, and many sees were set up, but the royal support in Persia failed. There were martyrdoms and the field was not abandoned. A traveller at the beginning of the fifteenth century bears witness that the Latin missions were still alive; indeed, they were sufficiently important in 1392 for the Pope to send a contingent of twenty-four friars; but in the main the hopes entertained at the beginning were all disappointed, because the western Mongols adopted Mohammedanism in the end.

The Indian missions were also the work of the Franciscans and the Dominicans. Jordanus, the author of a description of the marvels of India, describes Roman churches and communities

at Ur of the Chaldees where Abraham was born.¹ Just as Ricolde had admired the Baghdad Mohammedans, Jordanus admired the Hindus, 'true in speech and eminent in justice'. He is one of the early sources for European knowledge of Abyssinia, the land of Prester John. Jordanus was in India in the years when Mohammedanism was spreading rapidly, converting the peoples of Malay, Sumatra, and Java. He suffered much persecution at Mohammedan hands and was scourged and stoned, but he never lost his enthusiasm or his contempt for the cowardice and childishness in war of the Indians, saying that the King of France could subdue the whole of the heathen East unaided. But the Indian mission languished under the double obstacle of militant Mohammedanism in India and the growth of the Turkish barrier blocking the route from Europe.

The commercial motive was more persistent. By 1266 Genoa and Venice established their trading-posts on the overland route to China, and the Genoese became familiar figures on the Caspian Sea and on the Crimea. The Black Sea became a busy spectacle, and it was a Black Sea ship which brought the Black Death to Europe. But it was the sea route that aroused the greatest hopes. The thirteenth century was a great age of maritime exploration. The Genoese towards the end of the century rediscovered the Canaries, the Fortunate Isles, and a little later the first-fruits of the combination of Genoese seamanship and Spanish and Portuguese official auspices, a partnership which is at least a century and a half older than the first voyage of Columbus, reached the Azores and Madeira; and the maps of the fourteenth century show how early the idea of alternative routes to the treasures of the East caught the imagination of the merchants.

In 1295 there returned to Venice the most famous of medieval travellers, Marco Polo, and Venice became the centre of a new kind of travellers' tale. Marco Polo's detailed descriptions of the great wealth and order of the Far East made the mouths of merchants water, and the travellers' tales had more point than merely to startle and amaze. Polo's book, the fruit of

¹ Beazley, vol. III.

twenty years' wide and accurate observation, became a handbook to a new world. What he had to relate was met with much incredulity, and on his death-bed he was begged by his friends to cut down his book and omit all the exaggerations, but he replied that he had not mentioned half of what he had really seen. His travels did not enjoy at first the popularity of the travels issued later under the name of Sir John Mandeville by a citizen of Liége, but its fame steadily increased through the fourteenth century, and other travel books borrowed freely from it. The whole of Asia was unfolded in Polo's book, including a host of places hitherto quite unknown, like Madagascar.

But it was the sea route that remained in the minds of his readers, and his book gave an enduring impulse to the growing tradition of commercial navigation. It is not surprising to meet it in the fifteenth century in the hands of Henry the Navigator and then of Christopher Columbus.¹ The works of other travellers, notably Friar Odoric a generation later and Mandeville, showed by their popularity how considerable a public there was for travel and guide books, but Polo as a successful merchant and familiar figure in the chief commercial city of Europe, a man whose personal relics a later doge was proud to number among his possessions, deservedly enjoyed a wholly exceptional authority.

The Mameluke revolution in Egypt had led to a stiffening of the tolls to be paid at Alexandria for Eastern produce and so it was a happy chance for Mediterranean trade that the Mongol Empire threw open alternative routes. The route through Persia, which was the most popular with men carrying cargoes, led from Constantinople to Erzerum, Tabriz, Baghdad, and so to Ormuz at the bottom of the Persian Gulf. From there men took ships, skirting the coast of India, Burma, and Malay, and going up by Indo-China, past Canton to Peking. This sea route had for rival a high land route, across the Black Sea and north of the Caspian, through Bokhara and Samarkand and Kashgar to the Gobi Desert, and so to the Great Wall of China

¹ See Beazley, vol. iii, and Newton, *Travel and Travellers in the Middle Ages*.

and Peking. These places became familiar to the statesmen and traders of Italy, who came to have a very fair idea of both the sea and land geography of Asia. In the early fourteenth century it looked indeed as though the next generation would see further great advances in the organization of both European religion and European trade which should reach out, from their head-quarters in Italy, into farthest Asia.

But the truth was far different, and the fourteenth century was to witness the emergence of the most formidable adversary that Christendom had yet had to face.

CHAPTER III

THE DEFENCE AGAINST THE OTTOMAN TURKS

THE COMING OF THE OTTOMAN

IN the fourteenth century the name of Turk was already old and familiar, a generic term, and the new menace was not at first clearly distinguished from the Saracens. Froissart at the very end of the century, while describing in detail the great disaster of Nicopolis, is very hazy about the origins and character of the triumphant foe. There was some justification for this confusion in the way that the Empire of the Ottomans arose. To this day the origin of the Turks is subject for debate and, in fact, race played little part in Ottoman statesmanship. The Ottomans did not come like the Mongols in the form of invasion, spreading from the East over Asia Minor, and finally reaching the already shrunken territories of the Greek Empire. On the contrary, the Ottomans were a body which crystallized inside Asia Minor. They began very near their present capital of Angora, in the country round Nicaea and Brusa, not far from Constantinople itself. The Ottoman movement can perhaps be best understood if it is thought of in its early stages as analogous to a political movement. It welcomed all who would follow its leader Ottoman, an ambitious man in a small way of business. It was open to all, but the mark of membership was the acceptance of Islam. In medical metaphor it may be thought of as a cancerous growth, arising in the old enfeebled body of the Christian Greek Empire, weakening its host as it waxed stronger itself, and catching up the vital and vigorous elements in local life and using them to substitute a new organism for the old one. It had no fatherland or sacred soil or territorial centre. To this day the Turks have occupied bases instead of striking root; even the Sultan's palace at Constantinople always retained the character of a group of tents, in stone it might be, and having a wealth of loot like a jackdaw's nest, but at bottom no more than a strategic centre for head-quarters which might readily be moved at any time.

The Ottoman dominion was never a country in the ordinary sense, but rather a great business established throughout the Near East. By contrast with the enemies all round it, it was brilliantly efficient for the achievement of its limited aims, and both its efficiency and the means for maintaining that efficiency made it a peculiarly deadly menace to the Christians. In the first place it did not seek to absorb its conquered subjects; it remained apart from them and uninfluenced by them. It was not very harsh as conquering systems go. It dealt from the first, particularly under Sultan Murad (1346-86), with the Christians of the Balkans, the first populations on a large scale to be reduced to subjection, on a basis of toleration. Christians payed a special tax, they might not ride horses or enjoy scope for military organization, and were not eligible for any posts worth holding, but they could pursue their occupations, mainly agricultural, and follow the Christian rule of life. The Turk, in fact, made it easy to follow the counsels of perfection and to put away ambition. In the second place, and by contrast, the Turkish system was so devised as to drain away energy and enterprise from the subject population. For the ambitious man there were open at the price of apostasy large opportunities for obtaining power and wealth; indeed, the whole of what a recent scholar¹ has named 'The Ruling Institution' was recruited not from among the Turks themselves but from renegade Christians. The Empire, that is to say, was an extension of the Sultan's household, and all the great officials of the Empire, civil and military, were his household slaves. They took pride in their status, much as modern public men take pride in calling themselves public servants. The Sultan wielded supreme dominion and might dispose of any man's life and goods, because his authority was the condition of effective rule. When Mohammed II established the famous rule that the new Sultan might rightly put all his brothers to immediate death in the interests of unity and peace, he was but underlining the governing principle that the family of Ottoman were themselves subordinate to a more general good, not succeeding through

¹ Professor Lybder, to whom these paragraphs are greatly indebted.

primogeniture to a family inheritance, but supplying as their great contribution a succession of men to fill the crucial office of Sultan and sacrificing the rest. A Sultan had many wives (they were often Christians) and thus many sons by different mothers, and a wide range of choice for his successor. In consequence, for over three hundred years from 1300 a very high level of resolution and ability marks the line of Turkish rulers. To seek advancement was dangerous; the minister who lost the confidence of his master lost his life and property as well; but the result of the frequent disgracings and executions was that the channels of promotion were never clogged or blocked. In striking contrast with European practice, positions of authority never became hereditary, and there never grew up round the reigning family lesser governing families. The Great Viziership, the post whose high dignity was due to its being at the beginning the office of Sultan Murad's brother, was within the reach of any able man, and the meanest Christian slave, if endowed with vigour and courage and cunning, might hope to rise to that lofty if precarious eminence, if he would but qualify for the competition by embracing Mohammedanism.

The raw material for the Sultan's services, his household, his army, his civil administration, came from the Christian population, mainly in the Balkans. By the sacred law the Sultan was entitled to a fifth of all captives taken in war, and his officers bought captives in the markets, from the Crimea and from the Caucasus. But the best men were the children levied as tribute from the subject Christian population. Every four years the selection was made, the most favoured region being the Albanian mountain country. There was no fixed rule; all the sons between ten and sixteen years might be taken from one family if they were strong and handsome, while parents with miserable and inferior offspring would keep them all. There were some loopholes, married youths were ineligible, and recruiting officers often sold exemptions. Turkish parents viewed with great envy the grand careers which thus opened up before the sons of their Christian neighbours, and tried to find Christians who for a small consideration would pass off Turkish boys as their own

sons. The harem was almost entirely composed of the daughters of Christians, largely from the Caucasus, and this infiltration of new blood sensibly modified the Mongolian element in the make-up. In all, it has been computed that from one to two million of the flower of the Christian population were absorbed into the Ottoman system—the Janissaries, that picked corps recruited from young Christian slaves, were only the best-known method of utilizing Christian strength on behalf of the Ottoman Empire, but the same principle was universally applied.

As more and more land came under Turkish dominion, the frontier became longer, and the number of tribute lands from which captives were drawn increased. Turks, including the sons and all subsequent generations of the descendants of the renegade Christians, were ineligible for the Sultan's household and lived on the lands granted to them. There was a whole range of specifically Mohammedan activity as judges, educators, priests, and religious, which was reserved for them. The Shari'a or sacred law of Islam was a great check on the despotic power of the Sultan, protecting the Christian rayahs from forcible conversion, but the actual administration except for this safeguard was in the hands of men who had all the renegade's proverbial fierceness against the creed and people they had left.

The Ottoman Turks were thus a peculiar menace in a part of the world where Greeks and Latins already hated each other so much. Worldly advantage was combined with the opportunity to take full revenge, and it was often as a result of quarrels between Christians that renegades entered the service of the Turk.

During the fourteenth century the Turks prepared for their greatness in the fifteenth and sixteenth. Sultan Bajazet, when he succeeded Murad in 1386, was already lord of the Balkans and of most of Asia Minor. The Greek Empire had shrunk to Constantinople and a little land round it. There was no longer any question of useful alliance between Greeks and Latins, the question was, would or could the Latins aid the Greeks to maintain their independence. Fourteenth-century Europe made a

certain effort. Looking back, we tend to see in that century only the tendencies which finally prevailed. It was a time in which the idea of Christendom was yielding place to a keen sense of nationality, fostered by national monarchies. Its characteristic event was the Hundred Years War between England and France; its characteristic figure Edward III, who did not speak English, but who devoted his life to waging a war for a second territorial crown—who used to profess himself keenly interested in settling his immediate troubles that he might help in the general business of Christendom in the Levant, but who in fact was more responsible than any other individual for nothing being done. The French king had to stay to fight the king of England, and the huge slaughter of French knights at Crécy was a tragic destruction of the very people who might have given a great account of themselves against the Saracen and the Turk.

But it is easy to fall into the error of underrating the continued vitality of the common ideal. Europe did not feel any sharp break when the Papacy moved to Avignon because, for half a century before, the Popes had been, as often as not, Frenchmen following a French policy as a check on the hostile Hohenstaufen Emperors. The Papacy, although there were signs that it could barely hold its own against the secular territorial rulers, was still not far removed from the days of its greatest authority, and in the Empire there arose in Charles IV and his sons Wenceslas and Sigismund a family resting on Bohemia and vitally concerned for the maintenance of a common Eastern front. Among the men of the fourteenth century national loyalty and loyalty to a feudal superior was still held within the framework of loyalty to the common conception of Christendom which Papacy and Empire embodied. The vitality of this conception can be studied alike in the spheres of action and of thought.

Thus, in the field of immediate action the fourteenth century produced something new in those consecrated marines of the later Middle Ages, the Knights of Rhodes. If the century began with a concrete example of the supersession of the old

conception of the military religious Orders by the growing acquisitiveness and self-assertion of the kings, when the ruin and the dispersal of the Templars was brought about by Philip IV of France, it also afforded a counterpoise in the very different fate that came to the other great Order ejected from the Holy Land, the Knights of St. John.

The story of the knights is an epic of younger sons. They were mainly drawn from the noble houses of all the chief parts of Europe, but far more from France than from anywhere else. Geographically France was far away from the Levant, and the vigorous state of this great military Order is good evidence of the continued vitality of the idea of Christendom, flourishing side by side with the growing concentration of devotion towards the ideas of the national state and of national greatness. Of the seven *langues* or nations into which the Order of St. John was divided, three were French: France, Auvergne, Provence. The Grand Masters were generally Frenchmen, and Frenchmen were in command at each of the three great sieges, twice at Rhodes and once at Malta, which the Order had to sustain. No less than the College of Cardinals, the Order reflected the dissension due to national rivalries centring round the French party. Through the fourteenth century there was an undercurrent of murmuring at French preponderance, murmuring to which the French replied, with much reason, that it was a preponderance that had been fully earned.

Two of the early Grand Masters¹ at Rhodes may serve as illustrations of the way in which the island became a centre in the later Middle Ages where there could continue to flourish both the simple ideals of earlier crusading chivalry and the new European statesmanship of which the Popes, the heads of the Order, were the main agents.

An instance of the first type is Dieudonné de Gozon from Provence, who as a young knight slew a great monster whose head continued down to the seventeenth century to be one of the sights of the town. When a Grand Master had to be

¹ Their lives are in the Abbé Vertot's great history of the order (vol. ii of the folio edition.

elected, Gozon boldly spoke for himself. He was elected because this interpretation of his solemn oath only to suggest and support the very best possible choice won by its frankness the support of his fellow knights. Such a Grand Master waged naval war with the Turks, not according to any deep connected plan, but in a spirit of courageous opportunism which was often extraordinarily successful, as when he invaded Armenia, because it was so unexpected and incalculable. Gozon had to meet, and it is typical of the age, complaints from the Venetians that when they fought the Genoese they found Knights of St. John in the Genoese ships, to which the Grand Master replied that a natural love for their own country sometimes carried the knights away, even to the point of disregarding their solemn vows, for the Order was strictly sworn to neutrality in all disputes between Christian princes or states. When a novice received his sword, the oath ran 'Receive this sword, and use it to defend yourself and the Holy Church of God, to the confusion of the enemies of the Cross of Jesus Christ'. But the neutrality was not easy to maintain. Gozon himself had on one occasion to refuse the proposal of Pope Innocent VI that the knights should intervene in a struggle at Constantinople between two members of the reigning house of the Paleologi. The Pope's point was that one candidate had promised, if successful, to bring back the Greeks to the unity of the Church, but it was a line of reasoning that the victory of one party in any Christian dispute would probably be better for the Church than the victory of the other, which had obviously the widest and most dangerous implications. National divisions were accentuated when the knights in charge of the property of the Order in various countries sheltered themselves behind the authority of kings or prelates in order to remain in their comfortable and secure positions at home. There was continual pressure on the Pope as supreme head of this as of all other religious Orders to force them back on to the mainland of Asia Minor, their enemies alleging that the island of Rhodes was too paradisaical for good discipline.

Questions of this nature preoccupied another Grand Master

who may stand as an embodiment of his Order in international politics: Heredia, a Spaniard. Heredia had become a knight in disgust at the treacherousness of worldly fortune, for he had married twice to please a childless elder brother and perpetuate the name, and then his brother had himself produced a family. Finding himself a widower, he became a knight and was the Order's representative at Avignon, charged to stop the Pope from making direct nominations to the headships of the priories owned by the Order. He soon became one of the chief ministers of the Avignon Popes, charged to rally the Christian princes and make them drop their personal quarrels and defend the Eastern frontier. So he was sent just before the Battle of Crécy to try to persuade the kings of England and France to compose their quarrel. He received special permission from the Pope to fight against the aggressor, the aggressor being defined in the spirit, and almost the words, of the League of Nations covenant as whoever should refuse mediation and arbitration. The aggressor judged by this test proved to be Edward III, and Heredia fought by the side of the French king and saved his life. He afterwards negotiated the truce; he became governor of Avignon, and built the great walls that travellers gaze at to-day; and when the Popes returned to Rome it was Heredia, now Grand Master, who commanded the fleet. Thirty years at the Papal court might seem a bad preparation for active command in the land and sea operations which a Grand Master had to initiate and carry through, but the combination of politics and crusading exploits was strikingly exemplified before Heredia reached Rhodes. He broke his journey to help the Venetians recapture Patras in the Morea from the Turks, was the first over the walls, killed and beheaded the governor in hand-to-hand encounters, resolved to conquer the whole of the Morea, was ambushed, and spent three years in a Turkish fortress in Albania, refusing to let the funds of the Order be used to ransom him, and having to wait a long time before his family found the money.

When Heredia finally reached Rhodes it was to handle the great schism, which split the Order as it split all Europe. The

Italians, the English, and some of the Germans recognized Urban, while Heredia himself and the French and Spanish knights adhered to the man who is now adjudged an anti-pope.

But the conditions of life at Rhodes were too strenuous to allow these divisions to gain the upper hand. Every extension of Turkish power made Rhodes more and more of an anomaly, an island very near the mainland of Asia Minor, in the heart of what would otherwise have been Turkish waters. The farther Turkish conquests extended, the more invaluable was the existence of Rhodes to the Christians as a bastion perpetually sending out expeditions to hamstring Turkish efforts. The knights even held at the command of the Pope the fortress of Smyrna on the mainland, and they were dislodged not by the Turks but by Tamburlaine the Great.

From the men of action we turn to the men of thought. Throughout the fourteenth century a succession of treatises appeared, calling the attention of the princes of the West to the perilous position of the Eastern frontier, and the necessity to recover the spirit and methods of the earlier crusades. These treatises were particularly numerous in the first twenty-five years of the fourteenth century, and bear witness to the recovery of European morale after the disaster of the fall of Acre in 1291. If many of the treatises deal in generalities and are idealistic, they nevertheless give a clear and accurate picture of the reasons for Europe's failure. They are parallel to the many analyses which have appeared since 1919, disclosing forcibly and precisely the difficulties in the way of effective international co-operation for peace, but finding much greater difficulty in being constructive. The disunion of princes, the rivalry between the military Orders, the cooling of religious ardour, the discredit earned by the violence and indiscipline of earlier Crusaders, all take a prominent place among the reasons for failure, and with them stands one destined to grow in importance: the commerce of the Italians with the infidel.

A good example is the work *De recuperatione terrae sanctae* of Peter Dubois,¹ the avocat-royal at Coutances, which was dedi-

¹ See Bréhier, *L'Église et l'occident au moyen âge*.

cated about 1307 to Edward I of England, who had all his life, since his return from the Holy Land to succeed his father, professed the greatest zeal for a collective crusade. Dubois points out that only a General Council can overcome the divisions between Christian princes. He has an elaborate system of sanctions, proposing force and boycotting for recalcitrant princes and suggesting that their subjects should be forcibly deported to colonize the Holy Land. He recommends a tribunal of arbitration for European disputes, to be composed of three bishops and three laymen, inaccessible to corruption, whose judgement could only be appealed against to the Pope himself. He then suggests, revealing his nationality, that the Empire should be made hereditary in a French family. The Pope is to live in France, the cardinals are to return to a life of apostolic poverty, bishops are to abandon their temporal possessions, and the king of France will administer the wealth of the Church to finance the crusade. The Templars and Hospitallers are to be united in a single order. Having thus established the prime questions of unity and finance, Dubois goes on to envisage a government for the Holy Land where every town is to have its *Dux belli* with centurions and chiefs of cohorts of twelve men, and where every Christian state will maintain a large hostelry to receive its nationals. But he does not believe that a Christian state in the East can be firmly grounded unless the local heretical sects and native populations can be united in obedience to the Pope. There must be interpreters able to speak and write oriental languages, and the priories of the two great military Orders are the obvious places to become schools of oriental lore. He saw a great field for religious women in this work, who were to teach young Christian girls the tongues of the East, and these girls were to marry Saracens and lead their husbands to the Church. In this idea Dubois was at one with the Christian missionaries, who continued to urge that the real solution of the crusading question was to be found in the pacific evangelization of the East. If on this point he joined hands with idealists, his proposals for confiscating Church wealth linked him up with a more materialistic school of

thought. William de Nogaret, for example, was extremely keen to use the project of a crusade in military enterprise in which secular princes would inevitably hold the key positions, as a pretext for large-scale confiscations of the wealth of the Church. From his point of view the condemnation of the Order of the Templars was as good as a crusade. He justified it by blaming them for the ill success of Christian arms in the East, saying they had compromised all expeditions over sea by their disorders, and even that it was necessary to offer some expiatory victims to the wrath of God.

The Friar Minor of Padua is very practical, urging that the chief condition of success is the commercial blockade of Egypt, the Saracen base. The plan of blockading Egypt by an international fleet dated back to Charles II of Naples at the time of the Fall of Acre, and had been revived by Jacques de Molay, the Grand Master of the Templars, and by the Pope at the Council of Vienne. Three years of blockade, said Henry of Lusignan, king of Cyprus, would ruin Egypt, but only if the Italian cities and Venice in particular ceased any trade with the infidel. How unlikely that essential condition was to be fulfilled was shown in 1310, when the Knights of St. John seized a Genoese vessel laden with an Egyptian cargo and the Genoese raided Rhodes and sold their booty to the Turks. The Venetian, Marino Sanudo, the author of *Secreta fidelium crucis*, dedicated to Clement V in 1309, suggested on the poacher-turned-game-keeper principle that Venice should be entrusted with the task of blockading Egypt, supplying a fleet whose commander should be nominated by the Pope, and diverting the Indian trade to Persia. The project of a blockade of Egypt found more favour in the early fourteenth century than overland expeditions, but there was a school of writers in favour of a march through the Christian kingdom of Armenia, with Cyprus as a first base. Only William Adam in his *De Modo Sarracenos Extirpandi* is in favour of the old Danube route, including a preliminary capture of Constantinople and re-establishment of a Latin Empire there.

It is very interesting to find that all these writers make an

alliance with the Mongols of Persia an essential part of their plan. The Mongols had already destroyed the Moslem states of central Asia, and showed themselves continually disposed to alliance with the West. At the end of the century the coming of Tamburlaine was to prove the salvation of Europe, bearing out the reasoning of these writers that neither Turk nor Saracen could be overcome without assistance from farther East.

In the later part of the fourteenth century the writings of Philippe de Mézières show how little progress had in fact been made. De Mézières, a great reader of romances especially to do with the Holy Land, had his imagination fired by the history of Peter the Hermit and the First Crusade. He burned to win glory in the East, and his history shows what opportunities were still open to a man who did not join a military Order. He took the Cross and followed the Dauphin of Vienne to Smyrna in the year of Crécy, 1346, went to Rhodes, and made the pilgrimage to Jerusalem in 1347 and, stopping at Cyprus on his return, became Chancellor to Peter de Lusignan. For the next twenty years he conducted constant negotiations on behalf of Cyprus and its king to endeavour to pave the way for a crusade, negotiations in Lombardy, at Venice, at Königsberg with the Teutonic Knights. After Peter de Lusignan had been assassinated in 1369 without ever bringing to fruition his crusading dream, de Mézières established himself at the court of Charles V of France, another monarch who really had it in his mind to deliver Jerusalem. The library of Charles V, we are told, contained many books relating to the crusade, but he wanted a General Council to achieve the unity of Christendom first, when in fact General Councils when they did come were to be called to save the unity of the Church while national states became increasingly estranged. De Mézières's writings belong to the end of his life. After the death of his patron Charles V he retired to the convent of the Celestines at Paris, and there drew up his scheme for an Order of the Passion to revitalize the crusading movement. It was an idea that had been present to his mind for many years, the fruit of meditation on the weakness of the earlier crusades, the divisions of princes, and the paralysis

of the religious Orders of knights who could not intervene among princes because of their great possessions in the different countries. He envisaged an Order of 100,000 men, vowed to poverty but forbidden chastity because they had to marry to provide novices for the next generation of the Order. There were to be chevaliers recruited from the noblesse and the bourgeoisie, and sergeants of the artisan class. There would be women taking vows and living as recluses but, in the interests of the Order, women who were widowed, and they would be many, were to marry again indefinitely.

In 1388 Philippe de Mézières published his book, *Songes du vieil pèlerin*, tracing the plan for a crusade on all fronts at once. The Spanish kings were to move against Granada and Africa, the Emperor and the German princes against the Turk, the French and English against Syria and Egypt. The young king Charles VI, who believed the prophecies that a French king would recapture Jerusalem, played with the idea of a crusade, though he did not show great enthusiasm for the attack which was actually made on Tunisia in 1389, primarily at the instigation of the Genoese. But the peace between England and France which was signed in 1394, by which Richard II married Isabella of France, was supposed to be clearing the way for a crusade. De Mézières died ten years later in 1405, having only beheld the huge disaster of Nicopolis and the Crusade of Hungary, an enterprise he never approved of and considered to have been inspired by vainglory. He wrote to Charles VI an 'Epistre lamentable et consolatoire sur les faits de la desconfiture' which outraged the Burgundians, who pursued him to the tomb with abuse, which was itself an indication that, so far from Europe becoming united, France was about to be torn by factions.

It should be added that these writers did not have the field to themselves. There were many to question the whole ethics of the Crusades, just at a moment when it was partaking more than ever of the character of a war of defence. By far the most extreme was John Wyclif, who hated the Crusades because the Popes instigated them. As the Pope was anti-Christ—"That by

hypocrisy reverses Jesus Christ in his fals lyvyng'¹—this was understandable. But more balanced writers also, like Gower and Langland, reprobated the military tradition.

The adventure which ended in such disaster at Nicopolis in 1396 contains all the elements which explain the ineffectiveness of fourteenth-century Europe in the presence of the Ottoman Turk. The Christians had in Sigismund a leader who was fully alive to the growing peril now that the effete Greek Empire was falling more and more into new and strong hands. Like his father Charles IV, Sigismund reposed upon Bohemia, and when by marriage he became king of Hungary in 1387 he inherited with the Hungarian crown a protectorate of Bulgaria. He took the initiative in driving back the Turks. He found that the Turks were too strong for him, and that he must get help from the West. He also reaped the bitter fruits of the unpopularity of his predecessor as king of Hungary, that Louis who had attempted the forcible conversion of the Greek Catholics of the Balkans. The Turks under Murad had overthrown the Serbians and Bulgarians, but they were not detested by their new subjects. It speaks much for the skill of Murad that the Greek Christians, led in this by their priests who much preferred an infidel to the danger of being effectively ruled by the Pope, were not a population waiting for the chance to rise as soon as outside help arrived. The chief result of Sigismund's first campaign was to alarm the Sultan and make him believe that he could not trust a Bulgarian vassal prince. Bulgarian independence was destroyed—for centuries—and the Bulgarian Christians were placed under the Greek clergy, who became the allies of the Turks. The hatred of Bulgarian for Greek was only too effectively secured by this step.

The other subject nationality which had to enter into the calculations of Sigismund was Serbia. The sudden emergence of a Serbian Empire in the middle of the century had made it seem possible that the Greek Empire was going to be replaced by a Balkan one, an effective barrier to the Turk from Asia Minor. When the Serbians fought and killed Murad at Kos-

¹ Quoted by Atiya, *The Crusade of Nicopolis*, p. 123

sova in 1389, the death of a sultan made the first news of the battle read like the news of a victory. *Te Deum* was sung in Florence Cathedral, and before the French king. The truth soon became known that Kossova marked the final defeat and destruction of the Serbians. It was after Kossova that the new Sultan Bajazet, haughtily rejecting the base congratulations of the Italian cities, which hastened to him to secure trading privileges, uttered his famous boast that he would conquer first Hungary and then Italy and would feed his horse with oats on the altar of St. Peter's. There was in this boast a new defiance and contempt for Europe, and it was soon accompanied by other signs of a new emphasis on the championship of Islam by the Ottomans. They knew little at that date of Egypt and the Saracens; but Bajazet hastened to seek alliance with them. He placated the Serbians, and married the daughter of his dead enemy. (It was the later humiliations visited upon this Serbian bride of the sultan by Tamburlaine which caused the Sultans to eschew marriage services in future.) The Serbians proved good allies to their Turkish overlords. The Bosnians, too, took a short-sighted view and were glad to invoke Turkish aid, though at the price of absorption before very long in the Turkish Empire.

Sigismund could not rely upon the Balkan peoples to recognize in the Turk a menace different in kind from the menace these peoples might be to each other. It remained for four centuries hopeless and degraded servitude to prove the bitter truth.

Submission to the Latins meant total forfeiture of their political and religious liberty. Capitulation to the Turks entailed only partial loss of political rights, but preserved in large measure their religious independence. It was therefore far more natural for the orthodox races to offer their allegiance to Murad or Bajazet than to Louis or Sigismund—a fact which the western mind failed to grasp for many decades. Hence the Sultan met with little difficulty in subjecting the Balkans.¹

When Sigismund first received reinforcements from the West, headed by the young Constable of France, he used them

¹ Atiya, *The Crusade of Nicopolis*.

in Bohemia, against heretics, which was not what they had volunteered for.

But the war between France and England had just been called off by a truce, and there were plenty of unoccupied knights. There was plenty of general literature, simple *chansons* as well as the more serious literature already noticed, to make the least literate knight glow with the special idealism of the crusading idea. The fourteenth century saw several new themes for heroic *chansons* and one was written on Baldwin, third king of Jerusalem. Certainly when Pope Boniface IX at the urgent request of Sigismund, declared a crusade, there was a good response, particularly from France, and from the great dukes, headed by Burgundy, whose son, the count of Nevers, led the French contingent. So many young nobles wanted to take part that it was possible to pick and choose and insist upon the best.

The English were not slow to help Sigismund. There is no doubt about John of Gaunt's position as one of the great promoters of the crusade.

The help from the West was the help of men who knew little about their enemy. Those who had fought against the heathen Lithuanians thought gunpowder an unnecessary luxury in exterminating heathen hordes. They were not disposed to take orders from some one whose appeal to their Christian chivalry they were answering, and to them Sigismund and his Hungarians were the fair and helpless damsel in distress. The knight would decide where and when to kill the dragon. Sigismund had learnt a good deal from his earlier defeats and gave good and prudent counsel, that the army should hold itself back and watch for the Sultan and choose its moment for battle. But he had no means of compelling obedience. To the young chivalry, magnificently equipped for deeds of heroism, such counsels as his were quite unattractive. Like an earlier generation at Crécy, they rushed on to needless disaster. The great defeat at Nicopolis came after a long march of increasing discipline which made enemies for the crusaders all the way. There was a sort of 'East of Suez there are no ten commandments' feeling about these long military expeditions. Moral restraints

grew faint as the homes where they had been learnt were left far behind. Such an expedition as this attracted all sorts of scallywag adventurers in its lower ranks. The increasingly unfriendly populations through whom the army passed were ill treated and grew accordingly more unfriendly still. Those Crusaders who escaped from the field of battle soon learnt how little they were loved.

The crusade of Nicopolis ended in appalling defeat after a battle in which two things turned the scale: the impetuosity of the French and English knights, charging recklessly and into they knew not what, and the intervention on the side of the Turks of the despot of Serbia.

In Paris the news was not believed and messengers narrowly escaped drowning and hanging. The King, Charles VI, of weak intellect, had fifteen years before been told of Murad and of the Turk's boast that they would soon conquer France. But no heart remained to fit out another expedition. The ransoms were paid and Nevers returned to France, to become the bitter head of the Burgundian faction in the civil war till his murder in 1419.

A few years afterwards a melancholy pilgrim appeared at the courts of the West, the Emperor Manuel Palacologus. The one useful result of the Nicopolis crusade had been to call the Sultan from the walls of Constantinople. He had gained a footing there when the news of Sigismund called him to battle. He never found himself free to undertake the siege again. But to the Greek Emperor, now hemmed in by the Turk, whose headquarters had been moved by Murad to Adrianople, the fate of Constantinople seemed almost settled. He came to the West asking for aid before it was too late. It is one of the puzzles of history, for what reason Bajazet did not concentrate on the capture which was well within his power. Some conjecture that he feared to provoke a coalition of the Christian powers, others that he knew he had no command as yet of the sea. To others again the explanation is simpler. Bajazet in the years after Nicopolis and before Angora was increasingly addicted to debauch. But the Greek Emperor could not know that there

was in fact to be this respite. He sought to place himself under the protection of France, and when that responsibility was refused he set out to visit the European sovereigns and obtain their aid. He was handsomely received at Venice; the Milanese Visconti gave him money for clothes; the Pope, although Manuel was too honest to pretend he wanted to heal the schism, urged on the crusade for the sake of Constantinople and increased the indulgences. The receptions in Paris and London were magnificent and Henry V authorized a collection in all churches in England for the defence of Constantinople. For two years, with hope ever deferred, Manuel waited in Europe while the Turks waited round Constantinople. The ruler of the city, John the nephew of Manuel, made an agreement that he would give up the city to the Sultan as soon as the Sultan had defeated Tamburlaine. But it was Tamburlaine who defeated the Sultan, and Constantinople remained Greek for another precarious fifty years.

In the light of what was to happen in the next century the sea and land frontier of which Constantinople was the central strategic point, the arc from the Carpathians to Cyprus, holds the attention of the student of the frontier in the fourteenth century. But to the men of the time two other regions had equal claim as fields of crusading enterprise. A series of victories in the twelfth century had carried the Christian kingdoms in Spain more than half-way across the peninsula, and it was with a courage born of the belief in steady victory that men went to fight the pagan on behalf of the kings of Aragon, Castile, Leon, or Portugal.

At the other extremity of Europe there was another frontier where many knights could perform feats of war and fulfil crusading vows. Chaucer's Knight, in addition to his adventures against the Saracen,¹ had fought against the pagan in Puce and Lettowe.

At Alisaundre he was, whan it was wonne;
Ful ofte tyme he hadde the bord bigonne

¹ Chaucer, *The Canterbury Tales*, Prologue

Aboven alle nacions in Puce.
In Lettowe hadde he reysed and in Ruce,
No Cristen man so ofte of his degree.
In Gernade at the sege eek hadde he be
Of Algezir, and riden in Belmarye.
At Lyeys was he, and at Satalye,
When they were wonne; and in the Grete See
At many a noble armye hadde he be.
At mortal batailles hadde he been fiftene,
And foughten for our feith at Tramissene
In listes thryes, and ay slayn his fo.
This ilke worthy knight had been also
Somtyme with the lord of Palatye,
Ageyn another hethen in Turkeye:

The future Henry IV of England had done the same in his youth. Such knights fought alongside of the Teutonic Order. This Order, the third of the great military Orders of the Holy Land, was a product of the Third Crusade, the German counterpart to the predominantly French Knights of St. John. Very early in its history its members were called upon by Christian, bishop of Prussia, to help him in his work of evangelizing the pagan Prussians. The Order responded to his invitation, and received lands both in Transylvania and in Prussia. There began a movement of ambitious young men from the Rhineland and western Germany with the cry 'Go east, young man, Go east!' From the Oder to the Vistula and beyond, the authority of the Order spread; it became in 1234 a fief of the Holy See as a way of remaining outside the jurisdiction of anybody else, and the Pope in the same year gave its members all the privileges of crusaders. All this was before the Christians had been finally driven out of the Holy Land, and the Grand Master of the Teutonic Order still resided at Acre. When Acre fell in 1291, the Teutonic Order already has a base upon which to fall back. Its enemies might endeavour to bring about its suppression, but it had a much stronger case than the Templars, because its business interests—and they were widespread—were all bound up with the consolidation

of the Prussian frontier and the extension of Catholic organization in the north-east. The Grand Master, established at Marienburg through the fourteenth century, was in fact a territorial sovereign. Some sixty towns like Danzig were either established by the knights or grew because of their presence, and these towns, mostly members of the Hanseatic League, were flourishing centres of culture as well as of trade. The fourteenth century was the high watermark of the Teutonic Order, who, as armed missionaries, proceeded from the consolidation of Prussia to the colonization and conversion of the Letts and Lithuanians. But the very success of the spread of Christianity in the north-east brought into existence a new element, hostile to the knights. With the rise of the Christian kingdom of Poland, the Slavs had natural leaders of their own race. The crusading side of the Teutonic Order belonged to an earlier day, and the struggle was plainly one of race: one more illustration of the assertion of national feeling which was the main feature of the fifteenth century everywhere. After their great defeat by the Poles, at Tannenberg in 1410, the knights never enjoyed the same prestige, and they failed to recruit themselves from the good blood of western Germany, while the growing imminence of danger on the Hungarian frontier made those knights of the Holy Roman Empire who would naturally have fought with the Teutonic Order in the fourteenth century fight with the kings of Hungary in the fifteenth.

CHAPTER IV
THE PASSING OF THE FRONTIER
CONSCIOUSNESS

‘THE GRAND TURK’

AFTER Nicopolis the road lay open into Germany and Italy if the Turks had been free to take it. The Christians were only saved by the revival of the Mongol alliance in a new form. The Greek Empire, now completely encircled by the Ottomans, was not inclined to be nice about its allies, and it was at the instigation of the Greeks that the Mongol, Tamburlaine, though in his way an ardent Mohammedan, resolved to take advantage of the Sultan's expedition into Europe to fall upon him in Asia Minor. Tamburlaine, the author of the aphorism that a monarch's throne is only safe while its steps are floating in blood, was not perhaps the person at whose hands the West would have chosen to receive salvation, but his conquest and capture of Bajazet meant a respite of half a century. There was fighting among the sons of Bajazet, and Turkish progress was further stayed by the emergence of the Christian hero, Sigismund's natural son John Hunyades, regent of Hungary, who became in the words of Hallam, ‘the dread and hatred of the Turks, whose children were taught obedience by threatening them with his name’.

But the whole of the next hundred and fifty years from the Turkish disaster at the hands of Tamburlaine was a story of expansion and increasing power. The Ottoman institution was too strong to be wiped out by a single defeat, however catastrophic; it lived on war, and war was necessary to it. The abler sultans—and they were, with the exception of Bajazet II, all able men—recognized this, and if they were not attacking their Christian neighbours it was because they were attacking their Persian and Saracen neighbours in the south. The Serbians, who at one time in the fourteenth century looked like establishing an empire which would have reinvigorated Christian defence, had collapsed, with the death of the great

Serbian chief, Stephen Dushan, in 1356, and in the fifteenth century the European land frontier lay across Hungary. Constantinople had been isolated for more than half a century before its final capture in 1453, and that event, although a convenient landmark and symbol, was not of great military significance. In different hands than those of the Greeks a strong place with so unrivalled a situation might have prevented Turkish expansion into Europe; in fact, the issue had to be fought out on the Danube, and the victory of Hunyades, in particular the relief of Belgrade in 1456, had limited the conquests of Mohammed II. These campaigns of the Hungarian hero amounted almost to a general crusade; the Pope Callistus III sent his legate to rally the people, and the Minorite brother, St. John of Capistrano, who inspired his hearers with enthusiasm for a desperate struggle with the powerful infidel, shares the battle honours with Hunyades.

Hunyades thought that the Turk could be crushed if Christendom were to rise up against him, but when the regent of Serbia placed the country under the Pope's protection her action was very unpopular with the natives, who made it plain that they preferred Mohammedan domination to Latin. No sooner was Hunyades dead than another Christian hero emerged, George Castriotes of Albania, known as Scanderbeg, whom Mohammed, after being often defeated, had to acknowledge as the sovereign at Albania. But the achievements of Hunyades, of his successor, Matthias Corvinus, and of Scanderbeg, only arrested and did not prevent the steady Turkish advance. By the middle of the fourteen-sixties only the republic of Ragusa and a part of Montenegro remained outside the Turkish Empire over the Slavonic peoples of the Near East. The story of Ragusa is perhaps as good an illustration as could be taken of frontier psychology in the fifteenth century. This small port on the Dalmatian coast had for its hinterland the difficult and mountainous country which the Turks were step by step subduing. It maintained its own independence, but it was in continual negotiation with the Turk. The ships of the Ragusans were famous, and were in constant request when Popes, like Eugenius III

and Pius II, when they were preparing coalitions against the Turk, used to begin by sending to Ragusa to know how many ships they could hire. This happened while the Ragusans were also paying tribute to the Turks, and the tribute used to be raised as a punishment when ships were supplied to Christian expeditions. The Popes had to give Ragusa a special permit allowing them to trade with the infidel. After the fall of Constantinople Ragusa became a town of refuge to which many of the chief Greek families fled. The populace in Ragusa welcomed the refugees, and was willing to see them settle permanently, but the Ragusan senate feared that the great eminence of the Greek families in question, headed by Palcologi and Comneni, might give the Sultan an excuse for invading and destroying Ragusa. The Ragusans alternated indeed between eager co-operation and courageous but inadequate attempts to overthrow the Turk, and extreme nervousness and readiness to propitiate the power in whose dominions their trade lay; thus when in 1457 the Dominican Marino da Siena went through Dalmatia, preaching a crusade against the Turk and collecting money for it, Ragusa gave him 4,000 ducats. It is not surprising that the next year Mohammed ordered his vassal princes to capture the city unless she immediately increased her tribute. That particular peril was avoided because the Sultan found more urgent business elsewhere. But Ragusa then witnessed the final conquest of Bosnia, largely through the religious quarrels of the Serbians and Bosnians, the Bosnian king being a Catholic. The fall of Bosnia meant the draining away from that part of the land frontier of 100,000 prisoners, and the Janissaries received 30,000 new compulsory recruits. The depopulation struck at the trade of the Ragusans, and when Scanderbeg appeared in the field against the Turks the Ragusans were faithful in supplying him with material, even though their assistance, when the Sultan heard of it, meant that their tribute money was further increased.

Throughout the 1460's Scanderbeg, who had been brought up in the corps of the Janissaries and knew the strength and weakness of the Turks as few of their enemies did, won victory

after victory. Only once in twenty-five years between 1442 and 1467 was he defeated, and he gained countless victories. He was the pivot of Pius II's crusade, but Pius II, like many another Pope before him, was in failing health and unequal to the exertions of keeping the alliance together. The letter which Pius wrote to convert the Sultan by arguing was widely circulated and admiringly read among Christians, but when he called a crusade congress in Rome, and proclaimed a crusade by Bull, few of the Italian cardinals shared his enthusiasm. The Florentines frankly did not wish to see the Turkish menace removed, saying that it protected them from the inordinate ambitions of Venice. Pius II died at the moment when his crusade was ready, in 1464, and no one succeeded to his enthusiasm. Scanderbeg died of fever less than three years later, and the Ragusans and Venetians both began to realize that the Turkish peril was taking a new shape year by year, following the fall of Constantinople, because the Turks began at Constantinople to take a new pride in their ships and to appear as the most formidable fleet in the Levant. After the capture of Negropont in 1470, a serious blow to Venice, a nervousness appeared in the Venetian sea-command, and for the next hundred years Venetian commanders displayed a caution which often landed them in courts-martial at home. The Ragusans drew the moral from the timidity and lukewarmness of the Italian powers, and inclined more and more to make their policy lie in reassuring the Turks. After Herzegovina and Albania had followed Bosnia and been absorbed into the Ottoman Empire, Ragusa was almost isolated; the town kept in touch with the militant Hungarians, and it was famous as a clearing-house for information and a centre for spies. Every time refugees from the land campaigns took refuge in Ragusa the Turks expressed their indignation and demanded money compensation. The Turks, at any rate, never trusted the Ragusans, knowing that, much as the Ragusans feared the Venetians, they would give information about Turkish warships or plans, even to Venice. But when the Turks had conquered most of Hungary also, and had established themselves at Budapest, we find

Ragusans farming the taxes for the Turks, and Ragusa itself managed to retain the trading privileges in Hungary which its old allies the kings of Hungary had granted, and for the rest of its history it continued with a quiet but not unprosperous trade under the shelter of the Sultan.

Great as was the depopulation of these countries, Greece fared even worse in the fifteenth century.

After Greece had been conquered it became the most miserable part of Turkey in Europe by the deliberate policy of Mohammed, who wished to make it a place which no adventurer would covet. Venice and Genoa remained the sole representatives of the West: Genoa showed little spirit and handed over her settlements to the Bank of St. George; Venice waged inconclusive naval war, and in 1478 made a highly commercial peace, giving up most of her settlements and receiving for ten thousand ducats a year the right to trade freely in the Ottoman dominions, and to keep a consul at Constantinople. Both the Pope and Matthias Corvinus of Hungary detested this peace. They detested it with good reason, even if it was not true that the Venetians urged the Sultan to lay claim to southern Italy because of Venetian jealousy of Naples. Two years after the peace Mohammed captured Otranto, sawing in two the archbishop and the commandant of the garrison. At such a moment, when Rome itself was in obvious danger, the tremendous value of Rhodes was clearly seen. Mohammed left testimony in his epitaph to the great importance he attached to capturing Rhodes, and he made the siege take precedence over further conquests on the mainland. The attack had been long foreseen, and help was provided for the garrison from all over Europe. There was an illustration of the way the Ottoman Empire fed upon and utilized its previous enemies in the coincidence that the Turkish forces were commanded by a renegade bearing the great name of Palcologue. Burgundy, which had provided so much of the leadership and force against Bajazet, now provided large sums of money for the defence of Rhodes. The defence was successful, and Mohammed, whose rage was boundless, very fortunately died in the following year.

It was still more fortunate for the West that Mohammed was succeeded by the least dangerous and offensive of the Sultans, Bajazet II, and that he in his turn was followed by the fanatically theological Selim, who was compelled by the rise and success of Shah Ismail of Persia to care much more about conquering heretical Mohammedans and compelling them to orthodoxy than about conquering the Christians. Selim added to the Ottoman Empire Syria and Egypt, and with these conquests he assumed the Caliphate, so that henceforward the Sultan was a religious as well as a despotic figure, and the Ottoman Empire acquired a new dogmatic fierceness. There was further respite for Christendom in the resurrection of Persia under a new dynasty which came forward to protect the Shiite Mohammedans, and called on the Sultans to allow Shiites to leave the Ottoman dominions if they chose. Persia was like Oliver Cromwell, calling on the king of France to leave his Protestants alone. Selim emerged from his conflict with Persia leaving to his son the great Solayman an Empire wider in extent and greater in prestige than ever before. The West was greatly alarmed. There had not been wanting many voices to warn Christian princes that any respite was very temporary. Philip de Comines had written in 1483 about the fall of Constantinople that it was a great disgrace to all Christendom to suffer that city to be lost. But de Comines is a good illustration of the way the Turk had gained in prestige since the time of Froissart. De Comines writes a good deal about Mohammed, classing him with the King of Hungary and Louis XI as 'without all dispute the wisest princes that had reigned for a hundred years', and this while noting that Mohammed would have done more mischief to Christendom had he not been so busy enjoying himself in all kinds of sensuality, and in particular in gluttony, by which, says de Comines, he brought upon himself numberless diseases which continued as long as he lived.

With de Comines we are on the verge of the wholly new feeling which came over Europe like a wave in the sixteenth century, and which would to-day be called an inferiority complex. We are in the last stage of the history of the Eastern frontier

of Christendom. So far from the efforts of centuries having established the Western Christians in the Levant, they had not even maintained the Eastern Christians there. What was at issue was no longer the possibility of recovering the Holy Places, but the necessity for preventing any farther advance westward by the Turks. There was no margin left to spare. Vienna, the heart of central Europe, could not be thought of like Budapest, a place comparatively recently brought into the orbit of the Holy Roman Empire; Vienna and the Tyrol had to be held if the approaches to Italy and to south Germany were to be defended. When Solayman began his reign, dramatically, succeeding where the great Mohammed had failed, and wresting Rhodes from the Knights of St. John, there was more reason for consternation than there was consternation felt. Leo X was enthusiastic for a crusade before Rhodes fell. The uninterrupted triumphs of Selim in the East had carried their moral too plainly to be ignored, and Leo had issued in 1517 a Bull imposing a five years' truce on Christendom. Leo had particular hope from the knightly ardour of Francis I, and Francis proposed that the Empire, France, and Spain, should unite to conquer and divide the Ottoman Empire. The Emperor Maximilian, just before his death, was preoccupied in working out the military details for such a war. But it was not long before the eager rivalry which animated Francis against his great neighbour in Spain and the Empire, Charles V, led him to forget the collective danger of the Turk. After the defeat at Pavia, in the bitterness of the humiliation, the French monarchy through the mother of Francis sought alliance with Solayman, suggesting that he should attack the king of Hungary as a way of worrying the victorious Emperor. That mission, 'the first embassy of a French king to the Porte' and the beginnings of France's oriental politics, was not momentous at the time but it was one of many indications of the coming of a new order. Pope Adrian had followed Leo, proclaiming a holy truce of three years, but Venice, thinking of her own interests, had congratulated Solayman on the fall of Rhodes, and the Hungarian claimant Zapolya put himself in Solayman's hands hoping to be

made tributary king of Hungary. When this expedition led to a serious threat to Vienna itself, the peril made some of those who had lost sight of any common interest sorry for their rashness.

Thus Luther, for whom the fact of the Pope declaring a truce or calling for common action had been an argument against anything in the nature of collective anti-Turkish effort, changed his tune in 1529. He had previously enunciated the principle that to resist the Turks was to resist God, and had attached more importance to not co-operating with the Pope, but when Solayman with a quarter of a million men was drawing near, after winning the great victory of Mohacs and establishing his prestige in Hungary, Luther began to say how surprised he was that the assembly at Speyer should trouble so much whether people ate meat in Lent or whether a nun got married while the Turk was being allowed to conquer cities and countries at pleasure. He exhorted the princes and every one to follow the Emperor and declared 'He who dies in the performance of this duty will be well pleasing to God'. But Luther objected to the Turk because the Turk was so near to Germany. He objected to the Turk, to whoever was a robber of the German people, and what he supported was a German war of defence, not a Christian crusade. The Christian religion as such had nothing to do with Christendom as such and, if Christians had to march against the Turk, it was because the Turks were robbers and murderers, not because they were unbelievers. In his address to the nobility he blamed the defeat of the noble King Ladislas of Poland and Hungary, 'slain by the Turk with so many of his people because he allowed himself to be misled by papal legates and cardinals, and broke the good and useful treaty that he had made with the Turk'. It is significant that Luther had to reprove the common people for wishing success to the Turk, and the preachers for dissuading their congregations on the ground that the profession of arms was unlawful. When he came in 1529 to explain away his previous views, he confessed that he had formerly maintained

that to fight against the Turks was to fly in the face of God Himself who is visiting us for our sins, and that this was one of the positions

which had been selected from his writings and condemned in the Bull of Leo X. . . . But then the dignity of magistrates and governors was held in no estimation, and the Pope usurped dominion over all princes . . . the war against the Turks was then the war of the Pope. It was an offensive war founded on no good principle, a pretence to drain Germany by the sale of indulgences; and neither penitence nor amendment of life, without which it is vain to hope for victory, was thought of. Moreover, it was pretended to be the peculiar duty of Christians to take up arms against the infidel, but the opposite is true. The Kingdom of Christ is not of this world. What have the Pope and clergy to do with wars? He had been told on good authority that Francis I deserved his late defeat at Pavia for having made an alliance with the Pope, and for having taught his army to view the contest as the cause of the Church. But now the war is defensive, the enemy has no cause for war but the plunder and murder of Christians. Such an invader Christians ought to fight with the Emperor at their head. . . . The Emperor should consider himself the leading prince . . . All princes should give up their jealousy and luxury.

After Mohacs a hundred thousand Christians, men, women, and children were driven before the returning Turkish army to the slave markets and lives of servitude. It was against such a background that Vienna, with poor fortifications and a garrison of only some sixteen thousand men, a garrison suitable for the normal incidents of local war, faced its first great siege in 1529. It was saved not by the sovereigns of Europe, nor even by the princes of the Empire, who remained absorbed in their religious struggle, nor by the Emperor who was busy this very year in Italy and was fresh from the sack of Rome by his troops, but by the private enterprise and valour of Spanish and German fighting men, who threw themselves into the city before it was beleaguered. Solayman was baffled by the coming of winter, and when he returned three years later, the Emperor went out in person to meet him, but there was no decisive battle, for both men were pre-eminently cautious and circumspect, and Europe, during its troubled fifteen-thirties, enjoyed a respite because Solayman was preoccupied in Persian wars. It may be noted how the Persians continually sent ambassadors to

maintain alliance with the Christians of the West. Solayman captured Baghdad, and his great triumphs in taking Rhodes and Belgrade and Hungary are matched by equal triumphs on his other frontier. The greatness of his position was recognized in the Treaty of 1547, when Pope, Emperor, France, and Venice agreed that nearly the whole of Hungary and Transylvania should belong to the Sultan, and that he should be paid 30,000 ducats a year for leaving a part of it to the Emperor's brother, Ferdinand.

To this pass disunion among the powers of Europe and the bitter religious struggles which accompanied the extension of Protestantism had brought the West, but the princes were intent upon their struggles with each other. Men like John Fisher and Thomas More were full of the sense of the Turkish menace. Fisher in his writings gives lists of all the Popes who had endeavoured to bring Europe to the point of united action, and Thomas More placed the scene of his *Dialogue of Comfort in Tribulation* in a Turkish prison in Hungary, and spoke through the mouth of a man captured by the Turks. But Henry VIII, although he could listen fascinated to survivors' accounts of the siege of Rhodes, yet planned to make of the English division of the knights a national order, charged with the guarding of Calais against the French. Machiavelli wrote with quietly enthusiastic approval of Ferdinand of Aragon that he always used religion as a pretext, and the generation of Francis and Henry could urge with truth that they were only following in the footsteps of their father when they used the old phrases about a crusade to strengthen their negotiations. Ferdinand of Aragon must carry a special responsibility although it was an established usage in his day, because no one had greater opportunities or used them more thoroughly to confuse dynastic and general aims. Machiavelli writes of Ferdinand in chapter 21 of *The Prince*:

He was able with the money of the church and of the people to sustain his armies, and by that long war to lay the foundations for the military skill which has since distinguished him. Further, always using religion as a plea, so as to undertake greater schemes, he

devoted himself with a pious cruelty to driving out and clearing his kingdom of the Moors; nor could there be a more admirable example or one more rare. Under this same cloak he assailed Africa, he came down on Italy, he has finally attacked France. And thus his achievements and designs have always been great, and have kept the minds of his people in suspense and admiration and occupied with the issue of them.

When Francis I sounded Henry VIII with talk of his intended expeditions to the East, Henry VIII replied with pardonable scepticism that he would be glad to help as soon as Francis sent him word that he had landed in Greece, and Francis had prudence enough not to go far away, leaving his own kingdom exposed. The surprising thing is really that the pretext should have been thought at this stage worth using. Years before, when Charles VIII wished to keep Henry VII quiet, he sent to him the prior of Trinity explaining that the planned reconquest of Naples was but 'as a bridge to transport his horses into Graccia, and not to spare blood or treasure if it were to the impawning of his crown, and dispeopling of France, till either he had overthrown the Empire of the Ottomans or taken it on his way to Paradise. The King knoweth well that this is a design that could not arise in the mind of any king that did not steadfastly look up unto God whose quarrel this is and from whom cometh both the will and the deed', and so on, with discreet references to Henry IV of England's crusading intentions and the happy conquest of Granada by Ferdinand of Aragon. Henry VII, who was not easily deceived, replied that he would be eager to take a hand as soon as Charles really was in Greece.

But there was one field and one country which was an exception to the prevailing insincerity. The Portuguese shared with the Spaniards a permanent sense of the frontier and the crusade. For generations before the Portuguese took to the sea, the tide of battle in Spain had set in favour of the Christian monarchies. In Scotland, and other northern countries men might find as good quittance for their vows in fighting in the Spanish Peninsula against the Moor as in seeking the Holy Land. It was thus that Douglas had fallen, flinging the heart

of Robert Bruce before him in the battle, but in Spain itself the crusading temper was a national habit long after it was dictated by national emergency. From 1212 the Christian advance had rolled steadily forward. In the fifteenth century when Prince Henry the Navigator started the story of Portugal's sea adventures, he did it as a man who was the head of a military religious Order, a man whose exemplar was St. Louis of France. He thought in terms of the Christian religion rather than of Portugal, and when later generations found themselves taking the Turk in the rear, after rounding the Cape of Good Hope and reaching the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean, they did not fail to see the greatness of the opening for carrying on into another chapter the unsuccessful history of the earlier crusades. The great Albuquerque planned to sack Mecca, and to divert the channel of the Nile to the Red Sea to prevent it from running through Egypt, 'thereby to rend the lands of the Grand Turk sterile, the other to carry away from Mecca the bones of the abominable Mafoma (Mohammed) that these being reduced publicly to ashes, the votaries of so foul a sect might be confunded'. He planned to invade Abyssinia, the land of Prester John, and, once established here, to divert the head waters of the Nile into another bed, and so to destroy the irrigations of the lands of Cairo. It was for this object that he sent many times to beg the king Dom Manuel to forward to him workmen from the island of Madeira, accustomed to cut rocks—if this had been done, the land of Cairo would have been entirely destroyed.¹

It is no purpose of this essay to trace in either Spanish or Portuguese adventurers of the sixteenth century the effect of the Spanish and Portuguese militant religious tradition, but the aspirations of Albuquerque and the whole temper in which the explorations and conquests of Asia and Africa and America were made are in striking contrast to the general failure in western Europe to rise to concerted action, or even to keep a high heart in the presence of the Grand Turk. It was one of the great motives for the expeditions of Columbus and later sailors

¹ *Commentaries of Albuquerque*, edited Hakluyt Society.

that the Mohammedan Ottoman Empire lay across the path to the Indies, taking excessive toll and keeping Europe in a state of permanent commercial tribute. It was a justice of history that Venice and Genoa, who had played so discreditable a part in the European struggle against the Turk, were ruined when the new routes, which their policy had helped to make necessary, were in fact discovered.

It is in the pages of travellers through the sixteenth century that the new mentality most clearly reveals itself. Busbecquius, for example, who as ambassador for Charles V saw the Turk for years at close quarters, had few illusions about European superiority. On his first visit to Turkey, in 1554, he deploras, as the worst feature in an ominous situation, that the Turks are used to conquering, and the Christians to being conquered. In his first letter home, when he has described Greece, he deploras the way in which the energies of Christians are being directed to new worlds, instead of to reclaiming Greece:¹

The land which discovered all the arts and all liberal learning seems to demand back the civilization which she has transmitted to us and to implore our aid, in the name of our common faith, against savage barbarism. But all in vain, for the lords of Christendom have their minds set on other objects. The grievous bonds wherewith the Turks oppress the Greeks are no worse than the vices which hold us in thralldom, luxury, gluttony, pride, ambition, avarice, hatred, envy, and jealousy. By these our hearts are so weighed down and stifled that they cannot look up to heaven, or harbour any noble thought or aspire to any great achievement. Our religion and our sense of duty ought to have urged us to help our afflicted brethren; nay, even if fair glory and honour fail to illumine our dull minds yet at any rate self interest, the ruling principle of these days, ought to stir us to rescue from the barbarians regions so fair and so full of recourses and advantages, and possess them in their stead. As it is we seek the Indies and the Antipodes over vast fields of ocean, because there the booty and the spoil is richer and can be wrung from the innocent and guileless natives without the expenditure of a drop of blood. Religion is the pretext, gold the real object. . . . I see that the arrows are being whetted for our destruction, and I fear

¹ Busbecq, *Turkish Letters*, ed. Forster, p. 40.

that in the future, if we refuse to fight for glory, we shall be obliged to fight for our very existence.

After five years' experience of the Turks he writes back:

On this side are the resources of a mighty Empire, strength unimpaired, experienced and practised in fighting, a veteran soldiery, habituation to victory, endurance of toil, unity, order, discipline, frugality, and watchfulness. On our side is public poverty, private luxury, impaired strength, broken spirit, lack of endurance and training; the soldiers are insubordinate, the officers avaricious; there is contempt for discipline; licence, recklessness, drunkenness, and debauchery are rife; and worst of all the enemy is accustomed to victory and we to defeat. Can we doubt what the result will be? Persia alone interposes in our favour; for the enemy, as he hastens to attack, must keep an eye on this menace in his rear. But Persia is only delaying our fate; it cannot save us.

This is not the rhetoric of a preacher or a pamphleteer, but the anxiety of a minister of the Emperor, reporting to him. It is against this background that the preoccupations, in particular the oversea preoccupations, of sixteenth-century Europe look so out of place and like the eyes of the fool on the ends of the earth. Persia and Ismail its great ruler cut little figure in most accounts of sixteenth-century Europe, but no country mattered more, and Persian vigour and hostility was the chief thing which held back Solayman from the conquest of western Europe. On any survey which includes in its range more than western European countries, the great question of the century was how much greater the power of the Turk was to grow. In the event the reign of Solayman proved to be the high watermark, but the princes of Europe, in their complacent preoccupation with getting the better of each other, did nothing to increase their chances of surmounting the common peril, and were not saved by their own exertions but by weaknesses which developed inside the Ottoman Empire,

There are two exceptions. All Europe watched and applauded the heroic and successful defence of Malta by the Knights of St. John, who justified the wisdom of Charles V in establishing them in another outpost in the Mediterranean after

the fall of Rhodes. Malta, which had been an insignificant and almost uninhabited island, became, and has remained, a strategic centre of naval warfare.

Even more important for its heartening effect was the sea victory gained by Don John of Austria over the Turks off Lepanto in 1571.

There was very much about the campaign which culminated in that victory which recalled the first Crusades. There sat on the Papal throne a friar, St. Pius V, cast in the mould of an earlier day. The Holy League which he formed against the Turk only consisted of himself, the King of Spain, and the Venetians, who had just lost Cyprus, and who were being attacked by the Turks in the Gulf of Venice itself. Lepanto was a great victory, a great sea-fight, with more than two hundred ships on each side, with enormous casualties. The Turks lost 30,000 men and 15,000 Christian galley-slaves were set free. It was the triumph of an alliance between such unlikely allies as Venice and Spain, and a triumph of Papal leadership at a time when that leadership was being so widely denied, not only in the sphere of international politics but even in religious doctrine. It is not surprising that the news of the victory made a great sensation throughout Europe. Even in England, whose queen had just been excommunicated by this same Pope, Holinshed records, 'there were bonfires made through the citie, with banquetting and great rejoycing as good cause there was for a victorie of so great importance to the whole state of the christian commonwealth'.

Nevertheless it remained an isolated achievement; two years later the Turks were again supreme in the Mediterranean, and, with the biggest fleet by far of any power, were beginning to reach beyond the Straits of Gibraltar. Spain, which alone seemed destined by tradition and interests and militant zeal to contest naval supremacy with the power at the other end of the Mediterranean, was preoccupied in holding down the revolting Lowlands and in defending her new trade routes and American possessions from English attacks. So it came about that in the second half of the sixteenth century the Mediterranean was

a Mohammedan lake. The obedience of the Barbary States of Morocco and Algiers to the Sultan at Constantinople was already fitful, and there could be no guarantee of peace and freedom from piratical attack. The Corsairs of Barbary found their nominal allegiance to the head of their religion, the Great Sultan and Caliph, a useful way of dressing out piracy in the trappings of religious zeal in the manner also adopted by the Elizabethan freebooters from England. Well might a prayer be inserted as it was into the English liturgy in 1565: 'O Almighty and Everlasting God, our Heavenly Father, we Thy disobedient and rebellious children now by Thy judgement sore afflicted and in great danger to be oppressed by Thine and our sworn and most deadly enemies the Turks . . .'. For the next two generations the Turks were the great danger at sea.¹ The Turkish galley in the Seine in Molière's play *Le Misanthrope*, and the famous line 'Que faites-vous dans cette galère?' seemed quite natural to Molière's audience. It is surprising after reading the many tributes that are penned to the greatness of the princes of England, France, Spain, and the Empire in the sixteenth century to realize that they could none of them defend their subjects from kidnapping and enslavement, not only on the high seas, but in their own homes. In 1585 the maritime towns of southern France formed a league to prevent themselves from being destroyed by raiding Corsairs and Turkish galleys which came, as the Danes had come, seven hundred years before. Fynes Morison describes in his *Travels* a village near Genoa which he passed just after a Turkish raiding party had landed and carried off the belle of the village on the day after her wedding. In 1601, while the duke of Mantua and his sister, the duchess of Ferrara were sailing off the coast of Italy, they were kidnapped, and St. Teresa's confessor was kidnapped in 1592 on the coast between Messina and Rome, stripped naked and fastened to a galley-oar, while his book on mystic harmony which he had just completed was used by the Turks page by page to clean their pistols. Coastguardsmen were a Spanish invention to watch out for Turkish vessels. In 1630 there were

¹ See E. S. Bates, *Touring in 1600*, to which I am much indebted.

forty Turkish vessels in British home waters and they captured six British ships near Bristol. In the following year they sacked Baltimore in Ireland, and when Robert Boyle the chemist left Ireland, in 1635, he wrote home saying that he had come safely past Ilfracombe and Minthead to Bristol, although the Irish coasts were then sufficiently infested with Turkish galleys. In 1645, the year of Naseby, a dreadful thing occurred at Fowey in Cornwall, when Turkish galleys landed and carried off into slavery 240 Cornish men and women. We should perhaps not omit to recall that after the truce with Spain, at the beginning of James I's reign, English privateers took service with the Barbary pirates and taught them their trade.

These things were the fruits of the disunion of Christendom. If in Hungary there was the same disposition that the Greeks had shown to find in the Turk an alternative to the hated German or Frank, western Europe tolerated the Turk because it had to. The reluctant admiration of Busbecq was widely shared, and travellers felt they ought to include, if they were sufficiently hardy, the dangerous Empire of the Ottomans in their wanderings in foreign lands. Of the two great empires of the sixteenth century, the Spanish—about which the phrase had already been coined: 'the Empire on which the sun never sets'—was no place for Protestants, and travellers who pushed south and east very soon found themselves in the neighbourhood of the Turk.

In the accounts which such travellers have left behind we can see the impression that the Turkish power made. The Turks were thought of as hard, successful men, who by teetotalism (a failing for which Luther would never forgive them) and other disciplines had acquired great wealth and dominion. The Turks were respected for their personal cleanliness with some curious lapses, such as the habit of selling by immediate auction the clothes of anybody who died of the plague; they took more trouble about washing and drains than their Christian contemporaries. They looked on the Franks as nineteenth-century Englishmen looked on the inhabitants of Naples. The story is on record of an Englishman on a Turkish ship who one day fell overboard. 'Now God has washed you', said the

Turks. Travellers also observed that the Turks were much kinder to animals than Europeans, but their great characteristic was their insolence, and it was this which made travel among them so dangerous. The Turks particularly despised the Christian habit of taking off the hat in salutation, and had a curse 'I wish you no more rest than a Christian's hat'. Fynes Morison's hat struck a Turk as curious, so he took it off Morison's head, used it—not as a hat—and then returned it. Another traveller, one Mainwaring, found himself caught hold of by the ear and led up and down the street:

and if I did chance to look sour upon him, he would give me such a wring that I did verily think he would have pulled off my ear, and this he continued with me for the space of one hour with much company following me, some throwing stones at me, and some spitting at me, and because I would not laugh at my departure from him he gave me such a blow with his staff that did strike me to the ground.

With this contempt went much danger of enslavement. It was an everyday sight for travellers to see fellow Christians exposed for sale, virgins fetching about £25, but widows on an average about £9. Fynes Morison was told by his Janissary guide while walking in the Bazaars of Constantinople that an old woman had just offered thirty shillings for him. It was elementary prudence before leaving home to pay an insurance premium which guaranteed that a ransom would be forthcoming. Ransoms were terribly high, commonly thousands of pounds, and there was great likelihood that the ransom itself would be intercepted *en route*.

Pilgrimage, the mode of travel which best sustained the morale of the traveller, keeping in the forefront of his mind his superiority to the 'filthy error of the Mohammedans', died away in the later sixteenth century. The galleys which had sailed regularly from Venice with pilgrims from all over Europe ceased somewhere between 1581 and 1586. They used to go, two of them, sailing for Jaffa every May and June; we have particulars of their sailing in 1581, but with only fifty-six pilgrims on the first where a hundred had been the usual

contingent. The second went no farther than Cyprus. In 1587 one Zuallardo, the writer of a pilgrim guide based on personal experience the year before, recommends pilgrims to take the first boat going to Syrian Tripoli in the spring, as they may have no other chance till August, and the pilgrim galleys are no longer sailing. The decline of pilgrimage was largely a concomitant of the rise of Protestantism. The Englishman, Fynes Morison, is careful to explain that his journey to Jerusalem was one of curiosity: 'I had no thought to expiate any the least sin of mine.' But the danger and expense of the journey since the Ottoman conquest of the Holy Places at the beginning of the century was a great deterrent. If a pilgrim went by land via Constantinople or by sea to Alexandria and through Cairo, he was equally a visitor on sufferance, at the mercy of hostile and truculent Mohammedans.

But there was one force strong enough to break through all the barriers of Turkish arrogance and corruption, and the commercial spirit in its first heyday in the northern countries encountered all risks in the quest for profit. Where Venice and Genoa had been finally beaten back with the fall of Cyprus, new countries less ambitious in their methods entered the dangerous field. Francis I had combined his overtures for the armed help of the Sultan with the quest for trading advantages for his subjects, and the treaty which Solayman granted to him in 1535 became the model of subsequent agreements. The French established themselves at Constantinople, beginning that long phase of French policy which down to Vergennes and beyond was to make the French ambassador to the Porte a key figure in international politics. The English lost little time in following, and the year 1581 is a landmark, for it is the year of the establishment under government monopoly of the great Levant Company. Nine years from Lepanto the frontier consciousness is giving place to a very different point of view.

Cervantes gloried to have fought at Lepanto; there was no greater realist, and he fought because there was no romanticism but the most hard-headed common sense in that joint effort against an immediate menace. But in *Don Quixote* the Moor is

an unreal figure. All sorts of men and things seemed to be Moorish to one fed on the old romances of chivalry so largely deriving from the history and traditional tales of the Spanish march from the days of Charlemagne onwards. Enchanted Moors and furious pagans were constantly in Don Quixote's mind and on his lips, and the Don, it is interesting to note, is always the mouthpiece for talk about war against the infidel. In Spain the Moor had been conquered, finally and for ever, a full hundred years before Cervantes.

The Turk was a great discovery of the Elizabethan dramatists. Solayman was shown on the English stage, and Kyd constructed one of his plays round the second siege of Rhodes. The closing lines of *Othello*, the story which Othello tells to distract attention while he stabs himself, was a realistic incident, a striking proof of personal courage, how, walking in Aleppo once

Where a malignant and a turban'd Turk
Beat a Venetian, and traduc'd the state,
I took by the throat the circumcised dog
And smote him, thus.

No one could take plots as Shakespeare did in such numbers from north Italy without giving his hearers a picture of the vivid scene of constant warfare that was the sixteenth-century Levant. The Shakespeare plays are but one illustration of the widened horizon of the public in a country farthest from Turkey. Knolles began his great *History of the Turks* three years after *Othello* was first played. But the interest was an interest of wonder, and an interest of trade, reminiscent of the reception given to Marco Polo's travels when they first appeared. Italians then had seen in the great Mongol Empire a new territory full of strange and curious things, very promising for bold traders, fortunately placed the far side of the immediate Saracen enemy. So to Elizabethan Englishmen, on the far side of the Spaniard and the Pope lay this great new Empire, dangerous and full of violence, but offering rich reward to the bold trader.

The English Government, although Elizabeth indignantly

repudiated the suggestion that she was so capable of treachery to the interests of Christendom as to suggest treaties to the Turk, soon interested itself in making business arrangements. Both the English and the Dutch urged their Protestantism as a reason for special Turkish favour, explaining that there was not really any very great difference between their creed and Islam, both the sworn foes of the idolatrous religion of the Italians, the Spaniards, and French. It was the Spanish annexation of Portugal in 1580 which made Elizabeth¹ approach the Sultan to point out to him how dangerous it would be if the Portuguese possessions in the East Indies fell into the hands of Spain. The Levant Company was founded in the very next year. Its chief begetter, Edward Osborne, the founder of the family that became the dukes of Leeds, was typical of the City of London merchant who organized this trade, and the trade of the East Indies, and later on, the African trade, on a basis of an expensively purchased monopoly from the government. The first English ambassador to the Sultan did not enjoy the title because Elizabeth was determined that the company and not the queen should pay for the stream of costly presents which made up so large a part of diplomatic intercourse as the Turks liked to see it practised. Consuls such as the French and Venetians already enjoyed began to appear in the Levant courts, the treaty between the Sultan and Francis I providing the model, and being itself based on the conditions agreed to between the old Greek Empire and the Italian traders. The essential privilege was that consuls should decide the disputes between the merchants of their nation, a privilege to be extended later to that full extra-territorial jurisdiction which kept English merchants free from Turkish legal penalties. The Dutch came hard on the heels of the English in the 1590's, and the French saw with increasing annoyance this invasion of what they had hoped was to be their preserve. The Turks, already suffering from the growth of unchecked corruption in their vast administration, made the most of the differences between Europeans. In 1596 the French ambassador achieved

¹ Ranke, *History of England*, vol. i, p. 433.

the downfall of the Italian who was acting as English consul in Cairo, and 'wrought means for commandment from the Vizier and Cadie to hange up Signor Paolo, which was effected, and he hanged by the necke in his redd velvett gowne under the chiefeste gate of Cairo'. But, despite these setbacks, the English Turkey trade went forward, and when Elizabeth's successor, James, died, exports and imports between Turkey and England were each around a quarter of a million a year. The Turks above all else wanted English cloth, generally dyed crimson, to hang in the great palaces of the rich, tin, lead, and furs. The spices of the East came much more cheaply by sea round the Cape, and the trade became one-sided, there being nothing very considerable that England wanted from Turkey unless we count currants for the King's plum pudding. At a time when the great aim of statesmen and political economists was to accumulate bullion, the Turkey trade had the great merit that it was an export of goods which Turkey had to pay for in money. By the end of the seventeenth century, Turkey was in decline, Russia was arising as a great new, largely barbaric, power and, as the Holy Roman Empire became more and more the territorial Austrian Empire, it became the bastion of the West, more against the Slav than against the Turk. The question gradually became no longer one of holding the Turkish frontier, but of advancing in wary alliance with Russia. It became less important that the Turk should be driven out of the Balkans than that the Russians should not establish themselves there. From being the terror of Europe, the Turk became the protégé of the great powers, England and France, the French continuing into a new epoch the policy begun by Francis I, of using the Sultan as a check on the Emperor, and England, increasingly interested in India and the route to the East, maintaining Turkey as a check on the Russian power.

EUROPEAN CONTACTS WITH AFRICA

By A. HILLIARD ATTERIDGE

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CHAPTER I

FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE VANDAL INVASION OF NORTH AFRICA

WITHIN the memory of not a few still living, far the greater part of Africa was for Europeans an unknown land. Its exploration is still incomplete, though in the last eighty years, so far as its main features are concerned, most of this great continent has been mapped, and the last fifty years have seen the whole of it partitioned out by the European powers into territorial possessions, protectorates, and 'spheres of influence'. Only one of its native states (a negro Republic) still preserves its independence.

Our African maps of to-day present a striking contrast with those of even such a comparatively recent date as the first decades of Queen Victoria's reign. These showed little more than the general outline of its shores, some coast districts, and the course of the Lower Nile, whose source was still an unsolved problem. As for nine-tenths of the interior, there was then only vague, fragmentary, and often inaccurate or misleading information.

Africa had thus remained for thousands of years a 'Dark Continent' for Europeans. This was the result (1) of its physical conditions, and (2) of European commercial enterprise having been long directed at first chiefly to the Indies and the Far East, and later to the new-found lands of America. It is a sad fact that after the discovery of America many of the trading stations of Africa were established and maintained chiefly with a view to obtaining negro slaves for the European colonies on the other side of the Atlantic. Slave-dealing was so profitable a business that other kinds of trade with Africa were long neglected and, as these human chattels could be most easily secured by the help of the coast tribes, there was no incentive for traders to push into the interior.

As to physical conditions the African continent is almost destitute of natural harbours, and there are no broad deep

inlets of the sea breaking far into the land. It is only exceptionally that there are lowland coast regions of any considerable extent. The high ground of the immense plateau that forms the chief feature of the continent is usually not far inland, and sometimes extends right down to the unbroken coast-line. Most of the rivers have thus either a short course from the seaward slopes of the high ground to the coast; as for the few great rivers that are fed from vast regions of the interior, these descend to the levels of the coast by cataracts and rapids that are a bar to navigation. In the case of the Nile there is a stretch of navigable waters below the first cataract at Aswan, which is about 550 miles from the apex of the level lands of the Delta at Cairo. This made it possible to develop on the Nile, at an early date, a great system of river navigation. The river thus became the main highway of an empire. Its annual flood from the region of tropical rains made it possible to irrigate the wide levels of the Delta and hundreds of miles of a belt of land on either bank in the long valley of the lower Nile, so that in a rainless country rich harvest could be reaped to maintain a large population in countless villages and many great cities. Thus Egypt became a prosperous country with a civilization dating from at least 6,000 years ago. Classical geographers counted it as belonging not to Africa but to Asia.

Along the other great river-lines of the continent the cataracts and rapids made navigation far into the interior impossible. But long after European navigators had visited many of the coast regions of Africa and fairly accurately charted its coast-line, there were other obstacles not only to penetration into their interior but even to establishing settlements on the lowlands by the sea. For in many places these lower levels of the coast-lands were unhealthy regions of swamp and bush where malarial and other fevers made it a difficult matter for the white man to live a healthy life. Mosquitoes were fever carriers, and quinine was yet unknown. In other parts of Africa over vast extents of country another insect pest, the tsetse fly, killed off horses and draught-cattle, and transport depended on gangs of human carriers.

The lands most accessible to Europeans were those of the north-west coast regions, in sight of Spain at the entrance to the Mediterranean, and in easy reach of Sicily and Italy. But these and all the other coast-lands of Africa on the Mediterranean as far as the western margins of the Egyptian delta are isolated from all the rest of Africa by the vast desert tract of the Sahara. In early times it must have been even a more formidable obstacle to human travel and traffic than it has been in the last fifteen hundred years, for the camel is an animal of Asiatic origin, and seems not to have been at all widely known in Africa till the Arab conquest of the north.

European contacts with Africa even in these north-western lands did not begin till a comparatively late period of pre-Christian history. The earliest traders and colonists, who found their way to these lands between the Middle Sea and the great desert, came not from western Europe but from western Asia. The Phoenicians, in their narrow strip of fertile land between the wooded Lebanon and the sea, were one of the many small nations that have played a great part in the world's history. They were the first pioneers of navigation and sea-borne commerce of whom we have any record, and their war fleets were long masters of the eastern Mediterranean. They became the first of maritime colonizing powers, and it was some three thousand years ago that they founded their first colony of Utica in northern Africa. Then came the creation of other colonies westward to the narrow entrance of the Mediterranean, in Africa and southern Spain trading-posts along the Atlantic shores, perhaps as far as the Gambia and Senegal rivers, and voyages northwards to Britain. Carthage, founded about three hundred years later than Utica, soon became the dominant centre of these Asiatic colonies in the western Mediterranean, and the capital of an empire that was to be Rome's rival for world power.

The first Europeans to form a colony in north Africa were the Greeks. Their main stream of colonization was by way of southern Italy to the islands in the western Mediterranean and trading-posts formed on the coasts of Gaul and Spain. Their

one venture in Africa was made in 631 B.C., about a century after the Phoenicians had founded Carthage. They made their first settlement at Cyrene, and then occupied the tract of fertile country midway between the western border of Egypt and the region of Carthage. Cyrene grew into a large city on the coast. The wide lowlands between the sea and the desert were brought under cultivation and the inland city of Barca became their business centre.

Cyrene might perhaps have developed into the chief centre of Greek influence in Mediterranean Africa, but in the latter years of the fourth century B.C. the Greeks became the dominant race in Egypt when the long conflict with the Persian Empire ended with its downfall under the shattering blows of Alexander, the most marvellous leader in war the world had yet seen. Amongst the first of his conquests were Phoenicia and Egypt.

For more than 4,000 years successive dynasties of the Pharaohs had been gradually extending their dominions southward along the Nile, and at times had engaged in successful land-campaigns in western Asia. But they had seldom made any attempt to develop either maritime power or native-borne commerce on the waters of the Mediterranean. In the midst of his victorious career Alexander had founded on the shores of the Delta the new city of Alexandria. It was to be the capital of hellenized Egypt, and to give the lands of the Nile a naval station and a well-organized trading-port on the sea, 332 B.C.

Greece had already had its contacts with Egypt. Greek merchants and sailors had been for some time competitors with the Phoenicians for a share in its trade. Greek mercenaries had fought in the armies of the Pharaohs.¹ Athens had sent

¹ Some of the earliest known Greek inscriptions are on the base of one of the giant statues of Rameses II on the façade of the rock-cut temple of Abu Simbel, on the left bank of the Nile in the Sudan, more than 800 miles from the Mediterranean. These inscriptions are roughly carved in a very primitive form of the Greek alphabet, and were inscribed by Greek mercenaries on their way up the river in an expedition for further conquests in Nubia about 2,500 years ago. It has been often said that 'history repeats itself'. Close by the old inscriptions, of whose meaning they can have known nothing, British soldiers scrawled their names when they visited the temple on their way up the Nile in another Nubian campaign—Wolseley's effort to save Gordon and Khartoum in the winter of 1884-5.

allied troops to take part in the unsuccessful stand made against the Persian invaders, who had reduced the country to a subject province. Greece had learned much about Egypt from the first of literary tourists, Herodotus of Halicarnassus, 'father of history', and also father of the long line of book-making tourists.

Under the dynasty founded by one of Alexander's generals (Ptolemy Soter) the new city became the capital of a Greek kingdom of Egypt. But it was much more than this. Greek was the language not only of the court but of this rising centre of trade and of the schools established by its rulers. After the Roman conquest of the Greek motherland Alexandria developed into the capital of Hellenism. This was its chief glory for well-nigh a thousand years, until the Arab conquest of northern Africa. For more than half of this millennium it had ranked as the see of a patriarchate of the Catholic Church, long second only to Rome itself in dignity.

Under the earlier kings of the Ptolemaic dynasty the fleets of hellenized Egypt had dominated the eastern Mediterranean. Carthage was then still mistress of its western waters, but was soon to meet a rival on the sea when the Roman Republic, after becoming the dominant power in Italy, came into conflict with the Carthaginians for the control of Sicily, and found that fleets as well as armies were needed to deal with a maritime power.

The first success that opened the way to the eventual establishment of Roman rule in northern Africa—with far-reaching consequences for the future of the world's civilization—was the fight off the Sicilian coast, in which the consul Duilius with an improvised war fleet defeated the Carthaginians. Rome had no prouder or more significant monument of victory than the beaks of captured galleys that he fixed up round the rostrum in the Forum with the inscription telling how they were won in 'fighting on the sea'.¹ It was the presage of future empire in the lands around the Mediterranean, though there were anxious times before this was secured. The conflict lasted for more than

¹ *Mar. Pugnandod.*

a hundred years. There were three wars between Rome and Carthage. The interval of peace between the first two of these was little more than an unstable truce. In the second war the very existence of Rome was in peril after Hannibal's victories in Italy, but when Scipio carried the war into Africa Hannibal was recalled to the home land, and his defeat at Zama was followed by a peace under conditions that for long years crippled the resources of Carthage with a heavy war indemnity and subjected the defeated people to a long series of provocations that at last drove them into revolt. A Roman army under another Scipio invaded Africa, supported by the alliance of northern African races that had long been subjects of the Carthaginian power; besieged by land and sea the city made a desperate defence. It was a fight to the death, and when the inevitable end came, tens of thousands of its people—men, women, and children—were sold into slavery, and for a hundred years after Carthage was a wilderness of fire-scorched ruins, surrounded on the land-side by once fertile lands, now converted into a desert.

In the long conflict Rome had not only become a naval power but had also developed out of her levies of armed citizens permanently organized armies available for oversea conquests. In a few years more she had established protectorates over the Greek lands and Cyrene and the hellenized kingdom of Egypt. The power and influence of the Republic was supreme over all north Africa, from the Atlantic to the delta of the Nile

Rome's victory over Carthage was an episode in the long struggle between West and East, and in this instance the victory was that of a higher over a lower grade of civilization. It would be a mistake to think of all that is not Western and European as necessarily belonging to an inferior grade of worth, and to regard—with an exaggerated nationalism—all that comes from Asia as more or less 'uncivilized', as in Graeco-Roman times all the races outside one narrow centre of civilization were counted as 'barbarians'. Least of all should we forget that an Asiatic people were chosen to be the guardians of God's first revelation to mankind and the founders of Christian civilization.

But Tyre, Sidon, and Carthage with all their mastery of commercial enterprise and many of the arts of civilized life, were under the influence of a peculiarly cruel and degraded form of paganism; the record of sacrifices of children offered to Syrian deities—Ishtar, Baal, and Melkart—in old Carthage, might well be suspected of being nothing more than war propaganda of ‘atrocities’ circulated in Rome during the Punic wars, if modern excavation on the sites of the ruined temples of the old city had not revealed grim evidence of the fact in the form of vases filled with the half-burned bones of children. It was well that Rome rescued northern Africa and that the lands of the western Mediterranean should be freed from the influences of such a ‘civilization’ as that of the Punic race.

Through those early centuries, while Greek, Roman, and Carthaginian were contending for the command of the Mediterranean, the southern limit of the world that was known to them was the desert. There was some limited trade with the tribes of its oases, some vague stories of peoples beyond it. The Carthaginian navigator Hanno had (about 350 B.C.) sailed along its Atlantic coast as far as the Senegal, or perhaps even farther south, and brought back a tale of hairy giant creatures, like and yet unlike men, seen by parties that landed in the coast regions of bush and swamp.¹

Through Egypt there came reports of tribes of dwarf savages—the pygmies—in the border-lands of the Upper Nile region. Through Egypt’s southward expansion into the Sudan something was known of the negro races of tropical Africa. At a very early date they must already have formed a broad belt of negro tribal states south of the desert zone from the Upper Nile to the Atlantic. It was in much later times that the Bantu races pushed southwards forcing the weaker tribes of pygmies

¹ Hanno called them ‘gorillas’ and the word is perhaps the only fragment of Punic speech still current in Europe. For over 2,000 years his story found little or no credence, and when the gorillas of West Africa were discovered by Dr. Wilson and Paul du Chaillu in the middle of the nineteenth century their accounts of the great ape were widely discredited and ridiculed. Perhaps the tales current in classic and medieval days of tribes of men ‘whose heads grew below their shoulders’ were based on some fragmentary reports of apes shambling along in their characteristic attitude, with the head prone on the chest.

and bushmen into wild tracts of forest, desert, and mountain. All the early history of these races is without either written record or reliable tradition. Peoples who had no contacts with Europe or Asia through earlier centuries have no history till we reach comparatively recent times.

To complete our brief survey of early European knowledge of the remoter lands of Africa—knowledge derived mostly through the Greeks from old Egypt—it may be noted that there was somewhat fragmentary information as to a tract of country lying south of Egypt, and known as Ethiopia. Homer alludes to its 'blameless people'. Later Greek writers told of it as a fertile land with many cities, and described its chief district as 'the island of Meroe'. This was the land between the Upper Nile and its tributary, the Atbara, still known to the Arabs as the Ghezireh, that is, 'the island'. Meroe was its chief city; another city—Sobo—was perhaps Sheba, whose queen—the 'Queen of the South'—came to visit Solomon. But the term Ethiopic was loosely used to include other lands to the south of Egypt—the Abyssinian highlands and perhaps Kordofan. A little more than 700 years B.C. Ethiopian armies overran southern Egypt, and for three-quarters of a century it was ruled by Ethiopian kings, of the twenty-fifth dynasty, the line of Sabak whose successor Tirakah¹ is named in the Fourth Book of Kings as a possible adversary with whom Sennacherib of Assyria might have to reckon. Some Egyptian monuments of this Ethiopian dynasty represent its kings as having decidedly negroid features. The fleets established by Solomon and his ally Hiram of Tyre at Akaba on the Red Sea brought gold from the land of Ophir, but there are many many theories as to where Ophir was situated. These mostly place it in Africa. It has been suggested that the gold came to the Red Sea coast from the kingdom of Meroe. Other theorists place Ophir farther south, and suggest that the ruins of Zimbabwe in Mashonaland are the remains of Phoenician mining-stations. They are in a gold-bearing region and traces of gold-working are said to have been

¹ 4 Kings xix. 9 (in the Authorized Version, as in the Hebrew, 2 Kings). 'Tirakah' (Tharakah) is here described as 'King of Kush', i.e. Ethiopia.

found in the ruins, but recent research seems to indicate that Zimbabwe dates from a much more recent period than that of Solomon and Hiram. At a very early date the Arabs were trading on the east coast of Africa, but it is likely that trade from Phoenicia and Egypt never went far south on this side of the Dark Continent, most of which was utterly unknown to Europe, until the Portuguese galleons of Cabral rounded the Cape in his epoch-making voyage of A.D. 1500-1.

Thus for thousands of years the greater part of Africa—east, west, and south—lay far aloof from the world's chief centres of civilized life. All these in the century before the Christian era lay around the Mediterranean. The waters were still closed to any navigation outside the sight of land, except in the land-locked Middle Sea. Here the long galleys of war fleets, and the broad-beamed merchant craft, steering by sun and stars, could venture beyond sight of land, with the certainty that they would soon come in sight of islands and coast-lines familiar to their pilots. The inland sea did not divide but united the peoples who dwelt on its shores. Physical conditions made this union possible. Europe itself was still in the making, and all that lay east or north of Alps, Rhine, and Danube was mostly a vaguely known land of the 'barbarians'. Africa, beyond its great desert zone, was outside even the knowledge of civilized races. But southern Europe and northern Africa, linked together by the inland sea, were developing a close unity, made closer by the extension of the Roman power and by what was some approach to a growing unity of speech, and of ideals common to the many races that formed the mixed population of this new empire of the Mediterranean lands.

It is true that even when the Roman power was firmly established over all this region its peoples never used one common language, but there was to a considerable extent something like the bilingual situation of Belgium at the present day. Latin was the official language of the Empire, but even before the days of the Caesars the Roman conquerors and rulers of the Hellenic lands had themselves accepted the dominance of Greece in the sphere of literary and intellectual life. The literature of

Rome was largely inspired by and modelled on the classics of the Greek race. Greek became a usual element in the education of the wealthier classes in Rome, much as, for so long a time in modern Europe, some knowledge of the French language was assumed to be part of the education of a gentleman.

In the provinces of the eastern Mediterranean Roman officials found a knowledge of Greek all but a necessity, and this language was so widely diffused not only in the east but in other parts of the Mediterranean that traders and men of business had to acquire it, or employ Greek speakers as their agents and interpreters.

In northern Africa in the last days of the Roman Republic and the first centuries of the Empire the use of Greek was widely diffused in all the eastern coast-lands from Tripoli and Cyrene to Egypt. The former ports and nearer inland towns of the lands on the shores of the Syrtis and in the lands of Cyrene were originally Greek settlements, and Egypt from the Delta and along the Lower Nile had become hellenized after the conquests of Alexander under the dynasty of the Ptolemies. The mass of its population still spoke the native language, but for the educated classes, the officials, and the traders, Greek, even if it was not the home language, was the familiar second language of social intercourse and business life. Alexandria was practically a Greek city; important decrees of the government were issued in Greek with accompanying translations in the native language of the Nile lands written or engraved in hieroglyphics and in the current demotic script derived from the earlier picture-writing.

In the later pre-Christian centuries there had been a considerable emigration of Jews from Palestine to other lands of the Mediterranean region. Both in numbers and in its influence on later developments the most important migration of the Jewish people was to Egypt. Alexander brought some thousands of Jews from Palestine to be settled among the first citizens of his new city of Alexandria. After his death, when quarrels broke out among the generals who had partitioned his Empire, the first of the Ptolemies added Palestine to his Egyptian king-

dom and after his capture of Jerusalem in 301 B.C. transported large numbers of Jews (according to Jewish accounts 100,000 of them) to Alexandria and Cyrene. As the Jews in Egypt were well treated and given some rights of citizenship, numbers of their countrymen followed them to this new home during the subsequent troubles of the Holy Land. Greek became the language of the migrants; from Alexandria they formed settlements in many of the cities of the Nile valley, but they were always most numerous in Alexandria, long the chief centre of trade and business of many kinds in the eastern Mediterranean.

One result of this Jewish migration to Egypt was of world-wide importance. Greek soon became the common everyday language of the Jewish colony in Egypt, and for its use a Greek version was made from the Hebrew Scriptures of the Old Testament. Most of this work was done in Alexandria, by several hands and at various times. This version came into widespread use wherever the Greek language had come into use among the Jews, and before long was even read in some synagogues of Palestine. The later books of the Jewish Scriptures were written in Greek, some of them in the Egyptian colony. An early tradition that the translation was the work of some seventy translators acting under the patronage of Ptolemy II, who desired to add a version of the Hebrew Scriptures to the Alexandrian library, cannot have any historical value, but it was the origin of the popular name of the version, the 'Septuagint'.

Completed at latest by the middle of the second century before Christ it was widely used throughout the countries of the eastern Mediterranean. Many of the quotations from the Law and the Prophets which we find in the New Testament are taken from the Septuagint version. It was the medium through which the books of the Old Testament were accessible to the early Christian Church, until the first Latin versions were produced in Italy and north-west Africa.

In the western Mediterranean lands Latin was the dominant language, but there was a considerable survival of the use of Greek from early colonial times in southern Italy and Sicily.

In north-west Africa among the country-folk there was a long survival of the Phoenician dialect of Carthage. As late as the fifth century St. Augustine wrote that it was still spoken here and there among the farmers and peasantry in the province of Africa and remarked its resemblances to Hebrew. A dialect of it has survived in our time as the native language of Malta.

North-western Africa under Roman rule had been very thoroughly latinized. For administrative purposes it was divided into the two provinces of Mauretania and Africa. The latter of these—destined later to give its name to the whole continent—included the former territory of Carthage and the lands along the coast of the Syrtis to the border of Cyrenaica. Utica was its provincial capital until the rebuilding of Carthage. Julius Caesar had encamped with his legions near the ruins of the old city during his war with Pompey's adherents. After his victories he began its restoration by making grants of lands in its neighbourhood to some of the poorer citizens of Rome. Augustus completed the restoration thus begun; he encouraged the immigration from Italy, reopened the port, erected public buildings and, in A.D. 14, transferred the capital of the province of Africa from Utica to the restored Roman Carthage.

When the new city thus rose on the ruins of the old Carthaginian capital a period of tranquil prosperity had begun for all the lands of northern Africa. In the whole of the Mediterranean region the Pax Romana held its sway.¹ The Civil Wars were a memory of the recent past. Piracy had been banished from the Middle Sea, and its ports were busy with peaceful trade. Fleets of war-galleys were maintained in the naval stations, but they had no battles to fight and were for long years to come only the police of the seas. Rome, growing into a crowded city, drew a large part of its food supplies from Africa. Its exports were grain and olives, wine and linen, and such articles of luxury as ivory tusks and ostrich-plumes brought

¹ Though Augustus declared that his policy was one of peace, there was active service for the legions on the borders of the Empire outside the Mediterranean lands. The frontiers were pushed to the Danube and beyond the upper Rhine, and the far eastern border-lands of the Empire were, like the North-West Frontier of India in our own time, a military zone, where peace was not always secure.

by the desert tribes to the markets of Mauretania or obtained in profitable barter by venturous traders on the Atlantic coast. Under their new rulers the old Carthaginian lands of the province of Africa were made exceptionally fertile by irrigation from the rivers that flow down from the Atlas. There is evidence of the prosperity of the lands from Cyrene westward in the growth of many cities, the erection even in small towns of costly public buildings, temples, pretorial town halls, baths, and theatres.

No doubt strange vestiges of the old Punic religion lingered among the peasantry and in the villages, but these new temples were dedicated, not to Baal and Ishtar, but to gods of the partly hellenized official religion of Rome. There is further evidence of the peaceful prosperity of the African province during the first century of the Christian era in the fact that towards its close we find military border-posts on the Atlas frontier being transformed into peaceful and prosperous colonial cities.¹

While north-west Africa was so completely latinized, the Romans attempted hardly any changes in Egypt.

The official and administrative organization of the whole country was left as it had been under the Pharaohs and the Ptolemies. Remains of Graeco-Roman and Roman architecture are to be found all over the rest of northern Africa, but there is little of it in Egypt. The native religion of its people was given more than tolerance by their new masters. The old temples were kept in good repair, and sometimes even enlarged. Some of the latest of them were erected by or under the patronage of Roman Emperors. Like the Ptolemies, the Caesars, as rulers of Egypt, adopted the eulogistic titles of the Pharaohs and

¹ A striking instance of this is Trajan's foundation of a new city at the border-post of Thamagus, which had long been only a small fortress against Berber raiders from the adjacent hills. Abandoned after the Arab invasions its ruins, extending over a wide space of ground, show that it was equipped with all the usual public buildings of a Roman city. Its chief monuments are the triumphal arch of Trajan modelled on similar structures in Rome and the ruins of a Christian basilica. With some exaggeration 'Timgad'—to use its Arab name—has been described as the 'Pompeii of the Desert'. Its exploration has thrown much light on the life of a provincial Roman settlement.

claimed the protection of Egyptian gods.¹ This was no doubt inspired by a wish to claim legitimate succession to the native rulers of thousands of years gone by, and is characteristic of the tolerance that made it an easy matter for the Romans to honour the gods of other nations, and assimilate or even identify them with those worshipped in the temples of their own city.

The coming of the Empire had thus been the beginning of a period of peace and ordered prosperity for the lands and peoples of the Mediterranean region, and the course of events had united them to a great extent in a common culture, cognate languages, and facilities for safe travel and communication. Thus there was provided a combination of favourable circumstances for the coming of a new message to the nations. In the early years of this time of peace there occurred the most important events in the history of mankind. Christ the Lord had come to found His Kingdom, in the world, but not of the world. Soon His messengers of the Good Tidings were bringing His teaching to the nations. The reign of the new Christian civilization had begun to permeate not only the lands of the Empire but regions beyond its farthest borders, and imperial Rome itself became the centre of a new spiritual dominion that was to change the face of the earth.

Here we have to deal with the results of this marvellous new development in the lands of northern Africa and with their relations with the European countries of the Mediterranean region. It was amongst the peoples which in the three preceding centuries had become more or less closely united by Graeco-Latin culture, Roman imperialism, and the safety of trade and travel over the land-locked waters of the Mediterranean, that

¹ Thus, for instance, in a hieroglyphic script we find the titles and honours of Augustus set forth in symbols and terms borrowed from the cartouches of the Pharaohs, with the addition of a Greek term for 'Emperor' ('Autocrat'). He is described as 'King of North and South, Lord of the two lands, Autocrat, Son of Ra (that is of the Sun), Lord of Crowns, Caesar, immortal, and beloved of Ptah and Isis'. (The two lands were Upper and Lower Egypt, hence the double crown worn by the Pharaohs. Ra was one of the great gods of Egypt, the personification of the Sun in its midday splendour. Isis—the dawn—was his bride, when he was worshipped as Osiris. Ptah is represented in the Egyptian pantheon as a bearded man, holding a staff decorated with the emblems of life, power, and stability or security.)

the heralds of the Good Tidings won their first and their most numerous adherents in the earlier centuries of Christendom. The Founder of the New Kingdom had gained his first disciples in Galilee and Judea, and from amongst them those who were to be the leaders in its mission to the world. That mission began from the land of Israel, the old home of the chosen people. They had preserved in the midst of the pagan world the faith in the One God who would have no other gods before Him, and they had kept as their charter both of religion and nationality the Scriptures that gave them the promise of a Messiah, the Founder of a Kingdom of which there was to be no end. The land of Israel was in many ways well fitted to be the starting-point for the world-wide dissemination of the Good Tidings. For Syria and Palestine were at the meeting-place of the tracks followed by the travel and trade of three continents and in close touch with Jewish colonies in many lands, which cherished the traditions and the hopes of Israel. The great festivals of the Jewish year drew pilgrims to Jerusalem from these widely dispersed Jewish colonies, in whose synagogues the Scriptures were now mostly read in the language that was a common means of intercourse throughout the cities of the Roman East and was widely spoken in the Holy Land itself.

It was a Jew from the oldest Greek city of northern Africa—Simon of Cyrene—who was chosen to help the Redeemer to carry the Cross on the way to Calvary. In the list of the many nations which were represented in the crowd that heard the first preaching of the Gospel on the day of Pentecost, St. Luke mentions those of 'Egypt and the parts of Libya around Cyrene'. These lands of the north-eastern coast were the first countries of Africa in which Christian Churches were established in the days of the Apostles. Later, but still at a very early date, there came the first preaching of the Gospel in the latinized lands of north-western Africa. Here the messengers of the new Faith came from Italy and Rome, where, in the middle years of the first century, Peter had fixed the central see of the new Kingdom in the capital of the Empire.

We need not attempt to trace here in any detail the fortunes

of northern Africa during the six centuries in which it became first a region largely permeated by Christianity, and then one which was a Christian land. We need only note some salient features of its record, and tell of the instances in which its contacts with Europe had important influences on the development of Christian civilization in Europe itself.

In this survey we shall deal first with the eastern and then with the western lands of north Africa. Each of these regions had a distinct character of its own. In the seventh century both were involved in the disaster that for more than a thousand years made all northern Africa Moslem land.

In north-eastern Africa the conquest of the Faith began in Alexandria, the capital of the Roman province of Egypt, a Greek city with its colony of many thousands of hellenized Jews. A tradition dating from the first century, and generally accepted as based on historic fact, tells of St. Mark as its first bishop. Rome interfered very slightly in the internal affairs of Egypt and throughout the Empire gave an easy tolerance to the Jews, though most of them held aloof from the paganism that coloured the life of all other subject races of the Empire. In popular opinion the Christians were at first regarded as a Jewish sect, and in Egypt they long enjoyed the tolerance accorded to Jewish colonists. Perhaps it was this tolerance and the local freedom of the people of Egypt that gave a long-continued immunity to the Christian congregations in the lands of the Nile; until the later years of the second century, though there seem to have been local and temporary troubles, there was no organized official persecution in Egypt.

Among the schools of Alexandria there was, towards the end of this peaceful period, a school of Christian teaching to which, it appears, even pagan hearers were admitted. The name by which it is known—the Catechetical School of Alexandria—suggests that its teaching was limited to the primary doctrines that were imparted to non-Christians and converts before baptism admitted them to a fuller knowledge of the Christian mysteries. Clement of Alexandria and Origen were among its most famous teachers. As in the early Church of Rome itself

the liturgy of the Church in Egypt was at first Greek. Later as the Faith spread along the Nile valley and converts were made among the people of inland towns and the farmers and peasants a version of the liturgy was made in Coptic, the language of old Egypt and still at the time in current use over the greater part of the country.¹

Persecution began in Egypt in the latter years of the second century, and with intervals of truce continued till peace was given to the Christian world by the decrees of Constantine. It was most intense and systematic in the middle years of the third century under the edicts of Decius. Their very tenor shows that the Christians must have then been very numerous. For there was to be a general test administered to men and women of all classes, who were to appear before the local officials, prove their loyalty to the Emperor by offering incense to one or other of the gods, and receive certificates to this effect.²

After the freedom of worship granted to the Christians by Constantine's Edict of Milan (A.D. 313) and the subsequent decree of Theodosius (399) suppressing the worship of the pagan temples, Egypt became practically a Christian land. As more than one writer of this later time of peace regretfully recorded, now that the perilous times of martyrdom belonged to the past, and the profession of Christianity might often earn official favours, many who professed the Faith were Christians only in name. But though one may grant that this was only what was to be expected, the fact remains that the days of peace made it possible to organize in full freedom the liberation of vast

¹ It is interesting to note that in the Coptic liturgy, still in use both in the Uniat and the Schismatic Churches, several words—mostly those addressed by the priest to the congregation—are in the Greek of the earlier liturgy just as in the Catholic churches of the West a fragment of the earlier Greek liturgy is still kept in the *Kyrie Eleison*.

² Thanks to the dry climate of Egypt, an immense quantity of manuscripts written on papyrus leaves and rolls have been preserved in the tombs and other monuments from a very early time, some of these belong to the Roman period. Sir Flinders Petrie has published one of the many documents dating from the persecution of Decius. It shows how rigid was the inquisition, for it is a certificate of the due fulfilment of the test as directed by the edict by one who could hardly be suspected of disloyalty to the official religion. For it is given to a priestess of one of the pagan temples.

numbers of humble folk along hundreds of miles of the Nile valley from the bondage of paganism.

The Faith spread southwards along the river even beyond the farthest boundaries of the Egyptian province at Aswân and the outpost of Kasr Ibrîm, into Nubia. There are monuments of its victory still to be seen among the ruins of the old temples. At Thebes, in one of the temple-courts of Medînet Hâbû, there are the ruins of a church. In one of the last strongholds of paganism, on the island of Philae at the head of the first cataract, crosses on a temple-wall show that it was converted into a Christian Church. Still farther south in Nubia, on the opposite bank near the rock-cut temple of Abu Simbel, there is the small temple of Fereig, where the pagan decorations have been obliterated and the roof is decorated with an early Coptic painting showing Christ Our Lord enthroned in glory and St. George slaying the Dragon before Him.

A greater peril to the Church of Egypt than that of the mere nominal adherence of time-servers and self-seekers, in these days of freedom, was the rise of the Arian heresy, which desolated so many lands and led to the prolonged conflict which humanly speaking seemed to threaten the very existence of the Christian Church. Egypt gave to the world Athanasius, the intrepid champion of the vital truth of Christ's Divinity. He came from the school of Alexandria, which in the days of persecution had given Origen and Clement to the defence of the truth. To these and many more of less renown the world owes a deep debt of gratitude.

Another service which we owe to the Christian Egypt of those early days was the first important organization of the religious life in its monastic form. It was towards the close of the third century, during the persecutions in Egypt, that men began to seek in the desert tracts, east and west of the Nile, a refuge from the aggressive paganism of the time, and a place of retirement where they could spend their days in work and prayer remote from the heathenism of the cities and towns. At the outset some sought a solitary hermit life, but these were soon the exception, as groups of these dwellers in the desert

formed communities under the guidance of one or other of the pioneers. It was thus that monasticism began. Readers of the lives of these hermits and monks of early Christian Egypt may often be surprised and even somewhat puzzled at finding that, while some few made their abode in the wilderness, far from intercourse with other men, most of them, while spending their lives 'in the desert', seem to have been not far removed from the everyday life of the time. We read of their helping the villagers in the fields at harvest; selling them the mats and baskets they plaited in their daily hours of labour, sometimes teaching the village children, and not unfrequently acting as advisers of those in doubt or trouble. But even a short voyage on the Nile, south of Cairo, gives one the solution of this apparent contradiction.

The city has hardly been left behind when, on long reaches of the river, the 'land of Egypt', on one or both banks of the Nile, is seen to be only a narrow belt of green along the river-side. Beyond the fringe of palms and the scanty cultivated fields there are the sand and hills of the desert. So far as the water of the Nile can be carried cultivation and life extend, and then suddenly cease. A little beyond the farthest watercourse (fed by the water-wheels and swinging pole buckets of the river margin), the desert begins. Most of the Nile villages are within an easy walk of it. In the desert near its margin one finds the cemeteries of the past and present, for the cultivated ground is too limited and too precious for any of it to be set apart for graves.

In some places one may see, besides the sandy grave-mounds of the village, one or more ancient tombs, hewn in a rock or built up with cut stones, all empty now, for they have long ago been cleared out by treasure-hunters, or in more recent times by those scientific body-snatchers, the collectors for museums.

Such a violated tomb was the first hermitage of the great St. Antony, one of the earliest pioneers of the religious life of the desert. One of his first biographers tells expressly how he retired 'to the tombs which were at some distance from the village', and arranged for a friend to bring him bread at fixed

intervals. When disciples gathered round him and he found himself honoured as a teacher of the life of prayer, he sought a more remote hermitage, in the hills of the Arabian desert between the Nile and the Red Sea. But even here he was not far from the life of his time, and not in utter solitude, for not far from his refuge lay the track from the Nile valley to porphyry quarries in the neighbouring hills. Once more disciples gathered round him, some of whom became the founders of other communities, and he was widely recognized as the great teacher of the monastic life in Egypt.

Like the first of the Benedictines at a later time in western Europe most of the monks of Egypt were laymen. Few of them were solitary hermits, though the ideal was that each should spend much of his time alone. The great piles of monastic buildings of East and West belong to a later time. There was something of community life. The 'laura'—the typical monastery of the early East—was a group of huts, each monk thus having his separate 'cell'. The ruler of this pious settlement was the 'Abba' or father of the community.

The monks lived by the labour of their hands. There were fixed hours for work and for prayer, but long before St. Benedict one of their maxims was that 'to work is to pray'.

The most famous monastic centre in old Egypt is described in the lives of its desert saints as 'the desert of Nitria' or 'of Skete'. Its founder was St. Macarius, a disciple of St. Antony. After a sojourn with Antony, during which he was raised to the priesthood, Macarius sought as the place of his retirement for more than half a century a desert valley some forty miles west of the apex of the Nile delta. But like most of the foundations of the great age of Egyptian monasticism it was not so far remote from the life of the time as most readers of the 'Lives of the Saints' imagine. The valley is traversed by a desert track, part of a trade-route of early days from north-west Africa and Cyrene to Egypt. During the Moslem centuries it has been a land-route for the pilgrims from north-west Africa to Cairo and Mecca, hence its modern Arab name, *El Darb el Hagg el Magribha* (the way of the pilgrims of the West). There are now

four monasteries in the valley—solid stone buildings protected against Beduin raiders by an encircling wall. The monks, belonging to the schismatic Coptic Church, are few in number. Once there were some fifty of the earlier type of monasteries and the circles of cells and the monks were numbered by thousands.

In early days there were two small towns in the valley, Nitria and Skiathis. Only vestiges of these remain. But there is a settlement mostly of Sudanese ex-soldiers, employed by the government in obtaining nitre and muriatic soda from a belt of brackish lakes and marshy ground along the bottom of the valley. In these marshes and on the lake margins there grow dense beds of tall reeds and bulrushes. From these the monks of St. Macarius made the baskets and mats in their hours of labour. The few monks of to-day carry on the same industry, and the best of their work fetches good prices in the bazaars and shops of Cairo. It is an interesting link with the life of the Natron valley fifteen hundred years ago.

The monasteries of Paul and Antony in the wilderness of the eastern desert, those of Macarius and his successors which gathered their thousands of monks from the teeming population of Lower Egypt, and the vast number of lesser centres along the desert margins of the Nile even into distant Nubia, were the chief cradle of the religious life for the Christian world. All who recognize the important part that the religious orders have played in building up and extending Christian civilization must honour the memory of its pioneers. It had a fit birthplace in the desert solitudes where, as the Arab still says, 'one can feel alone with God'.

From Egypt it spread through Syria and the Holy Land and thence into Europe, and its influence extended even beyond the cloister. Much of the teaching as to prayer and the spiritual life that is still familiar to every devout Christian, and also many of the traditional methods of the religious orders, can be traced back to the records of saintly lives among these 'Fathers of the Desert'. St. John Climacus, the famous abbot of Mount Sinai, gathered in the year he spent in the monasteries of Egypt

the teaching he set forth in his *Ladder of Perfection*. John Cassian, the founder of the great abbey of St. Victor, the mother house of several of the earlier monasteries of France and Spain, had passed some years as a monk in the Natron Valley, and wrote two celebrated books, *The Institutes* and the *Conferences of the Fathers of the Desert*. The former told of their organization and external life, the latter recorded conversations setting forth their teaching on asceticism, prayer, and the inner life of the spirit. St. Benedict, when he was writing his rule, drew on this store of the wisdom of the Christian East, and the works of Cassian were long regarded as the most valued treatises on the monastic life.

North-western Africa—the African province whose chief city was the restored Roman Carthage—and the lands of Numidia and Mauretania had, as we have already noted, been completely latinized. There was no danger from any invading power on its land frontier. A line of military posts on the hill border made the country safe from Berber brigandage, and so peaceful was the frontier that some of these military posts, like Thamagus (Timgad) and Lambessa, became the centres of prosperous cities. Large tracts of the fertile lowlands were well cultivated, and Rome long relied on the cornfields of Africa for no small part of its supplies.

Our first extant record of Christianity in north-west Africa is that of the martyrdoms of A.D. 180. But it must have been extending through the country long before that date, for twenty years later we find Tertullian declaring that in many of the African cities there were already more Christians than pagans, and such progress could not have been secured in a few years. It may be remarked also that the very year after Tertullian put forward this claim a synod of nearly a hundred bishops assembled at Carthage. Even though we bear in mind that in the early Church in many countries sees were often multiplied by each bishop presiding over a very limited territory, such a numerous episcopate as that of Africa in the year 203 could not have been of recent origin.

In the person of St. Victor I Africa gave a Pope to Rome in

the last years of the second century. St. Jerome refers to him as the first of ecclesiastical writers who was a Latin author. Latin was the language of the liturgy in the African Church before Latin replaced an earlier Greek liturgy in Rome itself. The African Church had a Latin version of the New Testament and many books of the Old, like the early *Versio Itala* of Rome and Italy, but independent of it.¹ The fathers of the African Church wrote in Latin. Tertullian wrote only a few of his earliest works in Greek. He had studied in Rome where it was then still largely in use.

There was a renewal of persecution in the first years of the second century. To this time belongs the touching record of the martyrdoms of SS. Felicitas and Perpetua and their companions at Carthage.

Like many other such records, it tells of the slave and the free sharing the trials and honours of martyrdom. A long period of peace followed, a truce of nearly forty years. Then came the fierce persecution of Decius.

As has been explained already in dealing with the same persecution in Egypt, there was the test of each and all being required to offer incense to a pagan god, and those who did this received a certificate of good citizenship. There were grave scandals in the first days of the persecution in Carthage and other cities. Popular Catholic tradition keeps the memory of the centuries before the peace of Constantine as an heroic age, when the flock of Christ met the menace of the persecuting edicts with unbroken intrepidity and rich and poor, men and women, slave and freeman welcomed the call to the glory of martyrdom. True it is that it was an age of heroes, but it is also true that there were weaklings whose denial of their faith brought discredit on the Christian name. These failures appear to have been exceptionally numerous when the Decian edicts were published in north-west Africa in the first days of A.D. 250. In the forty years of peace there had been widespread laxity

¹ Our knowledge of it is derived from quotations in the writings of the African fathers and especially the long array of texts collected by St. Cyprian in his *Testimonia*.

and carelessness and many of the Christian flock were Christian in little more than name. On the outbreak of the persecution in the towns and cities of Africa and Numidia men like these crowded to the tribunals to offer incense to the gods and receive from the magistrates the certificate of their security and their shame. In one of the provincial cities the bishop came with many of his priests and people to commit this public act of apostasy. Many others who shrank from this open idolatry obtained from venal officials lying certificates that they had conformed to the edict. These must have been men of the wealthier classes, who could provide the necessary bribe. But, after the first days of the persecution had winnowed out the weaklings, there were many martyrdoms.

In the following year the fury of the persecution had spent itself. In this lull in the storm a synod of bishops met at Carthage. It was presided over by the bishop of the city, the celebrated St. Cyprian. He belonged to a noble and wealthy family. In middle life he was converted from paganism. Baptized in 246, he received rapid promotion to the priesthood, and about two years after he joined the Christian flock he was elected bishop of the capital city of Africa, and in fact, though not yet in title, primate of its hierarchy.

News had come, the year before, of the martyrdom of Pope St. Fabian. The synod received letters announcing the election of St. Cornelius as his successor. Then came another letter from a Roman cleric, Novatian, protesting that this election had been irregular and invalid, and he himself was the true Pope. But the synod was soon enlightened as to the facts by the arrival of two African bishops who had been present at the election, and Cyprian and his colleagues sent to Cornelius their acknowledgement of his legitimate authority. The synod then devoted much of its time to settling a question arising from the open and the covert apostasies of a few months before. The *lapsi* (those who had fallen into open apostasy) and the *libellatici* (those who had obtained *libelli*, false certificates of a like obedience to the edict) were lamentably numerous, though the current report may have been exaggerated that half of the pro-

fessed Christians in Carthage itself belonged to one or other class. Many of them were now asking to be reconciled to the Church. On what conditions could this be granted to them? It was finally decided by the majority that the *libellatici* should be admitted to Communion after a period of penance but for the repentant *lapsi* the period of penance was to be lifelong, and they would be reconciled only when in danger of death by sickness; and it was added that such of them as deferred to the death-bed their repentance should be refused absolution. This was a severity alien to the general spirit of the Catholic Church, but an exaggerated rigorism was unhappily characteristic of many of the leaders of the Church in Africa. For years after the synod there was controversy on the subject, the rigorists insisting that those who had in any way denied their faith must be more harshly treated.

Cyprian's brief pontificate of less than ten years had begun on the eve of the Decian persecution. That time of trial did not last long. It is clear that for some years the edicts of persecution were not enforced, for not only were large numbers of the lapsed seeking readmission to the Church, but in every spring-time a council or synod of bishops could assemble in security at Carthage. At its meeting of 256, at which more than sixty prelates were present, a letter was sent to Pope St. Stephen asking for his approval of a practice that had grown up in Africa of rebaptizing those who had already received baptism irregularly at the hands of an heretical minister. From Rome came a reply that this could not be permitted. The correct practice was that of the Church at Rome, where in such a case only absolution was given to the convert, the previous baptism being recognized as valid. Cyprian took some expressions in St. Stephen's letter as an injurious personal censure on himself, and replied with an angry letter. As St. Augustine wrote long after, Cyprian had yielded to a moment of irritation, and used language atoned for by his heroic martyrdom. The death of Stephen soon after ended further discussion, and Cyprian's letters to his successor, the martyr St. Sixtus, showed that there was no danger of any rupture between Carthage and the Holy See.

In the summer of 258 the Emperor Valerian issued a new edict of persecution. At Rome one of the first victims was Sixtus. Cyprian was summoned to appear before the authorities at Carthage. His friends urged that he should go into hiding, but he refused to accept their advice. He was at the moment absent from Carthage, but he at once set out for a villa in its suburbs and sent word to the proconsul that he would be found there. He was beheaded next day, after a summary trial, at this country-house, in the presence of many of the Christians. In the later days of peace a basilica was dedicated to his memory in the capital of Africa.

More than forty years of peace followed the persecution. Eusebius tells of the growing sense of security among the Faithful during this prolonged truce. Many converts came to the Church, and in several cities basilicas and churches were openly erected for its increasing numbers. No doubt he was relying on his recollections of the eastern lands of the Empire in the days of his youth and early manhood, but we may take it that conditions were much the same in the African provinces. Diocletian had adopted a policy of peace and tolerance towards the Christians for the first twenty years of his reign, before he issued his edict of persecution under the influence of his colleague Galerius in 303. It seems not unlikely that this change of policy was at least partly influenced by a pagan agitation against the Christians, for on the eve of the publication of the edict a heathen mob had wrecked a Christian basilica in Nicomedia, the prosperous Greek city on an inlet of the Sea of Marmora, which had long been the residence of the Emperor.

Amongst the features of the edict was an order that the Christian basilicas and churches were to be destroyed and their sacred books handed over to the authorities to be burned. In Carthage and the other cities of north Africa the officials and their agents carried out a very active search for the Scriptures and the books used in the liturgy, and also seized chalices, silver candlesticks, and other altar plate and ornaments of the sanctuary. In many places these were readily surrendered to the searchers, but there were several instances of their custo-

dians enduring torture, and this even to death, rather than hand over sacred things to the pagans. The Christians described those who failed to protect the sacred books and the treasures of the sanctuary as *traditores*—traitors or betrayers—the same opprobrious term that was applied to those who betrayed their brethren to the persecutors. ‘I am a Christian bishop and no betrayer (*traditor*)’, wrote Mensurius of Carthage to a brother prelate, who told him he was supposed to have allowed the officials to seize the sacred books of his church; he explained that he had hidden them in a safe place, substituting for them some heretical books which the officials carried off and burned.

This last of the persecutions under the Roman Empire, though it lasted much longer in other provinces, spent its fury in Africa in about two years and all but ceased after the abdication of Diocletian and Maximian in 305. It was six years later that the persecuting edicts were withdrawn by Galerius shortly before his death. In the spring of 313 Constantine, then making himself master of the Empire, issued from Milan the edict that gave freedom of worship and the rights of citizens to the Christians. It marked the close of the period of nearly three centuries during which the Christian name had been under a ban throughout the Empire. Africa has its monument of these centuries of the martyrs in the catacombs of Hadrumetum near the Tunisian sea-side town of Susa about eighty miles south of Carthage. Their exploration was begun in the years before the Great War by Mgr. Leynaud, now Bishop of Algiers (but then curé of Susa), who has shown that this vast underground cemetery is ‘almost as rich in memorials of the early Church as the catacombs of Rome’. In the walls of its labyrinth of rock-cut galleries there are thousands of tombs.

In the last forty years research in north Africa has shown how numerous were the churches erected in the years of peace that followed the edict of Milan. On the site of Carthage Père Delattre has laid bare the foundations, pavements, and pillar bases of the basilica dedicated to St. Cyprian and the great church that kept the memorials of SS. Felicitas and Perpetua and other martyrs of the persecutions of Decius, Valerian, and

Diocletian. On the sites of the old cities and towns from Cyrene to the borders of Morocco there are remains of stately churches. At Timgad there are the ruins of a great basilica, with several of its tall Corinthian columns still standing. Delattre's discoveries at Carthage have yielded inscriptions, sculptures, seals, and medallions that throw much light on the religious life of early Christian Africa.

The first eighty years of the times of peace and freedom for the Catholic Church in Africa were sadly troubled by the Donatist movement, which began in disputes over responsibilities for surrendering sacred things to the heathen in the last persecution, and soon developed into schism and heresy. From the outset it was marked by a tendency to exaggerated rigorism, and before its final collapse the movement was discredited by the alliance of fanatics who resorted to brutal violence against their Catholic opponents, and some of whom taught that suicide could rank as a penitential self-immolation, meritorious as martyrdom itself. They formed bands of propagandists armed with rude weapons who described themselves as 'the Soldiers of Christ'. The Catholics spoke and wrote of them as the *Circumcelliones*, i.e. vagrants or vagabonds. That this outbreak of fanatical disorder disturbed for several years the country districts of north Africa suggests that there must have been lamentable weakness and irresolution on the part of the provincial government. But it was a time when all over the Western Empire the bonds of authority were being loosened, and the arts of government seemed to decay.

These later years of the fourth century were a time when far-reaching changes were beginning in western Europe, and before long these were to have a disastrous effect on the fortunes of Roman Africa. The 'old order was changing, giving place to new', though as happens in great world crises it is probable that at first few if any realized that the Empire of the West was in deadliest peril.

Elsewhere in this work there has been a detailed study of that movement of many tribes and nations into the Roman lands of western Europe, which finally swept away the barriers of

Empire and changed the face of the West. At first many of these new-comers appeared as allies and tributaries of Rome, and their chiefs proudly accepted official titles of command from Emperors and imperial generals, and posed as loyal rulers or defenders of Roman provinces. In the second phase of the movement, when tribes and races that had not been in close touch with the frontiers of the Empire took the lead in the armed westward migration, they came as conquerors and founders of new kingdoms. Amongst these later invaders were tribes whose name is still remembered as that of wild nomads whose line of march was marked by the sack and pillage of towns and cities that lay on their path of conquest. But, while these changes were in progress in western Europe, Africa was for long years immune from the perils of the time, protected and isolated, as it was, from the incursions of the 'Barbarians' by the wide waters of the Mediterranean.

It was in this time of change that one of the world's greatest men, one of the noblest types of manhood in all the record of Christian civilization, lived his long eventful life (A.D. 354 to 430). Born in the little Numidian town of Tagaste while Roman Africa was still in fancied security from the barbarian menace, Aurelius Augustinus, destined to be honoured for fifteen centuries as St. Augustine, the greatest of the Fathers of the early Church, lived to see the storm of barbarian invasion sweeping over his native land. The son of a pagan father (and magistrate of Tagaste) and a Christian mother, whose early teachings influenced his after life, it was only in his early manhood that he embraced the Christian faith, which, through all his after years, he not only professed with heart and soul, but served with all the energies of his being, all the gifts of his colossal genius.

No man of his time has more deeply influenced the thought of the after centuries. And few men of the far-off past are better known to us, for we have the first-hand record not only of his public activities but also of his inner life. He himself traced the story of his progress from the confused teachings of rival sects and schools of thought to the security of God's revealed truth. He was in his thirty-third year when, during a

visit to Italy, he came under the influence of St. Ambrose of Milan, and received baptism at his hands. Theodosius the Great was then ruling the Empire from northern Italy. His capacity as a soldier and a statesman seemed to have averted the barbarian peril, and it might well be hoped that thanks to his religious zeal, the Empire would develop into a united Christian state in fact as well as in name. Any such optimist hopes were doomed to disappointment. There was only a temporary set-back in the incoming tide of barbarian conquest.

But, even if the peace and security of the Empire had been restored, it would have been many a year before it could be regarded as in the full sense of the word an Empire transformed into a Christian state free from the influences of heathenism. The writings of St. Augustine and his hundreds of sermons throw light on the actual situation of religion in north Africa in his time. The conversion of a whole nation is no sudden change from darkness to light. In the later years of the fourth century the majority of the people of Roman Africa were at least professing Christians. But Augustine's sermons tell us that there was still a considerable survival of paganism. Churches had been built, old temples and basilicas transformed into places of Christian worship. But paganism and its idolatrous rituals still survived. Speaking as bishop of Hippo to his people, he addressed them as still living in close contact with this remnant of organized paganism.

He warns them against false zeal, and any attempt to cast down the idols by violent action. He bids them show a tolerant courtesy towards the individual heathen, pray for them, and, instead of seeking to destroy the objects of their reverence, strive to break down the idols in their hearts. Let there be no angry feelings against their heathen neighbours.

But he laments the large number of Christians who are still 'half-heathen'. 'They have joined us with their bodies', he says, 'but not with their hearts and souls.' He denounces their use of superstitious practices, a heritage of the heathenism they have nominally forsworn. He begs them to keep away from pagan spectacles and festivals, and the degrading theatre of the pagans.

Can they hope to win the world to Christ while they thus traffic with evil? His words give abundant evidence that long after the peace of Constantine Africa was still only partially won to the new Gospel of the Cross.

By the opening years of the fifth century the Western Empire seemed to be in its death-throes. Rome itself had already been more than once menaced by barbarian invaders when in 410 news came that the 'Eternal City' was in the hands of Alaric and his Goths, and given up to sack and pillage by the conquerors. Ships were arriving in the ports of Africa crowded with terrified fugitives from Rome and Italy. There were many Christians amongst them, but Augustine laments that even they crowded to the pagan theatre in Carthage and other cities, showing reckless levity in this time of public calamity.

The end was not yet, but the sack of Rome might well seem to be the beginning of the end. For Augustine it became the occasion of his writing a message to the men of his time which has a lesson for all times, as though he were a prophet of the New Law. There was an outcry of the pagans against the Christians. It was argued that these were responsible for the calamities of the time and the evil fate that had brought this disaster on the sacred city, which so long had been the centre of the civilized world. While Rome honoured the old gods she had been the greatest city that the sun shone upon in his daily course, and her sons had been the conquerors and rulers of the nations. Her power, her civic and martial virtues had been sapped by the impracticable idealism of a strange creed, and the gods of force and power, who had protected her, had abandoned her to the fury of the barbarians.

Augustine replied in a work which has been aptly described as the earliest attempt to set forth a Christian philosophy of history. Its title—*De Civitate Dei*—is usually translated 'The City of God'—but *Civitas* signifies more than 'city'. It is 'the city and the state', Rome in the days of her splendour and power being recognized as the realization of the *Civitas* that was self-ruling and the ruler of many nations, generously giving to them the rights of her own citizenship. He writes as a loyal subject

of the Empire. He cannot rejoice at its disasters. He shares the general grief at the supreme insult that Rome has suffered.

Rome in the past had been the enemy of the Christian name, but that belonged to other times, and even during the persecutions the Christians had never been her enemies. He protested that her decline was not to be attributed to them.

In earlier days the Romans had been distinguished by many natural and civic virtues—the love of order, law and unity, a simple home life, the spirit of self-denial and self-sacrifice for the common welfare and security, a generous rule over those who became subjects of their state—and God had rewarded them with prosperity and power among the nations. But Rome had proved unworthy of her good fortune. Prosperity had its dangers. Civic virtue was sacrificed to personal ambitions, self-seeking, and futility. Wealth was abused in extravagance, ostentation, luxury, and vice. These were what sapped the old strength of the Roman people. They had long rejected the religion that would have been a new source of life and strength. Their decline was the result of moral failures.

But there was no need to despair of the future. Great as the city of Rome had been, there was a still greater and more glorious power, the *Civitas Dei*, the Kingdom of God, destined even in temporal things to be the salvation of the world. He tells of the conquests it has already won and insists on its being the certain hope for the future of the nations. He predicts that, even though darker days may be near at hand, sooner or later a new Rome will be the centre of this more glorious Empire, the *Civitas Dei*.

Augustine wrote this work in 413. Thirteen years later he added to its concluding passages, at a time when he was engaged in a revision of several of his writings. Roman Africa, so long immune from the troubles of western Europe, was soon to be exposed to the worst terrors of barbarian invasion. The Vandal tribes are first heard of in the later years of the fourth century. From what are now the territories of Poland they had moved southwards to the border-lands of the Empire on the Danube. There they had adopted a new religion, not Chris-

tianity but Arianism, and their subsequent history shows that it had done little or nothing to soften their primitive savagery. The terror they inspired has made their name proverbial for deeds of destruction. We still speak of ignorant cruelty and rapine as 'vandalism'. In the summer of 405 they had moved westward and crossed the Rhine. From Gaul they pushed on into Spain, and one of the most powerful of their tribes founded a new kingdom in the fertile south—the kingdom of Vandalitia, which was to give a name to the province of Andalusia. In 429 under their king, Genseric, they crossed the Strait of Gibraltar into Mauretania. They met with only a feeble resistance as they swept eastward into Numidia. Pillage, massacre, and destruction marked their progress. Churches were sacked and given to the flames, tombs were violated in the hope of finding buried ornaments of gold and jewels. Bishops and priests were tortured in order to force them to reveal the supposed hiding-places of the Church's treasures. The peaceful population fled before their approach.

St. Augustine's episcopal city of Hippo, the chief port of Numidia, was strongly fortified. It was crowded with fugitives when in the first days of 430 the Vandals appeared before its walls. The fortress held out for eighteen months in the hope of succour from overseas, which never came. Augustine, now in his seventy-sixth year, and in failing health, did all that was possible to sustain the courage of his people and find some help for the poorest among them. For five months he was thus engaged in heroic efforts to care for his flock. For three months more he was prostrate with illness waiting calmly for the end. It came on the 28th August 430. It was a dark day for Christian Africa. For more than a hundred years to come North Africa was to be a Vandal kingdom that was a standing peril to the peace of the western Mediterranean.

CHAPTER II

FROM THE VANDAL CONQUEST OF NORTH- WEST AFRICA TO THE FIRST PORTUGUESE VOYAGES ON THE ATLANTIC COAST

THE Vandal power in north Africa lasted for little more than a century. Genseric after his first successes easily extended his power over all the country between the sea and the mountain borders of the desert, and held all the coast-lands from the Strait of Gibraltar to the frontiers of Cyrene. By his treaty with Valentinian III in 430, Carthage and a small adjacent tract of country was left to the Roman Empire, but Genseric respected this arrangement for not quite five years, and in 435 he occupied the famous city against only a mere show of opposition.

He made it his capital and restored its fortifications. There was a good harbour, and shipyards for the building and repair of trading craft, and a seafaring element in the local population. The Emperors had long neglected the naval stations of the western Mediterranean and maintained only a fleet based on the arsenal of Constantinople intended for the eastern seas. None of the new nations that had invaded the Empire had as yet realized the possibilities of naval power. Genseric made a new departure. He reorganized the old dockyard of Carthage, built the 'long ships' once more in the port, and recruited seamen and rowers among his new subjects, while his Vandals supplied the fighting men. Carthage became once more the base of a formidable naval power—formidable chiefly because there was no adequate force to meet it in the western Mediterranean.

For a hundred years the Vandal kings held unchallenged command of the sea. They dominated Sardinia, Corsica, the Balearic Islands, and for a while western Sicily. Genseric's cruises, in which he often took command, were mostly little better than plundering piratical raids. Such was his greatest enterprise, the temporary seizure of Rome itself in 455. It was the time when the Roman Empire of the West was nearing its end, and a succession of feeble rulers, eight in all, represented

in some twenty years the last successors of the Caesars. When Genseric set out for his attack on Rome, its ruler was only a few months on the imperial throne. He was a wealthy senator, Petronius Maximus, who had won his way to power by the murder of his predecessor Valentinian III. When the news arrived only three months after his accession that the fleet of Genseric had occupied the harbour of Ostia, the port of Rome, without even a show of resistance, Maximus was panic-stricken. The terror of the Vandals had spread through Italy. They had for years been raiding and plundering coast-towns and villages, the greatest of these exploits being the sack of Palermo. Maximus announced that he would leave Rome and suggested that all the wealthier citizens should follow his example. As he left his palace he was assailed by an angry mob and killed by one of his own soldiers.

Genseric was marching on the city, while some of his lighter craft worked their way up the river. Rome was in helpless terror, but happily it found a protector who could at least mitigate the impending horrors of the time. For fifteen years the Holy See had been occupied by one of the ablest of the successors of St. Peter—St. Leo the Great. Three years before he had saved Rome from imminent peril when the Huns under Attila were masters of northern Italy and preparing for a march southward. As ambassador of the Empire he had gone to meet the conqueror near Mantua and persuaded him to stay his march and open negotiations for peace. Popular tradition remembered his success as something of a miracle. He now went out to meet Genseric and, granting that Rome could not make any resistance and was completely at the mercy of the invader, obtained from him a promise that the lives of the citizens would be protected and none of their homes or of the public buildings set on fire. Leo realized that the Vandal king would exact a heavy ransom. He had to deal with the leader of a piratical raid, and the Vandal fleet would soon have a rich cargo of portable treasure collected from the public buildings and the homes of the wealthy. But he succeeded in averting some of the worst horrors of a sack of Rome by securing the

promise of Genseric that in the search for treasure by the victors no one would be tortured to enforce the revelation of any hidden treasure.

The Vandals occupied Rome for a fortnight. There was a systematic plundering of the palaces, the great houses, the warehouses, the temples now used as public buildings, and also of the churches, with the exception of the Basilica of the Lateran and St. Peter's, which Genseric spared as an act of personal courtesy to Pope Leo. Though the lives of citizens were spared, numbers of them were carried off as prisoners, including the ex-Empress Eudocia and members of many patrician and wealthy families. It was on Rome's great local festival, the 29th June, the feast of SS. Peter and Paul, that the Vandals left the city to re-embark for Africa.

Two attempts were made to deal with the persistent menace of Vandal piracy and raiding. In a last effort to regain command of the Mediterranean, galleys were built in the ports of the western Empire and a fleet was concentrated in the harbour of Cartagena for a projected attack on Carthage. Evidently there was a complete absence of any precautions for its safety, while it was preparing for action. There was no guard of the harbour-mouth, no light craft watching the neighbouring seas. It was destroyed in a single night by a Vandal squadron making a surprise attack, pushing fire-ships, laden with combustibles, into the midst of the galleys moored in the port or crowded along the quays. Almost without any serious attempt at defence, the Roman fleet was destroyed by the flames that spread from ship to ship, when the blazing fire-craft broke in amongst them.

East and West co-operated in the second effort. Rome could only send a few galleys, but Constantinople fitted out a formidable fighting fleet, which was accompanied by transports, that landed an expeditionary force on the Tripolitan coast to march on the Vandal capital and blockade its land-front while the fleets attacked from the sea. Marching along the coast-track, and drawing most of its supplies from the fleet, the invading army at last appeared before Carthage. The aged king of the

Vandals seemed strangely unenterprising. Leaving only a few ships to assist in defending the harbour-mouth, he kept at sea with his main naval force, avoiding any general engagement with the combined squadrons of his enemies. Carthage was blockaded by land and sea, and its situation seemed desperate. Without any truce Genseric sent envoys asking for some moderate terms of peace. The Roman and Byzantine leaders believed they were at last masters of the situation. But the main Vandal fleet repeated the victory of Cartagena. On a moonless night it suddenly swept down on the Roman fleets, moored along the coast, and destroyed most of them by towing fire-ships against them. There was a panic flight of the few that escaped capture or destruction by the flames. The land-force, now cut off from its supplies, began a painful retreat along the coast towards Cyrene, harassed by mounted bands of the enemy that cut off its foraging parties, abandoning the pursuit only when it was clear that the retirement of the invaders was a hopeless flight for safety in the Tripolitan country. So the war ended in a miserable disaster for the forces of the declining empire of Rome. The Vandals were once more the one power that counted for anything in the west.

Genseric died at an advanced age in January 477. Like nearly all his nation he was an Arian, and through most of the years of his reign he had been a cruel persecutor of the Catholics of Africa. It is not unlikely that his anti-Catholic zeal was largely inspired by political motives and that he mainly regarded Catholicity as the religion of the government he had overthrown. He did his best to suppress and eradicate it from Africa. Although his Catholic subjects of all classes were among his victims, his attacks were chiefly directed against the bishops and their clergy. There were brief periods of peace when the Catholics, though excluded from all public office in the state and in the cities, enjoyed a few years of toleration. But for most of his long reign there were successive efforts to break up the organization of the Church in his dominions. Several bishops were put to death, others driven into exile. In many of the country districts Catholics were deprived of their priests and when they

refused to accept the ministrations of Arian clerics they were driven from their villages, some of them taking refuge among the tribes of the southern mountain lands. Wealthy Catholics who tried to protect the bishops and gave them hospitality on their estates were punished by confiscation of their land.

The last year of Genseric's long reign was a time of peace. It was even possible to hold a synod of Catholic Bishops at Carthage. His son and successor Huneric (477-84), though at first he tolerated Catholics, renewed the persecution in the latter years of his reign with savage ferocity. One of the bishops was burned at the stake; some 4,000 Catholics were driven from their homes, deprived of all their possessions, and under military escort marched into the hills of the desert border. Among them were several bishops and numbers of priests and deacons. Many died under the stress of the long march, hunger, and exposure in the nightly bivouacs in the open. The survivors were dispersed among the half-civilized tribes of the border. A new horror appeared in the treatment of the virgins consecrated to God. Accused of secret vice they were dragged from their homes, and to force them to admit the cruel accusations published against them they were tied up, stripped, and tortured with red-hot irons. The people of the prosperous port of Tipasa in western Mauretania, deprived of many of their priests, and with their churches closed against them, deserted their city in large numbers, crossing the sea to Spain. Those who remained refused to receive an Arian bishop, and a military force commanded by an officer described as a count of Huneric's court was sent to break their opposition. When their resistance continued the Vandal collected the citizens in the forum, and on his demand for submission being rejected he punished some sixty of the leading citizens by bidding his executioners to strike off their right hands and cut out their tongues. But though thus cruelly mutilated their power of speech remained, and they still declared their unbroken perseverance in the Catholic faith, and when driven from Tipasa carried their witness to other lands. Some reached Constantinople and many of those who spoke with them, and heard from their own lips their story told

in clearly pronounced words, counted it a miracle. Amongst those who put on record this wonder, after actually conversing with the confessors of the faith, were Procopius the historian and Marcellinus, the secretary of the Emperor Justinian.¹

Huneric was slowly dying of a painful disease during the later months of the persecution, and his life and reign ended a few weeks after the horrors of Tipasa. His cousin and successor Guntamund, who reigned for the next twelve years (484-96), restored peace to the persecuted Church in North Africa, and cultivated friendly relations with Constantinople, and many of the exiled Catholics returned to their homes. The reign of the next of the Vandal kings, Thrasimund (496-523), was a trying time for the Catholics. He harassed them in many ways, and excluded them from every official employment even in the local affairs of their towns and villages, but there was no open persecution. Full freedom was restored to the Church by the accession of Hilderic in 523. He was over sixty years of age, a son born late in the life of his father, Genseric the founder of the Vandal line in Africa, of which he himself was destined to be the last lawful ruler. He had so long been excluded from the throne, perhaps on account of the fact that he was a Catholic. His mother was the ex-Empress of the West, the widow of the Emperor Valentinian III. She was one of the captives Genseric brought to Carthage after the sack of Rome. He forced her to become his wife, but she clung to her faith and secretly educated her son Hilderic as a Catholic. Before he assumed the crown of Africa the Arian bishops had insisted on his promising to show no favour to his fellow Catholics. But once he was in firm possession he declared the promise could not bind him, because it was an engagement to rule unjustly. He recalled the exiled bishops, and restored to the Catholics numbers of churches long closed against them or actually handed over to the Arians. Synods of the bishops again met in Carthage, and

¹ Newman in his *Essay on Miracles* and his *Apologia* discusses the alleged miraculous character of these events, in connexion with some evidence that there are cases where speech is possible though the tongue has been cut out or mutilated. He grants that this is a serious objection, but suggests that it does not completely refute the traditional claim.

several of the long proscribed Catholics were promoted to posts of honour in the state.

But after a few years of peace one of the princes of the royal house, his cousin Gelimer, rallied the disappointed Arians to a revolt against the aged king. Hilderic was unprepared, and there was hardly a show of resistance when the rebels seized the capital, and Hilderic was deposed and thrown into prison (531).

Hilderic had established friendly diplomatic relations with the Eastern Empire. When the news of his downfall and imprisonment reached Constantinople Justinian was the Roman Emperor of the East. He had more than one motive for intervening in the affairs of Africa. He had the ambition of restoring the Roman power in the West, and he was anxious to deliver the Catholic king from the hands of the Arian rebels. His plans for the reconquest of north Africa were delayed for awhile by an attempted revolution in his own capital.

A leading part in his victory over the insurgents had been taken by an officer of the Imperial Guard, Belisarius, who had already distinguished himself in a war with Persia. To Belisarius he gave command of the army of 15,000 men which embarked for Africa in the early summer of 533. The delay in sending the expedition had some gain, for there had been a revolt against the Vandal rule in Sardinia, and Gelimer had sent his brother Tzazo to suppress it with most of the Vandal fleet and some of the best fighting men of his army.

Like all the imperial armies of the time, that of Belisarius was partly composed of contingents of warlike tribes, in the pay of the Emperor, but it also included soldiers who, even if they came from the eastern provinces, were described as 'Romans', and many of these had served in their leader's earlier campaigns. He avoided an immediate attack on Carthage, with a view to luring Gelimer into risking a battle in the open country. He landed his force on a promontory some sixty miles south of the Vandal capital, fortified the front of his camp, and rested his men while the stores of the expedition were brought ashore and its transport organized. Then he began his march

northwards along the coast, the fleet anchoring after each day's march in sight of the army. Hadrumetum, Leptis, and other towns welcomed him. He sternly repressed any attempt at plunder, proclaiming that he came as a friend to deliver Africa from the Vandal power. About ten miles from Carthage he halted, and apparently had information from friends in the city that Gelimer meant to attack him.

Gelimer had a more numerous army than his opponent and he hoped not merely to defeat, but completely to destroy the invaders, by a converging march of three strong columns, the main body attacking the front of the Roman army while the right and left outflanked and enveloped it. After ordering that the deposed Hilderic should be at once put to death in his prison he attempted the difficult operation of convergent night-marches, hoping to attack at dawn. The ill-directed march failed and Belisarius was able to counter-attack and rout the three columns in succession. The Vandal king rallied some of his forces as he retired westward along the coast, waiting for the coming of his brother whom he had called from Sardinia. Belisarius entered Carthage in triumph, welcomed by the people.

After being joined by Tzazo's army from Sardinia, some 5,000 men, and collecting reinforcements from various Vandal centres, Gelimer marched towards Carthage and encamped about twenty miles to the west of it. He had a much larger force with him than that of the little army with which Belisarius came out to give him battle, but there is surely an exaggeration in the story that the Vandals were tenfold stronger than their opponents. In the battle only the veterans from Sardinia made a serious fight. The Vandals broke before the Roman onset. Gelimer fled early in the engagement. Tzazo was killed. The Vandal camp was stormed and plundered. The victors had only some fifty killed in action, the Vandals more than eight hundred. Through the winter months Gelimer held out in a small hill-fortress on the border, blockaded by a detachment of the victors, and surrendered at last on a promise of life and honourable treatment being assured to him. The fleet secured

the submission of the coast-towns as far as the Strait of Gibraltar; Belisarius received the loyal adhesion of Sardinia, Corsica, and the Balearic Islands, and on his return to Constantinople was granted the honour of a ceremonial triumph. Gelimer was given by the Emperor an estate in Asia Minor where he lived peacefully with his family and household. The Vandals, once the terror of the Mediterranean, disappeared from history. The last record of their name is the enlisting of 500 of their horsemen in Justinian's army in the East.

North Africa was reorganized as a Roman province under a governor at Carthage. It enjoyed little more than a hundred years of settled government under the restored imperial power, a time troubled only by some incursions of the hill-tribes of the border-land of mountains and deserts; the Romans described them as Moors (Mauri)—people of Mauretania. For some years they were masters of large districts in this part of the country. Several of the inland towns were fortified places, held against them by small garrisons. The new government at Carthage had never any considerable military force at its disposal, and it is at least doubtful how far its effective authority extended over the western lands, the Morocco and western Algeria of to-day. In these stormy years of the barbarian invasions of western Europe the seaport towns and cities had a peaceful time, for except the Vandals none of the new peoples had even attempted to develop a naval power. But the African ports were no longer busy centres of prosperous trade, for the ruin of Italy had ended the good times when Africa was the granary of Imperial Rome.

In 534, the year that saw the surrender of Gelimer and the disappearance of the Vandal power, a synod of the African bishops, many of them returned exiles, was held at Carthage. Before the Vandal invasion these synods had been annual events. After the reconquest and until the coming of the Arabs, they were convened from time to time, but the records of these last years of early Christian Africa are scanty and defective. We know indeed very little of its condition during this time, but we may well doubt if it was ever again as prosperous as in

the period before the Vandal persecution. In this period it has left us no world-famous names of illustrious prelates like those of the earlier time, when it gave to the Catholic world the fame of a Cyprian and an Augustine. The time was also barren of men of distinguished ability in the civil order. Among the ruling class in the restored province of Africa the only name of mark is that of Heraclius—and even he was not by birth and descent a citizen of Roman Africa, though he had spent some years in the military service at Carthage. Born in Asia Minor, he went to Africa, in early manhood, an appointed exarch or governor of the province.

Since the death of Justinian, the Eastern Empire, still Roman in name, but really becoming more and more a semi-oriental and Greek state, had entered on a period of declining power. In the opening years of the seventh century its very existence was in peril. Barbarian nations, Slavs, such as the Bulgars, and a new wave from Asia, the warlike Avars, had pressed into the Balkan lands. The power of Persia under the Sassanid dynasty was even a greater menace to Constantinople. The Emperor Maurice (582–602) had brought a war with Persia to a successful end by taking advantage of the rivalry of claimants to the throne and had secured the succession and friendship of Chosroes II (590). Maurice was deposed twelve years later, by a mutiny of the army of Thrace and a revolt in his capital, and Phocas, one of its leaders, was proclaimed Emperor and put Maurice and his sons to death (602). Phocas proved to be a weak and incompetent ruler. Chosroes denounced him as a usurper and declared war as the avenger of the murdered Maurice. The Persians seized several of the border-cities of Asia Minor and sent their raiders westward towards the Bosphorus. Twice at least the Persian horsemen reached its shores and were in sight of Constantinople. At last in 610 there was a conspiracy in the capital for the overthrow of Phocas, and a pressing request was sent to the governor of Carthage asking for his assistance. He could spare no large force, but he sent his soldier son Heraclius with a few other of his officers. The young man became the leader of the movement that deposed Phocas,

and the fallen usurper was sent to the scaffold and Heraclius proclaimed Emperor.

The first years of his reign were an anxious period of peril for his capital and humiliation for his Empire. While he was gradually reinforcing and reorganizing his army he had to defend the imperial city from the menace of the Avars and their allies. It was long before he was at last able to make a treaty which removed this danger for awhile. Meanwhile, without being able to reinforce the provinces of Asia he had to watch helplessly the progress of the Persian conquest, a series of easy successes for Chosroes that led him to assume the surname of 'Parvez', that is 'the Conqueror'. He invaded Syria as well as Asia Minor. In the three campaigns of 611-14 he captured Antioch, Damascus, and Jerusalem; from the Church of the Holy Sepulchre he took the great reliquary of the Holy Cross and sent it as a trophy of this victory to his capital, Ctesiphon on the upper Tigris. In 616 the Persians reached the shores of the Bosphorus and for some months held Chalcedon, and Constantinople was saved only because a Roman fleet barred any attempt to cross the narrow straits. In 619 with the help of Arab allies the Persians occupied Lower Egypt, and held it for nearly ten years. At last Heraclius was able to take the offensive against them. His bold plan was to free the invaded provinces by striking at the very centre of the Persian power, making the south-eastern shore of the Black Sea his base of operations, pushing forward through the hills of Armenia, reaching the northern lands of Mesopotamia and menacing Ctesiphon on the upper Tigris, the capital of Chosroes. The year 622 was spent in preparations. His advance began in the early summer of 623. In a succession of victorious campaigns he reached the Tigris valley, and in the summer of 628 he was approaching Ctesiphon, when tidings reached him that Chosroes had been deposed by a revolt in his capital and put to death by his son Kavadh. The first act of the new king of Persia was to sue for peace. The Persians agreed to resign all their conquests, and the relic of the True Cross, the trophy of their earlier triumphs, was surrendered to Heraclius.

The long years of war had broken the power of Persia and exhausted the resources of the Eastern Empire. The way was thus prepared for the conquests of a new power, strange events that were to affect the fortunes of Asia, Europe, and Africa for centuries. The year 622, when Heraclius was preparing for his victorious counter-attack on the Persian Empire, is one of the epoch-making dates in the world's history, but the epoch-making event was unknown at the time beyond the narrow limits of a half-desert district on the eastern shores of the Red Sea. Had any rumour of it reached by chance Syria or Persia it would have been regarded as an insignificant quarrel between Arab factions, that had no interest for the civilized nations of the Near East. The great event was the coming of Islam, and the year 622 was its epoch-making date because it was then that its founder and 'prophet' Mohammed finally broke with his fellow tribesmen at Mecca. The city standing in a barren hollow of the hills, with only brackish wells so that water had to be brought to it day by day, was already for the Arabs a place of pilgrimage for there was the national sanctuary of their race, the Caaba, a small square stone building, traditionally said to mark the site of the dwelling of Ishmael, the son of Abraham. Round it and along the walls of its courtyard was an array of idols, for the Arabs were mostly pagans, though not all of them. In many places there were little colonies of Jewish traders and refugees from Syria, and there were some Christians, not always orthodox Catholics, for there were not a few Nestorians among them. In Mecca the pagan tradition was the very life of the desert city, for to its shrine it owed its fame among the Arabs and its trade and its markets depended on the pilgrimage.

Islam is generally regarded as a religion radically opposed to Christianity, but the fact is that the initiative of Mohammed's life-work was prompted, not by any rivalry to Christendom, but was at the outset a revolt against the paganism and idolatry of his fellow countrymen, and drew much of its inspiration from what he had learned from Christian acquaintances. He had also Jewish friends, and he had made at least one visit to Jerusalem, with a caravan belonging to his uncle who, after his

father's death, gave him his scanty education. There was a strong Jewish element in the theories of religion he formed in his early manhood, but the Christian element seems to have been more important, though what he heard from the Nestorian refugees in Arabia confused his ideas of what was the orthodox doctrine of the Catholic Church. Primarily his teaching of the unity of God was directed against the polytheism and idolatry of Arabia, but with his defective knowledge of Christian teaching it became also a protest against what he held to be a tritheistic error in the Catholic doctrine, of the divinity of Christ. Yet in the Koran and the Moslem tradition Our Lord is always spoken of with deep reverence. In one of the earliest chapters of the Koran which tells of the angel message to Mary she is told that she is to hear good tidings from God, for she is 'to bear the Word proceeding from Himself whose name will be Christ Jesus, the Son of Mary'. When she says, 'How shall I have a son, since I know no man?' the angel answers: 'God creates that which He wills. When He creates anything, He says only "Be" and *it is*.' Only once in the Koran is there an allusion to the base calumnies of Jewish tradition against Our Lord and His Virgin Mother, and that is to denounce them as abominable falsehoods. Our Lady is spoken of as 'Sitta Miriam'—the 'Lady Mary' and Our Lord is always named as 'Issa ben Miriam', 'Jesus the Son of Mary'. Yet for Islam He is only the greatest of the prophets, God's messengers to men. Moslem tradition predicts the second coming, when He will rule the world in a reign of peace, and then will come at last the Judgment of all mankind.

So at the outset Mohammed's teaching was directed only against the paganism of his native city. He declared that he was inspired from heaven. He was of a highly nervous temperament and subject for many years to trances, and he declared that in this state he received his teaching from Gabriel and other messengers of God. For some twelve years he had been winning adherents, and the crisis of the year 622 came when the men of Mecca realized that he and his friends were becoming a menace to the worship at the shrine, on which the pros-

perity of their city depended. He had friends at Medina, some 200 miles away to the northward. He gradually sent his disciples to this place of refuge, and then, when he had narrowly escaped from a plot to kill him, he fled with his trusted colleague Abu-Bekr to join them at Medina.

Then came the first war of Islam—war between the men of Mecca and Mohammed's followers, now winning crowds of adherents in their city of refuge, destined to be the political capital of their movement for years when Mecca had become their holy city. Raids upon the caravans between Mecca and Syria led to a Meccan march on Medina, and Mohammed's first victory was won in the battle of Bedr (624). It was a little battle so far as numbers went—300 of Mohammed's followers against a thousand of their opponents—but memorable as the prelude of the wars of Moslem conquest and conflicts for centuries in three continents. There was a perilous crisis for Mohammed when his army was defeated in the field, but his successful defence of Medina marked the final turn of the tide in his favour. When he became master of Mecca, and threw down its idols and tribe after tribe in Arabia rallied to his cause, he proclaimed war against the infidel to be one of the religious duties of the faithful, but this meant war against the pagans and idolaters.

Yet almost immediately he took an ambitious step which involved him in strife with the Christian East. He sent letters to Chosroes the king of Persia and to the Graeco-Roman governor of Syria, calling on them to recognize him as the Prophet of God. Chosroes tore up the letter. 'So shall God rend his kingdom,' said Mohammed—a fairly safe prophecy for Chosroes, hard pressed by the armies of Heraclius, was near his downfall. What answer, if any, the governor of Syria gave is not on record; but the envoy of Mohammed was murdered on his return journey and out of this arose the war with the Eastern Empire.

Mohammed died at Medina in June 632. His followers elected as his successor Abu-Bekr, his most trusted friend, the companion of his flight from Mecca, and the father of his

favourite wife. 'Calif', i.e. 'successor', became the title of the religious chief of Islam, till the Caliphate ended in our own time with the flight of the last of the Turkish sultans from Constantinople. Abu-Bekr only ruled for two years, and on his death-bed named as his successor Omar, another of the first followers of Mohammed, who held the Caliphate unto his death by the hand of an assassin in 644. The rapid tide of Moslem conquests ran in three directions, eastward into Persia, northward into Syria, and westward into Egypt and north Africa, and the easily won successes of the Moslem armies revealed the helpless weakness of both Persia and the Eastern Empire. The Arabs were in Damascus in 634. In 637 they besieged Jerusalem. The Patriarch of the Holy City, St. Sophronius, took command of the defence and, when all hope of relief was abandoned and the supplies of food nearly exhausted, he asked for honourable terms of surrender, and the Caliph Omar came from Medina to negotiate a capitulation. In their victorious advance into Syria the Arabs had respected the churches and the numerous monasteries. Omar at once agreed that the Catholics should have full religious freedom and there should be no interference with the pilgrimages to the Holy Places. Invited by Sophronius to visit the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, he showed his thoughtful consideration for the vanquished Christians by declining the invitation and explaining his refusal. 'No,' he said, 'for what you offer me as a privilege some other Calif might demand as a right.' Not wishing to claim any of the church buildings he asked Sophronius where he could find a site for a mosque, and the patriarch suggested the desolate rocky plateau, the site of the temple of Solomon and the later temples erected by Nehemiah and Herod. There Omar built the mosque that bears his name.

Until the eleventh century there was friendly intercourse between the new rulers of the Holy Land and western Europe. There was a constant stream of pilgrimages to Jerusalem from many Christian lands, and pilgrim hospices and new monasteries were founded in the Holy City. The local troubles of Syria, culminating in the conquest of Palestine and Jeru-

salem by the Seljukian Turks, led to the Crusades. So far as western Asia and eastern Europe were concerned it was not the Arabs but the Turks who were for centuries a menace to Christendom.

The Moslem conquest of North Africa began with the invasion of Lower Egypt in 639. The army sent across the isthmus by the Caliph Omar was commanded by one of his most successful generals, Amr ibn-el-Asi. The invaders met with little or no opposition as they marched by the old caravan route from Syria, and south-westward through the border-lands of the Delta to occupy Memphis, the most important city of Egypt after Alexandria.

It stood on the west bank of the main stream of the Nile, just above the point where the great river begins to divide into many water-ways and streams of the fertile delta. It thus commands the traffic of the main river, and dominates all movement between the lower country, and the hundreds of miles of the narrow valley between the desert hills till the cataracts interrupt its navigation. The site of Memphis is now marked only by the remnant of its ruins, but it has a marvellous memorial of its past greatness in the city of its dead—the immense cemetery that extends along the margin of the Libyan desert for more than twenty miles southward from the pyramids of Gizêh. It was one of the oldest of the world's cities, with a record of thousands of years. It had been the capital of early Egypt under a succession of dynasties and still remained a great city, when in far-off years, before the beginning of European history, Thebes on the upper Nile became the capital of the Egyptian Empire.

The defence of the city against an attack from the north-east was provided by a fortress on a spur of the eastern hills and commanding the road between this height and the Nile nearly opposite the northern suburb of Memphis. In the low Nile season a floating bridge linked it with the west bank. The fortress and the riverside village below it were known by the name of Babylon. The local tradition was that the fort had been erected by a colony of soldiers and workers, brought from the

famous city on the Euphrates by Cambyeses, when he conquered Egypt in the sixth century B.C. The Romans had reconstructed the fortress as a square camp, defended by ramparts and towers, and in the great days of their empire it was the station of one of the three legions that garrisoned Egypt. Amr blockaded it, apparently making no attempt to storm the fortifications, but counting on starving it into surrender. Memphis—an open city—made its submission to the invaders. It was some months before the fortress of 'Bablûn' was reduced to surrender, and Amr granted favourable terms to its defenders. On the site of his camp he marked out the foundations of a small city, which was to be (till the foundation of Cairo some 400 years later) the Arab capital of Egypt. He gave it the name of El Fostât—'the Tent'.¹ Then in the spring of 640 he marched northward to besiege Alexandria, with the help of reinforcements sent by the Caliph.

Alexandria was then one of the greatest cities of the Mediterranean, and probably the wealthiest of its trading centres. Strongly fortified, and built on a neck of land between the sea and the wide expanse of swamps and open water known as Lake Mareotis, it was a difficult place to attack with an Arab army that had no warships to support it. There could be no blockade of its sea-front, for the sea-power of the Moslems in the Mediterranean was still far in the future. Amr could do little more than blockade with entrenched lines its land-fronts on the east and west between the sea and the lagoon. If Constantinople had been able to send a war fleet to its help, or even, without any armed support, merchant craft had been bringing supplies to the port, the city would have been all but impregnable. But the Eastern Empire had long neglected its navy and maintained only a few warships as the guard of the Dardanelles and Bosphorus, and despite urgent requests for help

¹ Fostât (or what little remains of it) with the village and ruined fortress of Babylon, are now a southern suburb of Cairo, the city founded in the tenth century as the Arab capital of Egypt. The suburb is known as 'Old Cairo'. The ruined ramparts of the Roman camp now enclose a mass of native houses, with narrow streets. A Coptic monastery bears the name of *Dêr Bablûn*—the 'convent of Babylon'. In medieval Europe Cairo was long known by the name of Babylon.

not a single ship was sent from Constantinople during the long siege. Heraclius, now more than sixty years of age, was strangely inactive. He was no longer the energetic soldier who had only a few years before been the winner of victories in the Persian war. He had looked on helplessly at the Moslem advance in Asia, leaving the defence of his provinces to the local garrisons and sending them no reinforcements. He was as inactive during the conquest of Egypt. Years and the painful malady that was soon to end his life seemed to have broken his spirit, and what little energy remained to him was wasting in ill-directed efforts to settle theological controversies by imperial decree.

The Arab invasion of Egypt, when it culminated in the investment of Alexandria, not only cut off the food supplies of the city coming from the Delta, but also indirectly ruined the trade of the port, ending not merely the arrival of caravans and of cargoes by way of the canals, but soon stopping the arrival of ships from other countries, which could now expect neither a market for imports nor outgoing cargoes. The populous city was further crowded by refugees from the neighbouring district. Month after month went by without hope of help or relief. There was an outbreak of pestilence, and a rising toll of death, but it was not till the fourteenth month of the siege that the starving city surrendered in the winter of 640. Amr granted to the Christians the same terms that Omar had given to Sophronius when Jerusalem was captured. The churches were to be respected, and there was to be religious freedom. He wrote to the Caliph telling of the glories of the captured capital of Egypt, which he described as a city of palaces. The often repeated story that he destroyed the famous library of Alexandria is a baseless legend.

The conquest of Lower Egypt had been a fairly easy success. The peasants of the Delta villages seem to have been no more concerned at a change of masters than were the bullocks that worked their water-wheels. In the towns and in the captured cities there had been a division among the Christians since the Council of Chalcedon, and the Jacobite Copts, the heterodox party, had in many of the towns welcomed the invaders. The

Jews, a large element in the trading population of Alexandria, were quite content with the change of government. Amr was a tactful ruler. A stream of new settlers began to arrive from Arabia, and besides providing for the garrisons, he was able to reinforce his army. Various towns along the Nile as far as Aswân and the First Cataract were occupied, and the tide of conquest began to set westward from Alexandria. The district of Cyrene was occupied by the summer of 642, and in the next two years the coast-lands of Tripoli.

There was then for nearly twenty years a pause in the westward advance of the Arabs. A disputed succession to the Caliphate was a check on the central impulse from western Asia so far as Africa was concerned, but this period saw the beginning of a naval power for the Moslems in the eastern Mediterranean, where Rhodes was captured in 653. The African advance began once more in 661. Moawiya, the governor of Syria, had secured the Caliphate. He was the son of the Meccan chief who had been defeated in Mohammed's first victory at Bedr, and afterwards became one of his supporters. Moawiya, the conqueror of Rhodes, was an able soldier and ruler. He transferred the capital of Islam from Medina to Damascus and founded the Ommiad dynasty of Caliphs that ruled for nearly a century. In the first year of his reign he received messages from malcontents in the Roman province of Africa, inviting his intervention. They complained that the government at Constantinople was exacting increased taxation from the province, a greater burden than the tribute paid by the Christians in Moslem Africa, and they told how at Carthage the bishop, who also acted as governor, was not only enforcing the ruinous taxation, but also had in many ways made himself unpopular with the citizens. They assured him that large numbers of their compatriots would prefer the Moslem rule to that of the Roman Empire. The Caliph decided that what was left of Roman Africa was ripe for intervention, but he left it to the Emir Okba, who governed the lands of Tripoli, to take what action he judged best.

Okba invaded the province, but made no attempt to capture

Carthage. Perhaps he rightly judged that the disloyal citizens of the capital who had sent their message to Damascus might prove weak and doubtful allies, and he did not care to risk being involved in a long siege of the strongly fortified city. He was content to overrun the open country, where he met with hardly any resistance. This easy success encouraged him to advance steadily westward through Numidia (the Algeria of to-day) in a series of almost bloodless campaigns, for the old power of Rome was now little more than a name, and the Berber tribes known to Europe as the Moors were willing enough to accept the overlordship of the new-comers.

In 671 he founded the new city of Kairwan (the 'resting place'), some eighty miles south of Carthage. It was a fortified city which he intended to be the capital, the citadel, and the sanctuary of the Moslem power in the north-west of Africa. Its mosque became a place of pilgrimage for the Arabs in Africa second in rank only to Mecca and Medina. Only Moslems were allowed to make their homes in the city or even to enter its gates. By this time Roman rule in the province was limited to Carthage and its immediate neighbourhood. In 682 Okba marched into Mauretania, the Morocco of to-day. It had long ceased to be a Roman province in anything more than name. He marched through the country easily obtaining the submission of the local chiefs, and his triumph was complete on the day when he reached the western coast, and at the head of a mounted escort rode into the rising tide of the Atlantic, and declared that the limits of the world had been reached by his victorious advance.

He lost his life not long after by the hand of an assassin, and it was left to his successor Moussa ibn Noman to complete the conquest of north Africa by the capture of Carthage. He besieged the city in 697 and met with a very feeble resistance. Next year he had to take it a second time, as the result of a revolt of some of the citizens. Moussa ordered the destruction of the city. Tunis, a small coast-town a few miles to the southward, was to replace it as the capital of the province. The walls the citadel, the churches and other public buildings became

quarries for the new capital, and the famous harbour was closed and silted up. Two shallow lakes now mark the site of the docks that once were the chief station of navies that commanded the Mediterranean.

Europe was now completely cut off from Africa. From Egypt to the Moorish coast of the Atlantic by the year 700 all the lands of the north between the desert and the sea were under the rule of Islam, the new power whose very name was unknown until the third decade of the seventh century. A remarkable feature of the Arab conquest was the fact that outside Egypt, within the lifetime of many who saw the coming of the invaders, Christianity had all but disappeared from the north African lands. We still hear what seems to many an easy explanation of this rapid spread of the Moslem religion in the wake of Arab conquest—the theory that the offer made by the Moslem victors to the conquered peoples was a choice between ‘the Koran and the sword’. Later on, especially under Turkish rule, there were local persecutions of the Christians, but during the first conquests of the Arabs there was a policy of tolerance, and the only disability imposed on the Christians was the payment of a tribute in lieu of the obligation of military service, which was a duty only of the Moslems. If during the conquest of Africa conversion to Islam had been imposed by the sword, there would surely be numbers of names of martyrs in our calendars and lives of the saints. No record of Christians put to death in hatred of the Faith is to be found in the story of the early years of conquest. Islam spread far and wide in the wake of Moslem victory, but the true explanation of this fact would seem to be that, especially in north-west Africa in the years after the Vandal kingdom, there must have been a widespread decay of the Faith among the people. It would seem, indeed, that in Mauretania and Numidia outside the coast-towns the villagers and the tribesmen of the hill-country were Christians in little more than name. The prestige of victory, the freedom from tribute, the readiness of the victors to accept new adherents as their equals attracted numbers of men to the new religion. There is proof of the widespread adherence of the people west of the country of Tripoli

in the fact that many thousands of the Moslem invaders of Spain were recruited from the Moorish tribes of the west. So marked was the importance of this element among the Moslem conquerors of Spain that its new masters were known not as Arabs but as Moors. Later the Arab element in northern Africa was reinforced by the coming of armies and bands of immigrants from Egypt, Syria, and Arabia, but in their western territories the Arabs were for some time in the minority, a fact largely unnoticed because the new adherents of the government religion generally adopted Arab names, and whatever education their children received was chiefly the reading of the Koran.

In 711 the invasion of Spain began when, invited by a traitor to the Christian cause, Tarik crossed the straits with an army of Moors and Arabs, the vanguard of a larger force which arrived under Musa, the governor of North Africa. The Christians were divided by years of rivalry for the crown of the Visigothic kingdom, and the result was an easy success for the invaders. Roderic, the last of the Gothic kings, attempted to bar their inland advance at the crossing of the Guadelete river near Jerez de la Frontera on the 19th July, 711, and for Spain the battle was worse than a mere defeat, for the Moorish victory was the result of some thousands of Roderic's forces deserting his standard to join the enemy and ensure the disastrous rout of the royal army. By the end of 714 the Moors had pushed their conquest as far as the eastern Pyrenees. All that was left of the Christian kingdom was the hill-country of the north-west. Several of the Spanish nobles had accepted grants of principalities on condition of paying tribute. Two of these tributary princes professed themselves converts to Islam. Reinforced from Africa and Syria the Moors passed the Pyrenees at their eastern end in 718, and gradually overran south-western France. It was not till 732 that their advance was stayed, when the Moorish army of Abd-er-Rahman was defeated by Charles Martel in the great battle of Tours. The Moors were attempting to secure the passage of the Loire at Tours and some of the accounts of the battle describe them as actually attacking the

city, but the battle seems to have been fought farther south in the open country towards Poitiers. We have only vague and discordant accounts of the conflict, but all, whether given by Christian or Arab chroniclers, agree that it was a complete rout of the Moors after two days of hard fighting. As Abd-er-Rahman retired southward he received news of a revolt in north Africa, and he hurried back to Spain to direct its suppression. The sequel of Charles Martel's victory was that in a few years the Moors were forced to abandon all the lands they had occupied north of the Pyrenees. For centuries the chief contact of Europe with Africa came through this African power established in Spain. It was not till the fall of Granada (1492) that the Moorish rule in Spain ended after more than 700 years of intermittent warfare between Christian and Moslem. There were times of truce and even temporary peace, and the Christian reconquest was often delayed in its gradual advance from the north-west by quarrels between the new Christian kingdoms,¹ though at other times it was helped by disputes and even civil wars between rival factions and leaders amongst the Moors. There were, however, some friendly contacts between Christians and Moors, especially in the field of science and philosophy. Students from many countries of western Europe were welcome at the University of Cordova, long the capital of Moorish Spain, and its sister seat of learning at Seville. To Cordova there came in the tenth century a young monk from France, Gerbert of Aurillac, who was destined to rule the Church as Pope Sylvester II (999-1003). He studied mathematics under Moorish teachers, and introduced to Europe the Arabic numerals. The prefix *Al* (the) in several scientific terms such as Alchemy, the first form of chemistry, and Algebra (*al jebr*) is a reminder of times when the teachers of the Moorish schools were among

¹ It was in one of the civil wars among the Christians of Spain that Edward the Black Prince won his last victory at the battle of Najera, in 1367. Pedro the Cruel, deposed from the throne of Castile, had come to his court at Bordeaux to ask for Edward's help to regain his crown. The Black Prince crossed the Pyrenees with an army of English knights and archers and the local levies of his principality of Aquitaine, and as the result of his victory occupied Burgos and restored the deposed king.

the pioneers of science. The works of Aristotle first reached the Europe of the Middle Ages through Arabic versions from the schools of Spain translated into Latin, with some of the commentaries and writings of Arab philosophers, whose latinized names appear in the writings of St. Thomas when he refers to their theories.¹ There is an impression that St. Thomas, like his own famous teacher St. Albert the Great, had only the Latin versions of Aristotle, but he was able to base his work on a version made directly from the original Greek, by two of his Dominican brethren who had spent some years in Constantinople, learned Greek, and brought back a collection of manuscripts to Cologne. It is a popular error to imagine that Greek studies did not begin in old Europe till two centuries later, after the fall of Constantinople.

There was some trade from the European ports of the Mediterranean with northern Africa before the Crusades, largely through Jewish agencies, and thus amongst other costly goods ivory found its way to Europe, from central Africa, thanks to the growing caravan traffic of the Arabs across the Sahara. There was also the beginning of piracy, though its serious developments from Algiers and Barbary came later.

In the period between the Arab conquest of Africa and the Crusades the trend of sea-borne commerce from Europe to the Near East was chiefly directed to Constantinople and to the Holy Land. The Arab rulers of Syria had faithfully observed the engagement given by Omar promising freedom and protection for the pilgrimages to Jerusalem. A favourite route from western and central Europe was by way of Venice after the naval victories of the Doge Orscolo and his destruction of the last stronghold of the Dalmatian pirates in the year 1000. But soon the returning pilgrims told how they were robbed, insulted, and ill-treated by new rulers of Syria and Jerusalem. These were the semi-civilized Seljukian Turks, the vanguard of a new

¹ Mostly the references are to Avicenna (Ibn-Sina), the most famous of the Arab philosophers and scientists of the East, and Averroes (Ibn-Rushd), a native of Cordova and a master in its university in the twelfth century, who based his system on the Arabic versions of Aristotle and was the most famous scholar of the Moslems in the West.

invasion of the Near East from central Asia, where they had become Moslems during their westward migration. They had rapidly won a new empire which extended from beyond the Tigris to the shores of the Mediterranean. It was to assert the right of freedom for the pilgrimages that Urban II proclaimed the first of the Crusades at the Council of Clermont in 1095. The result of the victorious march of the Crusaders through Asia Minor into Syria and the Holy Land was the foundation of the Christian kingdom of Jerusalem, and the principalities and countships of Antioch, Edessa, and Tripoli in Asia, and the restoration to the Greek Empire of the greater part of the territories the Seljuks had occupied in Asia Minor.

The new kingdom of Jerusalem lasted for nearly a century (1098-1187). During its earlier years its position seemed secure, for the Seljuk Empire was breaking up. The military forces of the kingdom were maintained with the help of adventurous knights from the West, and two military orders, the Templars and the Knights Hospitallers of St. John were formed to provide permanent guardians for the Holy Land. On its northern side it had useful outposts in the Christian countships. On the south Egypt was in hands of weak and unenterprising Moslem rulers. From time to time among the Crusaders at Jerusalem there had been talk of a conquest of Egypt, but through the earlier period of the Crusades no attempt was anywhere made against the Moslem power in Africa. There were only some insignificant skirmishes with raiders across the isthmus. Before long, however, the kingdom of Jerusalem was seriously menaced. Zenghi, the governor of Mosul, revolted against the Seljuk ruler of Irak, and rapidly extended his power into northern Syria. His son and successor, Nur-ed-din, took Antioch and Tripoli and made Damascus his capital. On the news of the fall of Edessa St. Bernard had preached a second Crusade through Europe. It ended in disastrous defeat. Saladin, the nephew of Nur-ed-din, had been sent to depose the feeble ruler of Egypt and take control of the country. On the death of Nur-ed-din he was proclaimed Sultan of Syria and Egypt. In 1187 he captured Jerusalem.

Saladin was a tolerant ruler of his Christian subjects both in Egypt and the Holy Land. When the first effort to recapture Jerusalem—the Third Crusade—ended in failure, and Richard Cœur de Lion, despite the capture of Acre and the victories he won in his southward march, found himself abandoned by his French allies and had to give up all hope of continuing his campaign, his negotiations with Saladin secured a treaty by which peace was guaranteed for three years (September 1192) and it was set forth that ‘the people of the West were to be free to make pilgrimages to Jerusalem’ and the taxes formerly levied on the pilgrims were to be abolished. Saladin established his capital at Cairo, and the Sultans of the dynasty he founded adopted a friendly policy towards the native Christians, both the orthodox Copts and the more numerous schismatics. The primary objects of the First Crusade had been secured and perhaps permanent peace might have been established between the Christian West and the Moslem rulers of Egypt and Syria, but for nearly another century the conquest of the Near East continued to be a recurring objective in the policy of the West.

In the long reign of Saladin’s nephew and second successor at Cairo, Malik-al-Kamil (1218–38), Egypt was the scene of a crusading expedition, and a peaceful attempt to win the Sultan to the true faith of Christendom. The crusading attempt on Egypt was nominally under the command of a French leader, Jean de Brienne, who claimed through his marriage with Mary of Montferrat, a descendant of the last reigning king of Jerusalem during the crusading kingdom, to be its titular king. But there was really a divided command, and Brienne’s counsels were continually overborne by the Papal legate, who accompanied the expedition, and by the commanders of the Templars and the Knights of St. John. Landing at the mouth of the eastern branch of the Nile, in 1218, the Crusaders besieged its guardian fortress, Damietta. The garrison made a stubborn resistance, and it was not till after a year-long siege that Damietta was captured towards the end of 1219. The whole of the following year was wasted, for instead of advancing up the Nile the Crusaders were waiting for reinforcements from Europe, where

Frederick II, the Emperor of Germany, had taken the Cross of the Crusades, and was expected to come to Damietta with a new army. He deferred his coming on the plea of settling affairs in his own dominions, and it was not till the approach of summer in 1221 that it was decided to begin the advance along the river. Brienne reluctantly consented to it and urged in vain that an offer made by the Sultan Al Kamil should be accepted. (The Sultan was anxious for peace and ready to cede to the Crusaders Jerusalem and a large part of the Holy Land.) Some forty miles up the river the Crusaders found their further advance barred by the fortress Al Kamil had begun to construct nearly two years before, during the siege of Damietta, a strong entrenched work, round which later the town of Mansura grew up. In July the siege of the fortress began, but was soon abandoned on the approach of the Sultan's army. In August the Crusaders found themselves penned up between the rising waters of the Nile and the superior forces of the Sultan. Short of supplies, cut off from any help, and with sickness in their camp, they had to ask for terms. Al Kamil dealt generously with them. His first act was to send abundant provisions to their camp. They agreed to surrender Damietta and as ransom for the fortress Al Kamil promised to restore the relics of the True Cross which Saladin had brought from Jerusalem to Cairo. A peace or truce for eight years was arranged. It was in the second year of the peace, 1223, that St. Francis of Assisi with twelve companions of his Order made his visit to Egypt—his peaceful crusade. In the charming popular record of early Franciscan days—the *Fioretti di San Francisco*—we have the legend of 'How St. Francis converted to the Faith the Sultan of Babylon', and we read how the saint and his companions were imprisoned and ill treated, but when they were brought before the Sultan the eloquence of St. Francis so impressed him that at a private interview he confessed that he was convinced of the truth, though he could not yet venture publicly to profess himself a Christian; but how on his death-bed, thanks to the saint's intercession in heaven, two friars were miraculously brought to his bedside, and he died a Christian. Such is the

legend—the story of what might have been. The historic fact is that Al Kamil gave his Christian visitors a friendly reception. He had repeatedly shown his goodwill towards the Christians. His own Moslem creed taught him to honour poverty embraced in the service of religion. The Arab word *fakir* (a devotee) means literally ‘a poor man’, and the personal charm of ‘the poor man of Assisi’ must have gone far to win the goodwill of the Arab Sultan. He refused the rich presents offered him by Al Kamil, and though he went away disappointed that he had neither converted the Sultan, nor won the crown of martyrdom, his journey to Cairo was the pioneer event of the Franciscan mission of the Near East, where for centuries the Franciscans have been the peaceful guardians of the Holy Sepulchre.

There was another Crusader invasion of Egypt strangely like the enterprise of Jean de Brienne, but with even a more disastrous ending. St. Louis of France (Louis IX) landed near Damietta in the spring of 1249 with a force chiefly made up of his own subjects, and took the city after a brief siege. It was not till near the end of the year that Louis began his march inland. Once more the advance of the Crusaders was barred at Mansura, where the vanguard, under the king’s brother Robert, after penetrating into the new town, was cut to pieces in close fighting in the narrow streets. The victorious Moslems attacked the main body, and penned it up between their extended front and the Nile bank south of the fortress. It seems that as the result of the long delay during the hot season in the marshy country about Damietta there was already much sickness in the crusading ranks. Louis’s friend and biographer Joinville, who was with him when the army was thus beleaguered by the Moslems, tells how a pestilence broke out in the camp, which he attributes to the men having to live chiefly on fish from the river ‘which had fed on the bodies of the dead’. There were Moslem attacks by day and night, and the new terror of the besiegers sending blazing rockets of ‘Greek fire’ into the Christian lines. After a fearful loss of life there was a helpless surrender. The king was set at liberty with a few of his companions on the

promise to evacuate Damietta and pay a ransom of a million gold bezants. Louis went to Acre, one of the coast-cities of Syria still in possession of the Crusaders, and negotiated for the freedom of his followers. He was only partly successful. Numbers remained in slavery in Egypt, now under the rule of the Mamelukes—a military organization not unlike the Turkish Janissaries of later times. Their chiefs had deposed the last of the line of Saladin, and were for centuries to come the rulers of Egypt. One serious result of the defeat of the Crusaders was that an immense quantity of European arms, armour, and military equipment was left in possession of the victors.

Twenty years after his defeat on the Nile, Louis lost his life in another African enterprise. He embarked with a crusading expedition destined for Egypt and Syria, but misled by false reports that the Bey of Tunis was inclined not only to make common cause with the Christians against the Mamelukes in Egypt, but perhaps also himself to become a Christian, the king interrupted his voyage by disembarking with a detachment of his army near the ruins of Carthage, in July 1270. He did not know that plague had broken out in Tunis. The pestilence spread to the Crusaders' camp and reaped a terrible toll of death. On the 25th August the king was its victim. His death brought the whole enterprise to an end and the remnant of the army returned to France. This unfortunate expedition to Tunisia is known as the Seventh Crusade. It was the last of these great adventures.

One of the most unfortunate results of the Moslem conquest of Egypt and north Africa was the isolation and the final extinction of the Christian kingdoms in Nubia and the far-southern Sudan, and the disappearance of the Christian faith from these wide regions of Africa. In recent years something has been added to our knowledge of this obscure chapter of history, but there are still many gaps in the record, and much of it is lost for ever. The country known to the Greeks as Ethiopia was what is now the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan—a land cut off from Egypt by the cataracts and deserts of the Upper Nile. Its people had learned something of the arts of ancient Egypt. For cen-

turies before the Christian era the Pharaohs had made raids beyond the cataracts. They had worked gold-mines in the eastern desert and built great temples on the river, but they never held more than the northern border of Ethiopia, and when Cambyzes conquered Egypt the Persians lost a great army in an attempt to march across the frontier deserts.

In the Acts of the Apostles we read how one of the earliest Gentile converts was a servant of 'Candace, Queen of the Ethiopians,' who on a journey to Palestine met the Apostle St. Philip. Candace's kingdom was on the Upper Nile between it and the Atbara river. The site of Meroe, its capital, is marked by a number of small pyramids and many graves. Meroe was one of three Christian kingdoms of the Upper Nile. Farther north was the powerful kingdom of Dongola, and to the south, between the White and Blue Niles, above their junction, there was a third Christian kingdom, Alwa. Perhaps there is survival of its old name in that of the Alawin, a half-Arab and half-Negroid tribe of this region.

Many Christians from Upper Egypt took refuge in the Dongola country in the fierce persecution of Decius, whose edicts were published in 250. But paganism lingered long in this district. The worship of Isis in the temples of Philae continued after the edict of Theodosius forbade the public honour of the pagan gods throughout the Roman Empire. It was only in the middle of the sixth century that Narses, one of Justinian's generals, suppressed the heathen sacrifices at Philae. At the ruined temple in the narrows of Kalâbsha, south of Philae, there is an inscription of Silko, a Nubian ruler who is believed to have been the first Christian king of Dongola. He describes himself as 'Silko, King of the Nubadae (Nubians) and of all the Ethiopians', and tells of victories won 'by the help of God' over the idolatrous tribes. From Philae southwards many of the pagan temples were converted into churches. A Mohammedan traveller, Abu Sahih, who visited the countries of the Upper Nile in the twelfth century describes Dongola, the capital of the kingdom, as 'a great city on the banks of the blessed Nile, with many churches, large houses, and wide streets', and he

mentions by name many monasteries in the neighbourhood. Their ruins and those of churches with nave, aisles, and sanctuary, are still to be seen at many places on the Upper Nile and in the oases of the desert. Abu Salih describes Alwa, the most southerly of the Christian kingdoms, as more powerful than Dongola, a fertile land with vast herds of cattle. In the guest houses of its capital Moslem travellers were hospitably welcomed. He says there were in the kingdom 400 churches and many monasteries. Southward were heathen tribes who worshipped sun, moon, and stars.

Early in the fourteenth century the kingdom of Dongola was overrun by the Moslem armies. It was in 1317 that the first mosque was erected in its capital. The tide of conquest rolled gradually southward, but far into the fifteenth century the kingdom of Alwa survived. After its downfall came the gradual extinction of Christianity on the Upper Nile. All the lowlands west of the Blue Nile had been occupied by Arabs crossing the Red Sea. In north-eastern Africa the only native state that survived was Abyssinia, thanks to its warlike races and the strength of their mountain country. We have a last and a sad record of the remnant of the Christians of Alwa, in the closing years of the Jesuit mission to the Abyssinians. Envoys from the Christians of the Sudan came to Father Alvarez to ask him for priests to be sent to them. They said their priesthood had died out, and told how they had more than once tried to send to Rome a messenger to ask for a bishop and priests to come to them, but they had had no reply, probably because their envoys had never got even as far as Lower Egypt. Father Alvarez was powerless to help them; he was barely able to maintain his mission in Abyssinia and the Jesuits were expelled soon after. Gradually the remnant of the Christians of the Sudan disappeared, leaving nothing to tell of them but the fragments of their history and the ruins of their churches. There were no priests in the Sudan until, in the mid-years of the nineteenth century, the Emperor Francis Joseph of Austria founded the college of Verona to provide missionaries for the Upper Nile.

After the crusades for nearly two centuries the contacts of

Europe with Africa were almost entirely those of a limited trade chiefly from the Italian ports. In 1415 the Portuguese captured Ceuta in Morocco, opposite Gibraltar. Prince Henry, a younger son of their king, distinguished himself in this victory and won his knighthood. Three years later he saved Ceuta from a Moorish attempt to recapture it, and for this good service he was appointed governor of Algarve, the southern province of Portugal. Here he took up his residence for nearly all the rest of his life at the small port and town of Sagres near Cape St. Vincent, the extreme south-western point of the kingdom. He had already taken an interest in navigation, and had collected information about the Moorish trade in Africa, by the desert caravans and by coasting craft. At Sagres he established a school of navigation and a collection of charts, instruments, and records of travel, and year by year he sent out expeditions to explore the Atlantic coast of Africa, his first object being to open trade by sea with the countries to which the land-routes were held by the Moslems. Though he was seldom himself at sea he won by the successful enterprises he inaugurated the surname of 'the Navigator'. To the prince and his school of Sagres belongs the fame of having ended the isolation of Africa from Europe.

EUROPEAN GEOGRAPHICAL DISCOVERY
AND EXPANSION

By A. HILLIARD ATTERIDGE

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CHAPTER I

The known and unknown world in the times of the Roman Empire—Ptolemy's pioneer work for geography—the eastern trade-routes—reputed wealth of India and the Far East.

WHEN in the third century the Roman Empire had reached its widest extension the greater part of the world was, even among the statesmen and scholars of the time, a vast unknown region. In Europe itself the lands of the north and east were still unexplored.

Britain had been partly conquered and colonized. The northern frontier of this province was for a while marked by an entrenched line from the Clyde to the Forth, withdrawn before long to more strongly fortified lines on the Cheviot Hills.

The Scottish Highland country was still an unexplored wilderness. In central Europe little was known of the German lands beyond the fortified line that marked the frontier of the Empire from a point on the Rhine a few miles south of Cologne to the bend of the Danube near Ratisbon. The lands around the Baltic, and the very existence of the land-locked sea itself, were unknown. The trade-routes from the East passed south of the Caspian; only the southern part of the sea was vaguely known. The salt in its waters and the presence of seals suggested a theory that it was the south part of a long inlet from the Arctic seas. The vast land of forests and steppes north of the Black Sea was the unexplored territory of Scythian tribes.

The waters and coast-lands of the Mediterranean had been well known since the times of the early Greek and Phœnician navigators and colonists. It had been fairly well mapped, and seamen no longer merely coasted along its shores, but could steer for the open sea and lay a course by sun and stars that gave them a landfall at or close to their destination. Westward of the Nile valley Africa had been explored and added to the Empire only as far as the border region of the Sahara. From Tripolitana and Cyrene to the Atlantic it was for the Empire something like a great island between the land-locked sea and the desert sands.

Egypt—reckoned by classic geographers as part of Asia—extended inland for hundreds of miles, but from the southern apex of the rich delta it was a narrow belt of irrigated land between the river-banks and the desert, except where an expanse of occupied ground was the site of the temple city of Thebes, on the right bank, and on the left a region of shrines and cemeteries. The Empire had its farthest southern outpost at a fort on the craggy cliff of Kasr Ibrîm, about a hundred and fifty miles south of the barrier of the First Cataract. Beyond this there was some trade along the river in the district of Dongola. Farther south was a region of mystery. The annual flood of the Nile and the source of the great river were for centuries the subject of vague conjectures and divergent theories. Some held that it came from a country of lakes and marshes in the far south. Others (probably because they had heard how some of the caravan traders of the western Sahara told that there was south of the desert a wide river flowing to the eastward) suggested that the Nile had its source in unknown west Africa.

By far the greater part of Asia was a vast region of mystery. Only of the south-west was there definite knowledge. Asia Minor, Armenia, and Syria had been parcelled out into Roman provinces. For a short time the eastern frontier had been pushed beyond the Tigris and Euphrates. Centuries of contact had given the Greeks some knowledge of Persia and Mesopotamia. After the victorious campaigns of Alexander the Great minor Greek settlements had existed for a time in the heart of Asia. He had pursued Darius, after the battle of Arbela, as far as the upper Oxus. In his raid on India he had reached the upper course of the Indus by the Afghan highlands and the Khyber Pass, crossed the river, and returned to Babylonia by following its course to the sea, and then moving by the coastlands of the ocean and the Persian Gulf.

War in our days means much map-making, but in these old times even a far-sweeping campaign did not bring much new geographical knowledge unless it led to permanent conquest and settlement. At this early period traders were more important pioneers than soldiers. When Alexander marched down

the Khyber Pass he was entering India by one of the oldest trade-routes of the East. Trade itself, however, in these early times brought to Europe little knowledge of far-off lands and the routes of traffic within them, unless Europeans themselves personally engaged in directing the transport of goods over the entire route, and had agents in the far-off lands whose produce thus reached them.

In the great days of the Roman Empire there was a continuous importation of valuable goods to Italy and other Mediterranean lands from India and apparently to a still larger extent from China. Yet little was known of India and even less of China and the Far East. In the middle years of the second century (about A.D. 150) Ptolemy, one of the learned men of the Greek colony in Egypt and probably the ablest of the pioneers of mathematics, astronomy, and geography, produced his treatise on map-making, his list of latitudes and longitudes of many places in the then known lands, and his map of the world—most famous of early maps. At Alexandria he was in one of the most important trade-centres of his time, and he had at his disposal an observatory and a famous library. Peninsular India does not appear on his map, but it gives a rough outline of northern India showing the Indus and the Ganges. Immediately south of this appears, in greatly exaggerated size and with an incorrect outline, the island of 'Taprobane', which we call Ceylon.

The map did not extend to the Pacific coasts of Asia, but nearly reached them. North of the 40th parallel of latitude, and thus well to the northward of most of the China of to-day, it showed a tract of country named 'Serica', that is 'Silk Land'. By the time the map was produced the Chinese had extended their power much farther south and reached the region watered by the Yang-tse-Kiang. Not only is the Silk Land placed too far north, but there is no indication of this huge river on Ptolemy's map.

The name Serica is interesting, for silk was for centuries the best-known and most highly valued product of Far-Eastern Asia that had reached Europe even before the Christian era.

This and other Chinese exports and Far-Eastern products reached Europe by one of the oldest and most important trade-routes of the ancient world, long known as 'the Silk Route'. To traverse it from the Great Wall of China to the eastern shores of the Black Sea meant a journey of nearly 4,000 miles, entailing some six months of travel. For most of the way the transport depended on camel caravans. The camel of this old trade-route was a very different animal from his distant cousins of Arabia and north Africa. The Arab camel has a light coat of hair adapted for his torrid summer climate. The camel of central and eastern Asia (the Bactrian camel of the zoologists), thanks to his shaggy coat of long hair, can plod across snow-clad wastes and over cold wind-swept plateaux and passes, carrying at least twice the weight that is the normal load of the Arab variety.

The silk route from northern China lay across the Gobi Desert, then north-west and through high mountain regions to Kashgar, where it turned westward by Samarkand to Bokhara. At the towns, each the centre of a large oasis in the hills or in the desert lands, there would be a halt for some days, and a fair was held for local business with the caravan. At Bokhara it would be joined by other camel trains that had come from India by the Khyber Pass and northern Afghanistan. Then the march was continued across the barren Kara Kum steppes to the southern shores of the Caspian Sea. West of this inland sea the huge caravan broke up to dispose of its merchandise at the frontier trading-posts of Syria and Asia Minor or the ports of the Black Sea coast.

The Indian trade that linked up with the silk-route caravans from the Far East was only one part and probably only a minor part of the Indian traffic with the lands of the Mediterranean. In the Roman Empire little was known of India, but it had the reputation of being a land of powerful and wealthy states. Amongst the merchandise it sent to the West, diamonds and other precious stones were the most valuable. There was ivory, to a less amount and of not so high a quality as the supply from Africa. Spices of various kinds, all commanding a high price, were an important factor in the India trade, but it is

likely that these and some other imports from the East came to a large extent from the Indian trade with the islands of the great eastern archipelago. There were two main trade-routes to the lands of the Mediterranean. The northern route was by the passes of the Hindu Kush through Persia to Syria and Asia Minor. There was also a stream of sea-borne traffic from India by the Persian Gulf, adding considerably to the supplies that came through the Afghan passes. From Persia to Syria the trade went across the western desert, where the oasis of Palmyra developed into a rich centre of trade, with a city of stately temples and public buildings, and an encircling belt of palm-groves. Part of the caravans went to the markets of Damascus, but there was a more southern trade-route by Galilee and the valley of Esdraelon to the coast-plain of Palestine and the road that led to the Isthmus of Suez and the great port of Alexandria.

There was another important route for Indian trade that included what was probably the only voyages in the open sea in all the ancient world. The sailors of Malabar, no doubt after a long period of coast voyages to the Persian Gulf and along the southern shores of Arabia, ventured on a more direct route, trusting to the Monsoon, the wind that blows for half the year—April to October—from the south-west and for the rest of the year from the north-east. Steering by sun and stars they reached the large island of Sokotra off Cape Guardafui, the most eastern point of Africa, near the opening of the Gulf of Aden. The island was regularly visited by the Egyptian trading craft on their voyage from the Red Sea to the eastern coasts of Africa, for in those early days it was, as it still is, rich in various products, the most precious of which was incense—myrrh and frankincense—and other produce of its woods and farms.¹

¹ The island has a population of about 12,000. It was formerly much more populous. An Arab writer of the Middle Ages tells that at that time its sultan could muster 10,000 fighting men. Since 1876 it has been a British protectorate under the Governor of Aden, with a native sultan. For several hundred years the people were Christians, though for much of this time chiefly Nestorians. It was under Arab rule when Albuquerque seized it in 1507. The Portuguese held it for some time. Under the subsequent rule of the Arabs all the population gradually became Moslems.

When the pioneers of this new route from India established a regular trade, it was the custom for their ships to land their cargoes at Sokotra, which became for centuries a market for Indian goods. These were taken over by the merchant craft of the Red Sea, mostly with Egypt and Alexandria for their destination.

On this southern route as well as on the land-routes farther north the trade of eastern Asia was thus ended by the transfer of all its merchandise to agents who distributed it in the European lands of the Mediterranean. This brought to the peoples of the Roman Empire little knowledge of the far-off lands from which it came. One dominant idea as to the lands of far-eastern Asia became a tradition of Europe, namely, that of the 'Indies'—the countries of the Far East—being sources of endless valuable natural and artificial products, countries and states of fabulous wealth. So it came that when, in the fifteenth century, new aids to navigation made distant voyages possible the record of the exploration of the world became that of efforts to reach the Indies by the ocean.

CHAPTER II

The making of the new Europe of the Middle Ages—the monks the pioneers of Christian civilization in the lands beyond the old western Empire—the Norse peril—Charlemagne's project of averting it by the conversion of the Northmen—Norse discoveries in the north-east lead to their advance through eastern Russia and opening a new route to the Near East—the Norse exodus to Iceland and Greenland—Norse discovery of America—ruin of the Greenland colony—progress in Iceland—the Norse conquest of Normandy—the conversion of Norway.

FROM the fourth century onwards for some hundreds of years the exploration of new lands in Europe was largely the result of the missionary labours of the Church and its religious Orders. In the Western Empire new nations—heathen or professing a sectarian form of Christianity, the result of contacts with eastern Arianism—were gradually becoming masters of the Roman provinces, after in many cases first appearing as tributaries or allies of the Empire. As the years went on warlike tribes from regions as yet vaguely known in western Europe—tribes from the Baltic shores, the steppes of Russia, and even from western Asia—crossed the Danube and the Rhine and found their way westward through the passes of the Alps and the Pyrenees. German historians write of this time as the period of 'the wandering of the nations'. It was more like the time of a great human tide from the eastward, overflowing the Western Empire, and sending a side-wave southwards across the Danube into the Balkan lands, and even menacing Constantinople itself.

In these troubled years it was the Church that saved civilized Europe from utter ruin, and then extended its peaceful conquests to lands and peoples beyond the utmost limits of the fallen Empire.

Even before all the invading nations were won to Christendom these new conquests had begun in the lands of central and northern Europe that had been for centuries the almost unknown regions of the 'Barbarians' outside the frontiers of the Roman power. This missionary work was also a most valuable contribution to the exploration and reconstruction of a great part of Europe.

In the lands of the old Empire the episcopate supplied rallying

centres for the saving of Christian civilization. Ireland, a land to which the Roman legions had never penetrated, was won to Christendom by St. Patrick in the fifth century, and St. Columba in the following century made Iona a fortress of the Faith, and the Columban monks won northern Britain to Christian civilization. For some three centuries the Irish monks took no small part in the saving of Christian civilization in western Europe. Monte Cassino in southern Italy was made by St. Benedict another great centre of missionary work, and the Benedictine St. Augustine and his companions won southern and central England. The new abbeys of Saxon England were soon sending out heralds of the Faith to central Europe. A Saxon monk, Winfrid—better known in history by his latinized name of Boniface—is honoured as ‘the Apostle of Germany’. He refused election to a bishopric in his native land in order to devote himself to missionary labours which began on the Frisian coast and extended as far as Silesia. After long years of successful labour, during which he was raised to the episcopate and received from the Holy See jurisdiction over an extensive region east of the Rhine, he died a martyr’s death at the hands of a roving band of heathen (A.D. 755). Year by year the annual meeting of the bishops of all Germany is held at the shrine of St. Boniface in the cathedral of Fulda in the centre of Germany.

While the makers of the new Europe were linking up the central lands of the Germans with the West in the middle years of the seventh century the annals of the time began to tell of a new peril from an adventurous race of sea-rovers of the north. None could imagine that in later years their most enterprising descendants would be counted among the champions of Christendom. The nations that had broken up the old Empire of the West, with the solitary exception of the Vandals, carried out their tribal movements entirely by land, seldom even embarking on the rivers. This new barbarian onset was that of a race of seamen.

Their language and their mythology show they were an offshoot of the German races. They had taken possession of the

western coast-lands and fiords of Norway, extending their occupation gradually from the south along the North Sea coast, where the fiords gave them sheltered harbours, and the forests timber for house- and shipbuilding. They made the earlier inhabitants their serfs or drove them into the moors and mountains of the interior. Like their kinsmen who occupied Jutland and its islands they were skilful seamen. Strictly speaking, the southern settlers were the Danes, but though the name of Norsemen or Northmen was often applied to the Danish tribes it belonged more generally to the men of the Norwegian fiords. They were the most daring voyagers of the northern seas. It is likely that they became such accomplished seamen because the ordinary way from fiord to fiord was by the open sea. Their ships were open boats, with a small deck aft, and another at the bow, and with one mast carrying a cross-yard and square sail. Their chief reliance was on the long oars, and instead of a rudder the steersman used a broad-bladed oar. The smaller craft had crews of thirty or forty men, and there were crews of eighty for the larger ships. Later long ships were built—the ‘Serpents’—with a hundred oars, and sometimes crews of 200 men. Every one was both a seaman and a warrior, and, except the chiefs, all took their turns at the oars.

They were undoubtedly the ablest seamen and the most formidable fighting men of their time. Their fiords, long inlets of the sea accessible only by narrow openings in the rocky coast that for hundreds of miles forms the rampart of Norway, were absolutely impregnable in the centuries when there was no other sea-power in the north. When they had established themselves in this great stronghold it became the base of operations, not for commerce, but for persistent raiding on the Christian and civilized lands of the West.

They began as mere pirates and buccaneers, but before long they became conquerors and founders of new states and incidentally explorers of new lands. They were worshippers of fierce gods of strife and battle, Odin and Thor, with a religion that gave wide scope to the rites of wizards and soothsayers and included at times human sacrifice in ritual. Their code

of customs in war made merciless bloodshed and cruelty the tokens of soldierly manhood. It is no wonder that they were the terror of the northern seas.

Their first raids were small ventures of a few ships among the creeks and islands of the low-lying Frisian coast, sacking and burning the villages or holding them to ransom. Then they extended their raids along the shores and inlets of the Netherlands, and on both sides of the English Channel. Gradually their enterprises developed into expeditions of strong fleets, and they ventured on more systematic expeditions. Pushing boldly out into the North Sea and steering by sun and stars they raided the west coast of England, sailed round the north of Scotland, occupied the Orkney and Shetland islands, the Hebrides and the Isle of Man, and made themselves masters of the ports of Ireland. The later record of Saxon England is that of a long struggle with the Norse invaders. Alfred the Great after his victories left northern England in their hands, and later Canute, greatest of the Danish kings, was king of England. They had held London for a while and had brought a fleet of over 300 ships with some 25,000 fighting men. Alfred was the only king who built a navy as a defence against them.

On the western shores of Europe Danish and Norse sea-rovers plundered all the coasts. With the light draught of their ships they were able to push far up the rivers. On the Rhine they raided as far as Coblenz; on the Seine they thrice pillaged Paris and finally besieged it and held it to ransom.

They raided the western coasts of France and the Spanish peninsula, and extended their plundering cruises into the Mediterranean. In their raids on coasts and up the rivers they sacked, and often laid in ruin, the churches and the abbeys.

The peril from these rovers of the northern seas was still in the earlier stage of its development when it attracted the attention of Charlemagne. There is the story that on a visit to the northern sea coast he saw far out at sea some of the Norse ships, and said: 'Perhaps these wild rovers will tear to pieces the empire I have made.' This is probably mere legend, for it is unlikely

that in his later years he ever went north of his favourite city of Aachen. But in his last years he must have fully realized how serious was this new and continually increasing peril to the Christian lands of the West. He had no navy at his command, and it would have needed colossal armed force to guard every point of the coasts from any enemy that came and went by the ways of the sea and could strike without warning at its destined prey. He came to the wise conclusion that the best solution of the problems would be to attempt to win these new enemies to the Christian faith and the brotherhood of the Catholic nations by the peaceful labours of the religious Orders.

The river Elbe was the frontier of his empire towards the northern lands, dividing the Danish territory from his province of Saxony (the country we now know as Hanover). Where the Elbe widened to its long estuary he built the walled town of Hamburg, to be a centre of trade, an outpost of the empire and a starting-point for missions to Danes, Swedes, and Norsemen. The first attempts at mission work gave hardly any result, until Charlemagne's successor, Ludwig I, sent as his envoy to Denmark Ansgar, a Benedictine monk from the abbey of New Corbie not far from Bremen, an offshoot of the famous abbey of Corbie in Picardy. After some pioneering mission labours in Denmark he went to Sweden in 830, and in the eighteen months he spent there began successfully the conversion of the south. Returning to Germany, he received episcopal consecration to the bishopric of Hamburg, and went to Rome, where Gregory IV gave him the Pallium, and named him Apostolic Envoy to the Northern nations.

He had been only about two years in Hamburg when the pagan Danes of Jutland captured and sacked the city, and he took refuge in Bremen. In 847 he returned to Hamburg and was promoted to the dignity of archbishop of the united sees of that city and of Bremen; he was engaged till his death in 864 in missionary work, building churches and schools, visiting Sweden once more and making converts even among the men of Jutland. Though he had never visited Norway he had laid well the foundations of Christianity in the northern lands, and

trained disciples to carry on his mission. He is honoured as a saint and as 'the Apostle of the Northern nations'.

When after his victories over the Norsemen and Danes Alfred the Great made peace with their leader Guthrun, there was a temporary partition of England. Alfred was to rule over the south and centre (Wessex and Mercia) leaving under Danish law the east from the Thames estuary to the Tees. As a pledge of peace he successfully insisted on Guthrun and his subordinate chiefs becoming Christians. In the peaceful years that followed Alfred devoted himself to the reorganization of his kingdom, the production of a code of laws, the promotion of education, and—a rare work for kings—the translation of useful books. To his version of the *History of the World*, written by Orosius, the friend of the great St. Augustine, he added information gathered from other sources, and told of Norse discoveries in the far north as the story was told to him by a visitor to his court, the Norse chief, Othere, who claimed to be the pioneer of exploration in the Arctic seas. Othere told how the lands he ruled were the farthest to the northward of the settlements on the Norway sea-coast. Anxious to explore the country farther north Othere in the long bright summer-time fitted out a ship and coasting for a few days reached the North Cape, and found the rocky shore trending to the eastward. Following this new direction he came in four days—the long days of these lands of the midnight sun—to a broad inlet widening southward into a land-locked sea. He stayed for a while on its shores, hunting the walrus for the sake of its flesh, the hides that were used for rope-making, and the ivory tusk teeth. He pushed his voyage no farther. Later Norse explorers traced the coast for many miles farther east, but their northern voyages were chiefly to the new-found White Sea.

Othere's voyage by the North Cape to the White Sea had opened the wide lands of eastern Europe to the enterprise of the Northmen. The long record of their further progress in this region can only be briefly noted here. The axe was their favourite battle-weapon. It was also the tool they could use with marvellous skill for woodcraft and the rapid building of huts for

their camps, and light craft for sea, lake, and river. The waterways were their roads inland, and by river and lake, avoiding as far as might be long marches by land, they reached the great Lake of Ladoga, and presently opened a new route by the Gulf of Finland and across the north Baltic to Scandinavia.

When the new-comers camped on the marshy southern shores of Ladoga they came in contact with lands held by the Slavs. The Russia of later times was still a country of various races and tribes settled here and there in towns on rivers. There was a Slav settlement at Novgorod on the Volkhoff river, about a hundred and twenty miles south of the great lake, and in 862 Rurik, the chief of the Northmen, was invited by its people to take the settlement under his protection. He became the ruler of Novgorod and the ancestor of a dynasty that ruled Russia for centuries. His son Oleg crossed the uplands that are the watershed between the northern and southern rivers of western Russia, and became the ruler of Kieff. His brother Igor made a push for the southern Volga and built a squadron of ships that entered the Caspian Sea and for some time levied toll on the rich caravans of the silk route as they passed along its southern shores. Kieff under Oleg and his sons became a stronghold of Norse adventurers. By the Dniester they reached the Black Sea, and three times in the tenth century menaced Constantinople. One of their fleets was scattered by a storm, but twice the raiders were bought off by the Eastern Empire and returned to the Dniester with a rich ransom in gold and silver.

The western Slavs in Moravia and Bohemia had been evangelized in the second half of the ninth century by SS. Cyril and Methodius, the envoys of the Holy See and the inventors of the Slav alphabet. It was not till a hundred years later that Kieff became a Christian city and its ruler Vladimir in 988 threw the local idols into the Dniester. It was the centre from which Christianity spread through the southern Slav lands and was counted as 'a holy city, the mother of all the cities of Russia'. Vladimir married a daughter of the Emperor Basil of Constantinople, and there were friendly relations between the Eastern Empire and the Norse lands. There was through the Middle

ages a trade-route from the Dniester and the Black Sea by way of Kieff and Novgorod to the Baltic and northern Europe, the Varangian route—a name derived from the Slav name for the Norsemen. For nearly 500 years, from the reign of Basil to the fall of Constantinople, the Emperors of the East had for their most trusted guardians and their escort in peace and war the Varangian Guard, recruited from the Scandinavian nations.

While the Northmen were winning new lands in eastern Europe there was another movement westward across the seas resulting in the first discovery of new lands beyond the North Atlantic. The real significance of this discovery was not realized at the time and, strange to say, it was all but forgotten in Europe when centuries later Columbus sailed to find a 'new world' beyond the Atlantic.

Norway had long been not a united state but a country divided among chiefs of local clans, when one of the most powerful of these rulers, Harold Haarfager, whose long reign lasted from 872 to 934, devoted his energies to bringing all the land under his royal power and reducing the local chiefs to the position of feudal vassals holding their lands and ships from the crown. After many years of strife he made Norway a united kingdom, but at the cost of losing a large number of the most enterprising chiefs of the defeated party. With their followers, wives, and children, they took to the sea and tried to find new homes in the Orkneys, Shetlands, and Hebrides. Driven from these islands by the king pursuing them with a strong fleet, they took temporary refuge with the Danes of Ireland. There they prepared for a venturous voyage on the North Atlantic by way of the Faroes to Iceland. They are often described by popular writers as the discoverers of Iceland, but there is no doubt that already Irishmen had reached this land in the Arctic seas, and the Norse records tell how the Norsemen found Irish monks already there. They also tell how a few years later Aud, a Danish princess of Dublin, came to Iceland bringing with her a retinue of Irish and Danes. She and many of her followers were Christians. This northern colony prospered

from the very outset. Trade was established with the homeland; farming and the fisheries employed an increasing population, and there was the beginning of an Icelandic literature of a higher standard than that of any of the Scandinavian lands. After the gradual disappearance of the old paganism the poetry of Iceland was inspired by Catholic ideals. By the middle of the eleventh century there were two bishoprics, many churches and schools, Benedictine abbeys, and at least one convent. The government of the island was long that of an independent commonwealth.

Reports of land to the westward led to the expedition of Eric the Red in 983, the discovery of Greenland, the establishment of settlements in the extreme south and on the west coast. Returning from a visit to Norway in 999 Leif Ericson, a son of Eric the Red, was caught in wild Atlantic weather and driven to the southward of his intended course. When at last he sighted land he found it was very different from his home in Greenland; there were vines growing wild, and henceforth this new country was known as Vineland (or Vinland). There are several varieties of wild grape-vines in North America, some of which are now cultivated, but none have been found growing wild farther north than about the latitude of 42 north. This makes it probable that Leif Ericson had reached the American coast at some point in what are now the New England states.

Returning to Greenland he reported his discoveries, with the result that in 1004 an attempt was made to establish a colony in Vineland. The leader of the enterprise was Thorfinn Karlsefni, an Icelander who had recently come to Greenland and married a wife from Eric the Red's family. With three ships and a party of 160 men and women, and taking some cattle in the expedition, he coasted southwards, and when he reached the country where the vine was growing wild built a village of huts where a small river ran into the sea. But after a few years the enterprise was abandoned in 1007, apparently as the result of trouble with the local Indians. At first these were friendly, but before long they became hostile. Thorfinn's most trusty lieutenant, Thorwald Ericson, was killed by an

Indian arrow in the troubled time before the colonists returned to Greenland. After this the only mention of Vineland in the scanty records of Greenland is that in 1121 Bishop Ericson departed in the hope of evangelizing the southern land, but never returned, and his fate was unknown—it must have been death by accident or illness, or at the hands of hostile Indians.

The Norsemen in Greenland had all become Catholics early in the eleventh century. A bishopric was established at Gardar and the line of prelates lasted for over four centuries. There was regular communication with Norway until 1410, when this connexion ended. One incident in their scanty record is that Aines, bishop of Gardar from 1314 to 1343, sent to the Holy See his tribute of Peter's Pence not in cash but in kind—a parcel of ivory, walrus tusks. Communication even between Greenland and Iceland came to an end in the early years of the fifteenth century.

Ruined churches and old graveyards with Runic epitaphs are the monuments of the medieval church of Greenland. The cause of its tragic disappearance is a matter of mere conjecture. Local research in recent years has shown that there is no foundation for the theory of the Greenland colony having been destroyed by hostile savages. Examination of the graveyards has shown that in the later years of the colony there was an exceptionally high proportion of burials of young people. One may perhaps conjecture that when the plague of the 'Black Death' was sweeping over Europe, before and after the year 1400, and was exceptionally virulent in the Danish lands, it may have swept away the remnant of the colonists in Greenland.

The map-makers of the fifteenth century before the voyage of Columbus had obviously never heard of Leif and Thorfinn and the finding of new lands beyond the Atlantic to the south and west of Greenland, though some of them accepted the legend of St. Brendan as history and placed his 'island' in the Atlantic. The ruin of the Greenland colony and the little attention paid to its record seem to have deprived Europe generally of all knowledge of lands beyond the western ocean nearer than the

Cipangu and Cathay of eastern Asia. Several biographers of Columbus suggest that he had heard in his northern voyages something of the Norse discoveries. But he was never farther north than British ports, he had no idea of any land beyond the Atlantic nearer than Asia, and it is quite possible that even after his discoveries he believed he had reached some outlying lands of 'the Indies'.

Hrolf or Rollo, the Norse chief who founded the duchy of Normandy, has been identified with Hrolf the Ganger who like Eric the Red left Norway when Harold Haarfager was making the local chiefs the mere vassals of his crown. When he sailed up the Seine and seized Rouen in 886 there were many other Norsemen already settled in Normandy, which had been a Christian land since the time of Clovis. These new-comers were very numerous in the Cotentin peninsula and about Caen. Rollo sacked Bayeux and Lisieux, pushed up the Seine, and levied a ransom on Paris. Gradually he became master of an extensive territory, and his rule was practically recognized both by the Norman settler and the Gallo-Roman population of the country. He was the ruler of Normandy in actual fact when in 912 the French King Charles the Simple made a treaty with him, by which he was to become the duke of Normandy, as a feudal vassal of the French king, on condition that he should receive baptism and make his duchy a Christian state. Several of the Norse settlers had already been converted, and others now conformed to the treaty or, rather, agreement (for it seems there was no written document), but others, and especially the Norse landholders in the Cotentin peninsula, were strongly opposed to abandoning their worship of Thor and Odin. For many years in the eastern districts of the new duchy paganism prevailed among the Norse settlers, and more than once they sought help from their friends in Norway. Rollo himself seems to have kept to the last some remnant of his ancestral beliefs, for it is said that on his death-bed he gave offerings for the churches to the archbishop of Rouen, but also asked some of his pagan subjects to offer sacrifices on his behalf, though these included human victims. But his successors in the duchy,

educated by Christian teachers, were zealous for the religion they professed, founders of churches, abbeys, and schools, and generous in their gifts of charity.

When towards the close of the tenth century Harold Tryggvason became king of Norway and broke the power of paganism among his people there was an end of raids on Normandy from the homeland. Harold had been converted by a hermit of an island off the Cornish coast when as a young man he was raiding in the western seas. He married in Dublin a Catholic wife, a Danish princess and, when he succeeded to the crown of Norway, with more zeal than judgement and against the advice of the bishops, he waged open war on the old Norse paganism, telling such of the local chiefs as clung to it that he wanted only Christian subjects, and that they must accept his own religion or choose between quitting the country and their lands or be reckoned as his enemies. It was a mistake even from the mere political point of view, for it meant the risk of making not converts but hypocrites. His action, however, must have tended to break the organized influence of the old heathendom in Norway, but the final conversion of the people was the result of patient development of the Catholic Church in the northern lands.

CHAPTER III

A long-standing error as to medieval theories of geography—early date of a true theory of geography in the schools of the Middle Ages—globular form of the earth recognized by famous teachers in church and school—the ‘quest of Cathay’—the Mongol Empire—Franciscan missionaries and Venetian traders explore Asia—later difficulties of the routes thus opened—hopes of a new way by the ocean.

THERE is still some survival of a popular tradition that the Middle Ages were a time of darkness and ignorance, and that any far-reaching maritime exploration was delayed for centuries by an accepted belief that the world was flat—an extensive plain bounded by a pathless ocean. Only a few years ago an eminent explorer of our own time, a recognized expert on geography, began an essay on modern discoveries by remarking that it was only in the fourteenth century that ‘it dawned on leaders of thought that the world might be round’, after centuries during which ‘the earth was considered to be flat’; and another popular expert wrote that ‘the theory of the sphericity of the earth was supposed to be in conflict with Scripture, and was consequently abandoned by the monks, who were the only upholders of any form of learning in the Europe of the Middle Ages’.

It is true that in early Christian literature, largely devoted to commentary on Holy Scripture, and full of references to it, we find several supporters of the theory of a flat earth as implied in the inspired books of the Old Testament. But there were also writers of note who held that the globular form of our world could be proved to be a fact, and was in no way contrary to the Scripture record. Among these were St. Clement, Origen, St. Basil, and St. Ambrose. St. Augustine laid it down that there was no contradiction between this view and anything in Holy Scripture. The greatest scholar of Saxon England, the Venerable Bede, set forth a proof of the globular theory. An Irish missionary of southern Germany in the eighth century, St. Virgilius (Feargall), archbishop of Salzburg, wrote of the probable existence of the ‘Antipodes’, men living on the other side of the world, with their feet in the contrary direction to the feet

of men in Europe. St. Boniface censured his theory, not because it implied that the earth was a globe, but on the suggestion, repudiated by his brother bishop, that what he had written implied the existence of a race not sprung from Adam and unredeemed by Christ. Gerbert of Aurillac, better known from the name he assumed in his brief pontificate, Sylvester II, 999-1003, who had been a student in the Moorish schools of Cordova, is best remembered as having introduced the use of the Arabic numerals into medieval Europe. An astronomer and a mathematician, he was the author of several scientific treatises in which he dealt with the globular theory of the earth as a matter of general knowledge. Thanks to the writings of Ptolemy coming into widespread use in the schools of Europe, there was soon a general adoption of the theory of a globular earth as the centre of the known universe.

We have further evidence that it was not ignorance of the true form of the earth that delayed adventurous voyages of exploration on the oceans for nearly five centuries after Gerbert's time in the fact that more than a century before the first of these voyages of discovery we find the globular theory of the earth accepted even in the popular literature of the Middle Ages. It is taken for granted in a widely read book of travel written certainly before 1371 and perhaps several years earlier. It was first circulated in manuscript form and later on it was one of the earliest books printed. It purported to be written by an English knight, Sir John Maundeville, with some help from Jean de Bourgoigne, a physician of Liège. It is now recognized that it was entirely the work of Jean de Bourgoigne, based on his own travels in the Holy Land and Egypt, supplemented by daring plagiarisms from the records of earlier travellers supplying local colour for a fictitious account of further adventures in Far-Eastern Asia and the Indies. De Bourgoigne had no idea that the earth could be anything but a globe. Thus for instance he makes 'Maundeville' say:

Men may go all round the world, as well under as above, if they had company, shipping and guides; and always they would find men, lands and islands, as well as in our part of the world. For they who

are towards the Antarctic are directly feet opposite of them who dwell under the Pole Star, as well as we and they that dwell under us are feet opposite feet.

He goes on to explain how, as one moves north or south, the Pole Star appears to be higher or lower in the sky, and thus by observing the difference in degrees between its apparent positions we can measure the corresponding length in degrees on the earth's surface, and calculate the earth's total circumference.

He suggests that 'the old wise astronomers' underestimated it—which is quite true. He proceeds to give a calculation of his own. The principle of his calculation is correct, but his data as to the length of a degree on the earth's surface give an exaggerated result, and he reckons the circumference of the earth at nearly 7,000 miles greater than it really is, making it 31,500 miles, against the accepted figure of the Ptolemists, 20,000. It is interesting to find such a discussion in this popular medieval book. It shows that educated men of those days were not in the state of mind in which at last 'it was dawning upon them that the earth might be round', but that they had no idea that it could be rightly described as flat.

There are a number of early medieval maps still in existence which are often taken to be documentary proofs of a general belief in a flat earth surrounded by the ocean. I would suggest that we need not take it that they all have necessarily this significance. It is surely not unlikely that many of them are not intended to be maps of the whole of the world, but only represent the more or less known regions of the earth, or the 'inhabited lands' of the world, for there were many who held a theory that there were wide regions of the earth where human life was impossible, frozen or torrid lands or vast desert regions. These maps were rough sketches of the part of the world occupied by peoples known to old Europe—many of them only by vague report. There was not, and in most cases could not be, any definite scale or geographical projection; only the four points of the compass were indicated in the margin, the east generally at the top of the map. Jerusalem, a goal of pilgrimage from

the later times of the Roman Empire, was the middle point, and there was most detail in the western half of the map, where the Mediterranean and the lands around it were drawn with a greater approach to realities than anything in the rest of it. It was not till the earlier years of the fifteenth century that there was any serious attempt to produce maps and globes that, with the help of Ptolemy's lines of latitude and longitude, gave some idea of distances and bearings on land and sea, and gradually produced helpful maps for the traveller and the navigator.

In the later Middle Ages—the period from the eleventh to the middle years of the fifteenth century—the sea traffic of northern and western Europe was made up of short coasting voyages from port to port, and seamen ventured on any long voyage only in connexion with the limited trade between Scandinavia and Iceland. There was considerable traffic in the ports of the southern Baltic, northern Germany, the Low Countries, Britain, Ireland, France, and the north of Spain. The traders of the German ports or free cities of the Empire such as Danzig, Lübeck, and Bremen formed a League, the Hansa, which controlled and for a time all but monopolized, the trade of Germany and the Baltic lands. It had an outpost at Novgorod for the trade of Russia and the East; Wisby in the island of Gothland became its chief outpost for the Baltic trade and developed from a fishing-village into a strongly fortified city with ten churches. It had its agencies in Bergen for Norway, at Cologne for the trade of the Rhine, in Antwerp and Bruges for the Netherlands, and in London for trade with England. The other and at times the far more busy scene of maritime traffic was the Mediterranean. The pilgrimages to the Holy Land and later the Crusades and the establishment of the Christian kingdom of Jerusalem, and the Norman principalities of Tripoli, Antioch, and Edessa increased enormously this traffic to the Near East, with special advantage to the trade of Genoa, Pisa, and Venice.

Directly and indirectly this brought to Europe an increased knowledge of western Asia. But in all this period the only important contribution to European knowledge of the as yet unknown regions of central and far-eastern Asia was that which

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was brought in the first instance by the Franciscans in the thirteenth century. The late Sir Henry Yule, one of the greatest experts in the records of the exploration of the Far East, paid a generous tribute to the work of these Franciscan missionaries and says of them:

They were the first to bring to Western Europe the revived knowledge of a great and civilized nation lying in the Far East on the shores of the ocean. To this kingdom they gave the name, now first heard in Europe, of Cathay.¹

When St. Francis was born at Assisi in 1182, the founder of the Mongol Empire was the chief of a small tribe in central Asia who as a mere youth had already begun the career of conquest that won for him and his people dominion over a vast territory extending from the northern provinces of China to the eastern lands of Europe. As a soldier and an organizer of his conquests he might well rank with an Alexander or a Napoleon. In 1206 at a great congress of his subordinate chiefs he assumed the title of Khan, and exchanged his name of Temuchin for that of Genghiz (i.e. 'perfect warrior'), and Genghiz Khan is the name by which he is known in history. He died in his sixty-fifth year in 1227, after forty years of success, leaving his empire to his son Ottokai. In less than twenty years the Mongols occupied Baghdad, Damascus, and Aleppo, and in Europe overran southern and central Russia, making for some years Moscow and Kieff new centres of their power. In 1241 they defeated in two great battles an ill-organized confederacy of Poles, Magyars, and Austrians, seized Buda and made it for a while their frontier outpost on the Danube.

At the council convened by Innocent IV at Lyons in 1245 the Pope, after calling for a new Crusade against the Moslem in

¹ Sir H. Yule (1820-89) spent his early life in the East, and on his return to England in 1862 was appointed to membership of the Indian Council. He was President of the Royal Asiatic Society and a founder of the Hakluyt Society. His *Cathay and the Way Thither* (four volumes) deals with European knowledge of China before the sixteenth century, and contains summaries and translations of the Franciscan narratives. The work was published by the Hakluyt Society and followed by his richly annotated version of Marco Polo's travels.

Syria, spoke of the peril of the Mongol invasion of Europe, and announced that he hoped to deal with it by peaceful means and would send an embassy to the Great Khan of the Mongol nations to secure if possible an agreement that they should advance no farther, and also the admission of missionaries to their territories.

He chose as his envoy Friar John of Piano Carpini, an Italian Franciscan, who set out from Lyons on the 16th April 1245, taking with him Friar Stephen of Bohemia, and Friar Benedict of Poland, who had useful local knowledge for the first stage of his adventurous journey. Travelling by way of Prague to Cracow he learned that the Mongols had withdrawn from Hungary and also abandoned Kieff. Pushing on to this important city he was welcomed by its people and their ruler Duke Vassili, and was told that Batu, the recent invader of Hungary, was encamped near Saratov on the lower Volga.

Continuing their journey the friars had a friendly reception in the Mongol camp, but Batu explained that he could not enter into any useful negotiation with them. There would be endless delays, for he would have to refer everything to the ruler of the Mongol power, the 'Great Khan' Ottokai, son of Genghiz, who was at his capital, Karakorum, some 2,500 miles away to the eastward. Serious illness deprived Carpini of his companion, Friar Stephen, but Friar Benedict went with him when on the 8th April 1246 he started on his long journey through central Asia.

Under the Mongol rule travel along the trade-routes to the Far East seems to have been fairly safe. The friars set out with an escort of horsemen, but seem to have been with caravans in some of the later stages of their journey. There was a difficult march over a snowy pass of the Altai range, before they descended into an open plain, where on the 22nd July they reached at last the Mongol capital, Karakorum (that is 'the Black Camp'). It was a camp that was becoming a great city.

Carpini found he had arrived at a time of busy preparation for a great event. A few weeks before his coming the Great Khan Ottokai the son and successor of Genghiz Khan had

died, leaving the succession to his son Ajuk, and representatives of the tribes of nations of the Mongol Empire were gathering for his solemn proclamation as Great Khan of the Empire, each with a numerous following. The city was crowded and thousands were encamping outside its stockaded ramparts. The long series of parades, banquets, and stately receptions began on the 22nd August and lasted for many days—a display of wealth and military power to mark the great occasion.

Ajuk had given the friars a friendly reception and treated them as his guests. He was pleased at seeing these envoys from the Far West at his inauguration. Their religious status was sufficient explanation of their humble garb, grey robes and cord girdles that contrasted with the brilliant costumes and warlike equipment of the chiefs and warriors. This, too, was sufficient explanation for their bringing no gifts to him. Negotiations had to be deferred until the festivities ended, and with the help of an interpreter Carpini took advantage of the delay to collect information as to the traditions, records, and customs of the Mongols. When at last Ajuk was free to discuss with the friars the purpose of their mission his attitude was friendly. They were able to convince him that he was dealing not with the envoys of some warlike power but with the peaceful representatives of the chief of western Christendom. He had no intentions of any further military enterprises in Europe. As for religious questions, the religion of the Mongols was a form of Buddhism with some elements derived from earlier beliefs and practices of the tribes of central and northern Asia, and active intolerance of other religions is not a characteristic feature of Buddhism. In several centres of the Mongol power there were little colonies of Nestorians enjoying complete toleration, so there was no objection to the coming of Catholic missionaries. Ajuk appears to have regarded the visit of the friars as a prelude to regular diplomatic relations with the Holy See, and offered to send his ambassadors with them on their return journey.

Carpini—wisely or unwisely—thought it was better tactfully to advise the Great Khan to defer this embassy until after he himself had presented his report to the Pope. In his narrative

he gives several reasons for this step. He feared the envoys might be impressed unfavourably by the troubles and divisions of Europe, and this might suggest a renewed westward movement of the Mongols. He also feared some mishap to the envoys, for whose safe conduct he would be responsible. Ajuk accepted his advice, and promised to give him a letter to the Pope suggesting the sending of a second embassy. This letter, signed and sealed by the Great Khan, was handed to Carpini before his departure and accompanied by gifts for his journey from Ajuk and his widowed mother.

He left Karakorum on the 13th November 1246. In the first stage of the journey through the highlands of Asia many nights were spent in bivouacs amid the snow. In May 1247 he stayed for a while in the camp of Batu Khan on the border of Europe. At Kieff, in July, he was welcomed 'as if he had come back from the dead'. Travelling by easy stages through Poland and Germany to Lyons he found the Pope still there, and presented his report and the letter of Ajuk. He had travelled more than 8,000 miles in a little more than two years.

He wrote his *Ystoria Mongalorum*—a 'history' in the earlier sense of *Historia*, and thus an account of the Mongol tribes and their laws, manners, and customs, with incidentally some references to their record and brief notes of his own experiences among them. It was the first of several similar memoirs of Franciscan missionary explorers of Asia in the Middle Ages.

Modern travellers in the same lands and experts who discuss the data they provide agree as to the remarkable accuracy of these narratives, where the writers tell of what they themselves had seen. As for some of the strange things they tell at second hand, unfriendly critics (such as Henry Kingsley in his *Tales of Old Travel*) make easy jests at their 'credulity'. But it is only fair to remember that in this new world of the unexplored East they saw enough of marvels to make them believe even accounts of stranger things. They recount what they were told, and one may suspect that sometimes the descriptions and narratives given them through an interpreter were distorted in their transmission and partly misunderstood. But such mistakes are

trifles compared with the rich store of new knowledge they collected and gave to Europe.¹

There was a strange delay before any serious attempt was made to take advantage of Carpini's report that the route through central Asia was open to the traveller from Europe and the Mongols were anxious for friendly envoys from the West. It was long before any advantage was taken of these results secured by Carpini. Troubles and strife in Europe are hardly a full explanation of this lack of organized enterprise.

How comparatively easy it was to reach Karakorum was shown a few years after Carpini's return by another Franciscan friar, William of Rubruck, better known by his latinized name of 'Rubruquius'.² He had gone with St. Louis of France to the crusading army in Syria; there was a rumour, without any real foundation, that Batu Khan, who was still governing the Mongols in the eastern border-lands of Russia, had become a Christian, and the good king had formed an equally baseless plan for securing the alliance of the Mongols against the Saracens. In 1253 he sent Friar William to visit the Khan to find out if this could be arranged, and also to see if a mission for the conversion of the Mongols could be attempted. Batu received the friar as hospitably as he had welcomed Carpini, but said he must go to the Great Khan at Karakorum and told him that his own elder brother Mangu now ruled the Mongol Empire, for Ajuk had died not long before. Rubruck reached Karakorum in the summer of 1254, where he was welcomed by Mangu and made a stay of some months as his guest. He met many who could give him interesting information about Cathay (China), now

¹ The original texts of these narratives of the Franciscan pioneers in Asia are now available in the first volume of Fr. Anastasius van den Wynhaert's *Sinica Franciscana* (cxviii and 637 pp.), published at Florence in 1929. An historical and critical introduction is followed by the narratives of the Franciscan missionaries of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, in the original Latin, the text being based on the existing manuscripts in the great libraries of Europe. Page after page gives the student helpful historical and topographical notes and a record of *variae lectiones*, and there is a very full index. It is a scholarly work, and represents the devoted labour of many years.

² He is often described as a Frenchman, but he was a Fleming. Rubruck is a village a few miles from the coast near St. Omer, and in the thirteenth century was in the lands of the duchy of Flanders.

a flourishing kingdom ruled by Kublai Khan, a younger brother of Mangu. But there was no hope of the projected alliance, and next year the friar came back to Europe, where he wrote, in the form of a detailed report to the King of France, an account of his experiences, adding much to what Carpini put on record especially with reference to Cathay.

While William of Rubruck was staying at Karakorum in 1254 two Venetian traders were making their way by the southern route to far-eastern Asia through Persia and then by way of Bokhara. They were Nicolò and Matteo Polo, sons of Andrea Polo, a wealthy citizen of Venice who had a business house at Constantinople and a branch agency in the Crimea. His sons set out on their journey taking with them as working capital for their venture a large supply of valuable jewels. A business man of our day would have carried letters of credit and bank-notes and have further supplies cabled to him if need be, but in the thirteenth century banking was still in a rudimentary stage.

Old Andrea Polo must before long have felt anything but happy about this business mission of his sons, for year after year he had no news from them. Apart from his affection for his sons, the affair must have figured very badly in his account-books, and after some anxious years he had to write off as a dead loss all he had invested in the jewels. His agents had disappeared into space, and he died at last without hearing of or from them.

They had almost certainly sent him letters lost in the very irregular postal channels of the time. They had been successful in their venture and made a great fortune. They had been lucky from the very outset. At Bokhara they had met envoys of the famous Kublai Khan, the conqueror of Cathay, who was ruling that country as the viceroy of his elder brother the Great Khan Mangu. The envoys were returning from a diplomatic mission to the Mongol ruler of Persia, and they invited the Venetians to accompany them to the court of Kublai. After a long journey through central Asia they reached Kublai's capital, the great city of 'Cambaluc', which he had been ex-

tending and fortifying with miles of walls and in whose streets there were many buildings like great palaces. Modern experts explain its name of Cambaluc as a broken-down form of the Mongol words 'Khan-baligh', that is 'the dwelling of the Khan', later known as Peking, the capital of the Chinese Empire.

When the Polo brothers were welcomed by Kublai he had conquered northern China as far as the line of the Yang-tse river. Soon after their arrival his brother Mangu died, and in 1259 Kublai was proclaimed as the Great Khan of the Mongol Empire. He conquered southern China, made Burma, Annam, and Java his tributaries in the south, and ruled over Manchuria and Korea in the north. His only failure came in the last years of his life when in an attempt to conquer Japan his fleet was scattered by a Japanese armada.

He formed a very high opinion of the capacity of his Venetian guests, took them into his service, and employed them in various ways from advisers in his council to temporary governors of cities and districts, and he rewarded them generously for such services. He spoke often of his desire to have other learned men from Europe to help the education of his subjects and finally proposed that they should revisit the West and bring back a hundred learned experts at his expense, adding that there would be full freedom for them to teach the religion of Christendom to their pupils. The result was that in 1266 the Venetians set out on a homeward journey.

They seem to have travelled at a leisurely rate, for it was not till nearly three years later that they reached the shores of the Mediterranean at Acre, then held by the Crusaders. Here they found the Papal legate to Syria, Cardinal Teobaldo Visconti, and gave him the Great Khan's message. He told them the Pope, Clement IV, had died and advised them to go on to Venice and wait there till the new Pope was elected.

Matteo had married a young wife before he went to the East. At Venice he heard that she was dead but in his old home there he had the happiness of finding his son Marco, born a few weeks after he started on his journey to the East. Marco, now in his sixteenth year, was a manly youth, in the best of health,

and well educated. They decided that he should go with them to Cathay. Their departure was delayed month after month. For the Conclave, one of the most prolonged in all history, had met at Viterbo, but rival parties of Italian and French cardinals so evenly divided it that it was long before there was an adequate majority for a decision. At last after waiting for nearly two years the Polo brothers left Venice with Marco and returned to Acre in November 1271; Visconti was still there. They bade him farewell and had started on the first stage of their journey when they were recalled to the city, for news had come that the Conclave had elected Visconti and they must see him before he departed for the West as Pope Gregory X.

He was making hurried arrangements for his voyage and already occupied with his plans for convening a council at Lyons for the reunion of the Greeks with the Holy See and the organization of a new Crusade. He could give only scanty time to the Polos and the project for the Far East. Instead of the hundred learned men asked for by the Great Khan, two Dominicans were to accompany them as his envoys, with a letter and presents for Kublai.

Early in their journey through Central Asia there was another disappointment when the two friars broke down, declared they could go no farther, and gave them the Pope's letter and presents. Difficulties and delays met them in their further progress. It was after a three years' journey that at last they reached the court of Kublai, not at Cambaluc, but at Xanadu (the Chang-tu of our modern maps) in Manchuria outside the Great Wall. There the Great Khan had his hunting-seat, a stately place in a huge park with woods full of game.

They received a hearty welcome from Kublai, who was pleased at finding that Marco during his long journey had learned to speak the Mongol language fluently. In the seventeen years that followed the three Venetians held high office in his service. Marco still a mere youth was sent on a tour through central and southern China, and directed to report on the condition of these districts—no doubt as a means of both testing his capacity and giving him opportunities of familiarizing himself with the

country and its people. He had hardly 'come of age' when Kublai made him governor of Yang-chau and twenty-seven neighbouring towns. Yang-chau was then a large city and busy port on the east coast where the great river Yang-tse widens to its long estuary. Then for several years he was employed in official visits to various provinces of China and to Yunnan, Cochinchina, the borders of Burma, and the adjacent Mongol lands of central Asia. With his uncle he served in Kublai's siege of a rebel city where the two Venetians taught the besiegers the construction and use of the war engines and siege tactics of medieval Europe. There were visits to the court at Cambaluc, and holiday times at the Great Khan's palace and hunting-park at Xanadu. Wherever he went Marco was collecting information about the lands he visited and accounts of other countries from traders and pilgrims who had been in many lands of Asia and eastern Africa.

The three Venetians had amassed a huge fortune mostly converted into the portable and concentrated form of precious stones, and as the years went on the two elder men were anxious to spend their last years at home in Venice. They persuaded Kublai to let them depart. He gave them friendly letters for the Pope and the kings of France, Spain, and England, and confided to them the escorting of a princess of his family to Persia where she was to marry its Mongol ruler. They embarked at Zaitun, the chief port of the south in 1292, taking Marco with them. A long voyage with delays on the way brought them to the Persian port of Ormuz. Then the Polos made their way overland to Constantinople, where they embarked for Venice, arriving there three years after they left China.

It is only by chance that we have a record of their wonderful story. They had not been long home when war began between Venice and Genoa. Marco took command of a galley in the Venetian fleet. In the decisive sea-fight of the war off the island of Curzola in the Adriatic in 1298 the Genoese were victorious and Marco Polo was among their prisoners. During his two years of captivity at Genoa one of his companions was a writer named Rusticiano. Talks with his fellow prisoner led

to Rusticiano writing, at his dictation, one of the most popular books of the Middle Ages, under the title of *The Book of Marco Polo*. Its opening chapters told of his career in China, very briefly and modestly, and most of what followed was an account of the countries he had visited or about which he had collected information. It was translated into many languages, and was accepted by the learned of his day as a storehouse of information about many famous lands of the East. It was one of the books Columbus studied nearly two centuries later when he was planning his ocean search for Cathay and Cipangu. It brought to Europe the names of many lands till then unknown, amongst others that of the great island of Madagascar in the Indian Ocean.

Carpini and Rubruck had explored the way to the Far East, and revealed to western Europe the vast and hopeful field it offered for the missions. At the same time they told of the splendour and wealth of Cathay, and the fairly safe route through Asia guarded by the Mongol power.

It was this second opening for profitable enterprise that attracted the Venetian adventurers. The troubles of Europe had delayed for many years any further effort to evangelize the people of Cathay, though Dominicans and Franciscans were already engaged in mission work in Persia.

It was only while the Polos were on their return journey to Europe that one of the most famous and successful of the Franciscan missionaries was on his way to China. This was Friar John of Montecorvino (a village of southern Italy where he was born in 1246). After some years of missionary work in Persia he was in Rome when Nicolas IV, the first Franciscan Pope, was elected in 1288. There had been many rumours from western Asia telling of reports brought by travellers from Cathay that Kublai Khan was favourably disposed to the Christians and even one unfounded story that he had been converted. The Pope decided to send a special mission to China and chose Montecorvino as his envoy. Next year he set out for the Far East, but was a strangely long time on his journey. He travelled by Constantinople and the Black Sea to Armenia and Persia,

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then to India, where he remained for a little more than a year, engaged in missionary work, then by sea to Ma-chin (the Canton of to-day) and through China to Cambaluc, where he arrived in 1294.

Kublai had died a few weeks before his arrival, but Montecorvino received a most friendly welcome from the Great Khan's son and successor Timur. Unfortunately he wrote no narrative of his travels and labours, but there are some of his letters extant. In one of these dated the 8th January 1305 he notes that the northern route to Cathay through central Asia is shorter and safer than the southern way by sea, and tells how he has learned to speak and write the language of the people, and translated into it the Gospels and the Psalms, and had this translation written in 'the finest character' in local use.

He made many converts. Two churches were built in Cambaluc, one of them near the Khan's palace. He was laying the foundation of a prosperous mission, and to provide for its full organization Clement V decided to found the first Catholic episcopate in China. In 1307 he conferred Episcopal Orders on seven Franciscans and sent them to consecrate John of Montecorvino as the first archbishop of Cambaluc. They reached China next year by the land-route, but only three of them survived its hardships, Friars Andrea of Perugia, Gerard, and Peregrinus. Montecorvino became the first archbishop of Cambaluc in 1308, and a second see was soon founded by sending Friar Gerard to be bishop of Zaitun, the chief port of the south. He died five years later and was succeeded by his comrade Peregrinus.

During his episcopate he welcomed to Zaitun one of the most famous of the Franciscan missionary explorers of Asia, Blessed Odoric of Pordenone. Born in the Venetian territory, he had entered a Franciscan novitiate when he was a boy of fourteen and he was only in his thirty-third year when Pope John XXI chose him as his envoy to the mission lands of both western and eastern Asia and their rulers. He left Italy in the early spring of 1318 taking as his companion Friar Jacobus de Hibernia—James of Ireland. He went by way of Constantinople

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and the Black Sea and, landing in Trebizond, travelled through Armenia and Persia and embarked for India at Ormuz. After spending some months in visiting mission centres in India and Ceylon, the two friars embarked in a trading ship bound for China. There were calls at ports in Sumatra, Java, and north Borneo, and Odoric everywhere noted what he saw and heard in these new lands. Finally after a call at Canton the travellers landed at Zaitun probably in the summer of 1325. They visited several cities in the provinces south of the Yang-tse river and then by the Grand Canal reached Cambaluc (Peking).

Here Odoric stayed for nearly three years with the archbishop, and in his subsequent narrative he was able to tell of the progress of the mission and the friendly attitude of the reigning Khan, the fifth successor and descendant of the famous Kublai. Still accompanied by Friar James of Ireland, he made the return journey to Italy in less than twelve months, by the land-route through central Asia, reaching Venice in the summer of 1330. He died in 1333, after having written a detailed account of his travels and the countries he had visited.

In the same year 1333 the archbishop of Cambaluc, Montecorvino, died and was succeeded by Friar John of Paris, who shortly before had brought to the mission of Cathay a strong reinforcement of thirty-two friars, of whom twenty-six were priests. They had come by the central Asian route, and no doubt their coming had been influenced by Friar Odoric's report of the prosperous condition of the mission of Cathay.

After this there are only scanty records of its experiences. In 1362 Friar Jerome of Florence, the fifth bishop of Zaitun, was killed in his episcopal city. This is the first incident in the record of the mission of Cathay that shows any native hostility to the Catholics. It came when China was stirring with the national revolt which six years later resulted in the fall of the Mongol power and the rise of the native Chinese dynasty of the Ming Emperors. In 1371 Gregory XI, unaware of the changes in the Far East, sent Francisco di Podio as his legate to Cambaluc. The mission had a tragic end, for di Podio with twelve

companions setting out for Cathay by the central Asian route disappeared in the wilderness of steppe, mountain, and desert. No news ever came of its fate. The route, which had been fairly safe during the long years of Mongol rule, was now a path of danger. The like obscurity conceals from us the later days of the pioneer Franciscan mission in China. All trace of it disappeared during the two centuries that intervened between the fall of the Mongol dynasty and the coming of Matteo Ricci, the pioneer of the modern Catholic missions to China, in 1583.

The narratives of the Franciscan missionaries and of Marco Polo were widely circulated in western Europe even before the first printed books were produced. They confirmed the long-standing tradition that the Far East was one of the richest regions of the world. Cathay had been discovered, a land of great cities and untold wealth. But the experiences of those who had discovered it showed that access to this new land of promise was a trying and perilous adventure. A new age of world exploration began when it was gradually realized that the 'quest of Cathay' must be diverted to the ways of the ocean.

CHAPTER IV

The problem of ocean navigation—the mariners' compass—early charts and globes—question of a westward voyage to the countries of the Far East, or of reaching the Indies by a voyage southward to find a way to the Indian Ocean—Henry the Navigator's lifelong efforts to clear the way for the latter enterprise.

THE epitaph on the tomb of Columbus claimed that he had 'found a New World' for the sovereigns of Spain—

Por Castillo y por León
Nuevo Mundo halló Colón.

The fact that for centuries the popular name for America was the 'New World' shows how deep and lasting was the impression created by his splendid success. Yet it is fairly certain that to the end of his life he did not realize that he had found even a new continent. His claim was that he had shown a new way by the ocean to the nearest of the outlying islands and some part of the coasts of the rich and populous lands of Cipangu and Cathay. The essential feature of his success was that he had broken through the agelong barrier of the ocean, and was the pioneer who proved it to be, not a pathless wilderness, but the greatest of the world's highways, no longer separating but linking together the great lands of East and West.

Columbus was the most famous pioneer of a splendid period of discovery and exploration. His epoch-making voyage was the result of years of study of the problem that it solved—that of finding the way to lands beyond the great ocean. The scientific research of the mathematicians, astronomers, and geographers from the thirteenth century onwards had simplified the problem of an ocean voyage. Not the least of the newly available aids to navigation was the fact that the mariners' compass had come into widespread use among the seamen of the Mediterranean, and then on all the seas of Europe.¹ It

¹ The mariners' compass probably became known to the Christian nations of western Europe through the Arab traders of the Mediterranean. Its discovery or invention has been claimed for the Chinese, but it seems likely that it was also independently invented by the Arabs, and that there were two centres of its early use—the China seas and those of the Arab trade in western Asia and the eastern Mediterranean. For the early Chinese compass had for the marked end of its

had thus become possible to steer on a selected course out of sight of land, even when clouds and mist or a downpour of rain hid the sun by day or the stars by night. Without its aid an ocean voyage would be attempted under peril of losing all sense of direction on the pathless sea.

Long before the compass came into general use the sailors of southern Europe had fairly good charts of the Mediterranean, marked with lines showing the usual courses between its ports and islands. These are known as the Portolano Maps, that is 'pilots' maps' (portolano being an old term for a pilot or sailing-master). By the fifteenth century instead of a network of tracks they are generally marked with compass-bearings, thirty-two bearing lines radiating from several points on the chart.

The fifteenth century brought important advances in map- and chart-making. This was not the result of any sudden change of methods but of a gradual evolution and the progress of astronomical and geographical studies since the thirteenth century. Ptolemy's writings, accessible first in a version from the Arabic and later in translations from the Greek original, had come into use in the universities and into the hands of astronomers and students of geography, and his map, revised with the results of later travel and research, became the basis of new world-maps.

At first these maps showed only some parallels of latitude and the equator. Later attempts were made to solve the more difficult problem of indicating meridian lines of longitude. They were generally represented by vertical parallel lines running north to south. A few very crude attempts were made to show some indication of their converging towards the North Pole. By the end of the fifteenth century this convergence was shown more clearly by constructing terrestrial globes. Most of these early globes were fragile structures of cardboard, so it is

magnetized needle the south point—indicating the direction of the sun at noon, and probably adopted from the point where on the circle of the sundial the base of the shadow-producing gnomon met the circumference marked with the hour numbers of the day. In the west the compass-needle was marked with the north point, the direction of the Pole Star, and approximately the North Pole. This would be derived from the earlier practice of steering by the stars.

no wonder that few have survived the wear and tear of time. Both globes and maps of the period mostly exaggerated the extent of Asia from Syria to the coasts of China, and some of them showed outlying islands far out in the only great ocean then known, the Atlantic, with the result that projectors of a possible voyage to Asia by the ocean underrated its length.

All the mapping of the African continent south of the Mediterranean lands was utterly misrepresented. From a point not far from the Strait of Gibraltar the coast-line was shown as running southward without any suggestion of its eastward trend along the shores of what was afterwards known as the Guinea Coast; at the southern extremity of the continent there was shown a great tract of land running eastward, far into the Indian Ocean. In some maps this land extended by a northward bend to the shores of eastern Asia, thus representing the Indian Ocean as a great land-locked sea.

This misleading map-making resulted in a widespread opinion that a voyage by the coasts of Africa and the Indian seas to the Far East would be either impossible or so prolonged as to be far too costly and difficult. There was, however, an attractive feature in projects for voyages of discovery along the coasts of Africa in the hope of finding thus a way into the Indian Ocean in the fact that, if this was practicable, the voyagers might follow a course that would keep them within easy reach of coasts where they might find sheltered bays where, if need be, they could refit their ships and renew their supplies of fresh water and provisions.

The two great problems of the explorers of the later Middle Ages were thus: the finding of a westward route across the Atlantic to the east of Asia and the exploration of a longer way round Africa and by the Indian Ocean.

This latter alternative was the lifelong hope of one of the most enterprising men of the time. This was the Portuguese prince, Henry the Navigator. Such is his traditional surname, though his life was spent almost entirely on land, but for most of that long life his wealth, influence, and personal efforts were devoted to the study and application of the scientific knowledge

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of his time to navigation, the training of seafarers, and the organization of exploring expeditions in the Atlantic along the ocean coasts of Africa.

Prince Henry was a younger son of King John of Portugal, the founder of a dynasty under which his kingdom became for a long period one of the leading powers of Europe. The Moors were still in possession of the kingdom of Granada in the south of Spain, but they had been expelled from Portugal in the thirteenth century. The kings of Castile had repeatedly claimed suzerain rights over Portugal, and it was to end this claim and assert the complete independence of his country that King John formed an alliance with England. John of Gaunt brought a force of English archers to the help of the Portuguese in their successful campaign, and his daughter Philippa was married to the Portuguese king. Henry the Navigator was thus a great-grandson of Edward III of England.

Born in 1394, he was in his twenty-first year when he won high distinction by his skilful and daring part in the storming of Ceuta in 1415. This was the first Portuguese conquest in Africa. It was a possession of permanent value, for its fortified harbour was a safe refuge for voyagers entering or coming out of the Mediterranean, and Portuguese warships used it as a base for protecting them against the Moorish corsairs. The prince did good service three years later in the successful defence of Ceuta against an attempt of the Moors to recapture the place.

On returning next year to Portugal Prince Henry was appointed to the governorship of Algarve, the most southern province of the kingdom. His usual residence was at the castle of Sagres, close to Cape St. Vincent, the south-west point of his territory, a bold promontory jutting out into the ocean. He spent much of his time at Lagos, about fifteen miles to the eastward, a small town with a fine harbour, often visited in our time by the British Mediterranean fleet. Here he was in frequent touch with traders and adventurers passing in and out of the Mediterranean.

Even before the capture of Ceuta Prince Henry had been busy with studies and projects for maritime exploration, and

had planned an expedition to examine the islands of the western Atlantic off the coast of Africa. While he was winning fame at Ceuta, John de Trasto, the first seaman he had taken into his service, made a voyage southward along the African coast and a survey of the Canary Islands. These had already been discovered by the Spaniards. Prince Henry had for a while entertained some idea of colonizing them, but could not obtain the consent of Spain. There were already some reports of a great wooded island north of the Canaries, but farther from the African coast. In 1418 Zarco, one of Prince Henry's seamen, discovered the smaller island of Porto Santo about twenty-three miles north-east of Madeira. In a second voyage he explored the neighbouring seas and reached Madeira itself, and found it was the largest of a group of islands, a mountain mass nearly forty miles from east to west, with summits rising to 6,000 feet above the sea. He was most impressed by the splendid forests that clothed their slopes, and these woods gave its name to the island of Madeira, 'Timber island' (for *madeira* is the Portuguese for 'timber'). In 1420 Prince Henry took the first steps for colonization of this Atlantic outpost of Portugal. He secured a still more important outpost in the western ocean in the Azores, three groups of volcanic islands straggling over more than 400 miles of sea from east to west, the nearest of them more than 800 miles from Lisbon. They were uninhabited, and only vaguely known in Europe, thanks to Arab accounts of islands far out to the west of the Straits of Gibraltar.¹

It is not unlikely that the idea of a search for the western islands came from his correspondence with Arab traders and scholars with many of whom he was in touch since his stay at Ceuta in 1418-19. Whatever prompted his plan of seeking these far-off islands, and making them a new outpost of Portugal in 1427, he sent Diogo de Seville to find and explore the Azores and in 1431 Velho Cabral to complete the survey. This secured

¹ The Azores have been identified by several writers on the history of world exploration with islands shown far west of Europe on maps produced in the second half of the fourteenth century, the earliest of these dating from 1331. This kind of evidence is doubtful, for in many early maps numbers of non-existing islands are shown in the Atlantic, 'the island of St. Brendan' often figuring amongst them.

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the islands for Portugal, they were successfully colonized, and in the following century while Portugal and Spain were united under one crown Flores in the Azores became an important naval station and a port of call and revictualling for the treasure-fleets from the New World.

It has more than once been suggested that Prince Henry's expeditions to the Azores were the result of his having in mind some project for a western ocean voyage to Asia, such as Columbus planned in later years. This is most unlikely. If he had ever been interested in such a plan we would surely have had some record of his regarding the exploration and occupation of the Azores as something more than the foundation of a Portuguese colony. He seems never to have regarded these western islands as a possible base for ocean voyages of discovery. All through his busy life his one dominant idea seems to have been that for Portugal the all-important way to the Far East must be opened by exploration along the coasts of Africa, till its far south was reached, and thus the trade-routes of the Indian Ocean would be accessible. He did not live to see the successful accomplishment of his great design, but he prepared the way for it. He was not himself an explorer, but he was an organizer of exploration. It was long a popular tradition that he founded a school for navigators at Sagres, where experts taught all the science of the day that could be useful to seamen. There was no such foundation, but less formally he was a trainer of skilful navigators. For most of his long life he was both a student and a teacher. He corresponded with learned men and experienced travellers both in Christian Europe and in the Moorish and Arab countries. He collected books and memoirs on astronomy, geography, travels, and voyage. He shared the knowledge thus obtained with those he employed in his expeditions. For some years he had the help of one of the experts of his time, Jayme de Majorca, a cartographer and a skilled maker of instruments useful to the navigator. This able worker and teacher was for a long time his guest at Sagres. The prince had gained a very full knowledge of all that could be useful in his great task. He had an expert's knowledge of shipbuilding and equipment. He often

stayed at Lagos, where in the shipyard he saw the building and refitting of ships, some of which he purchased or chartered. He is said to have designed a new type of ship for ocean voyages, the 'caravel', the same type of ship as the famous *Santa Maria* of Columbus in later days—a ship of moderate tonnage, with two tall masts to carry square sail, and aft of these a smaller mast carrying one long yard for a lateen sail. It is likely enough that he merely improved on existing plans and produced a caravel that became a popular model for Portuguese and Spanish shipbuilders, a handy craft, with a simplified sail plan that did not need a large number of deck-hands, and could carry a moderately large cargo for a coasting voyage and find room for a large supply of provisions for an exploring venture.

When after his first expeditions had explored the Atlantic island groups as far as the Azores and the first steps had been taken for the colonization of those that came under Portuguese control, Prince Henry began his long-studied enterprises for the exploration of the west coasts of Africa 'beyond Cape Bojador'. This famous headland a few miles south of the Canary Islands had long been the limit of the charted coast. From the Moors and Arabs he had learned something of the country farther south. He had heard of rivers flowing into the Atlantic and of a great river beyond the Sahara that flowed eastward and which some geographers of the time thought might be the Upper Nile. There was to be no cruising in the far-out waters of the ocean; Prince Henry had in mind the solving of many problems of Africa itself, and meant to begin by making Cape Bojador no longer a traditional barrier to coasting farther south. The Cape had an evil reputation, and one can only conjecture why this had become a tradition. Bad weather was expected as it was approached. Hot winds blew from the great desert to the eastward. A strong ocean current set to the northward, and there was no friendly harbour, no sheltered bay or inlet anywhere on the sun-scorched coast. But the prince meant the barrier must be passed, the lands to the south discovered, and the coast charted. He had noted several problems to be solved. How far south did the Moslem power extend in west Africa? Were

there friendly races with whom trade might be opened? Were there any Christian rulers, such as the traditional legend of Prester John, priest and king, suggested? Was there any opening for the Catholic missions? He had no idea of either slave-hunting or gold-seeking. It is also worthy of note that this pioneer of African exploration had no idea of empire-making. Long after, in the early years of the following century, the Spanish Dominican Francis de Vittoria, a pioneer of the Law of Nations, pointed out that it was to the credit of the Portuguese that they opened up trade with Africa, not by armed force, but by agreements with its 'native kings'.

It was only after some twelve years of disappointing expeditions that at last, in 1434, one of Prince Henry's captains rounded Cape Bojador. In the years that followed the traditional terrors of the famous headland having been thus dissipated, there was a long series of successful voyages, organized by this princely patron of navigators. He worked out his plans step by step, making no attempt to send one of his ships on an adventurous dash along thousands of miles of unknown coasts and out into the Indian seas by way of the yet uncharted south. He was content to lay securely the track for a great achievement that others would complete. He held that the new way to the Far East by the Far South could not be securely established except by exploring the whole African coast-line on the Atlantic, learning something of the countries and peoples of its hinterland, entering into friendly relations with its native rulers. He was not contemplating conquest and empire-making. His caravels were not warships. They had small crews and carried only a few light guns, part of the equipment of every trading ship of the time, when in the northern stage of the voyage from Portugal or Spain there was always some chance of meeting a Moorish corsair. The prince counted on successful exploration, the opening of peaceful trade, and the establishment of Christian missions in the newly found lands.

In a general survey like this of world exploration there is no need to make any attempt at a full record of the voyages of Prince Henry's captains. We need only note some salient points

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in the gradual development of his enterprise. After Gil Eannes rounded Cape Bojador the voyages of his ships were pushed farther and farther south. In 1441 Nuno Tristam rounded Cape Blanco, more than 400 miles beyond Bojador. Another voyager, Antam Gonçalves, visited the intervening coast, and about half-way between the two capes entered a wide creek, which he mistakenly took to be the estuary of a great river. Bartering with friendly natives he obtained from them a small quantity of gold dust in exchange for some trifling European goods. He thought he had found an El Dorado and charted the creek as the mouth of the River of Gold—'Rio d'Ouro'. It still appears on our maps as a golden river, under its later Spanish name—Rio de Oro. He returned to Lagos bringing six native youths with him, and claiming that he had made a most valuable discovery. Next year Tristam established a trading-post in the Bay of Arguim, some fifty miles south-east of Cape Blanco, and in 1445 Tristam and Diniz Diaz explored the lower reaches of the Senegal river, and Diaz rounded Cape Verde.

Prince Henry's captains had now penetrated beyond the Moslem lands, and were in touch with the negro chiefs south of the Sahara region. Strictly speaking, no ships could visit the coasts explored by the Portuguese from Lagos without a warrant or permit from Prince Henry. He was for some time careful not to publish any detailed accounts of his discoveries, but it was impossible to prevent a growing knowledge of their progress spreading widely among the shipowners of Lisbon and the Spanish traders with the colonists of the Canary Islands. Wildly exaggerated rumours circulated telling of the discovery of a Golden River. That rumour alone was certain to attract unauthorized interlopers to the west coast of Africa, Spanish and Portuguese adventurers. The gold-hunters were disappointed. There was very little gold to be had from the Rio de Oro. Any attempt to find it there was abandoned, when, in later years, the gold-region of the Guinea Coast was reached. Some of these early gold-hunters made up for their disappointment by carrying off negroes from the coast. Some of the ships that sailed under Prince Henry's warrant brought natives back

with them to Lagos. The slave-trading of European nations in Africa on any large scale was organized in the following century after the discovery of America. Prince Henry was strongly opposed to these early attempts to establish it. In 1455 he issued a strongly worded warning against 'kidnapping' of the negroes, and insisted that any such practices would be ruinous to his policy of cultivating friendly relations with the newly explored lands.

The year before this proclamation he had met and taken into his service one of the ablest of his captains, the Venetian Cadamosto. He was a most valuable recruit—an enterprising young man, just twenty-two years of age, familiar with the ways of the sea, a trained navigator, and a well-educated man, eager for wider adventures than the traffic of the Mediterranean. He was in command of a good ship, setting out on a voyage to the Atlantic islands, when off Cape St. Vincent he met with wild weather and was driven back by gales from the westward. He took shelter in the little harbour of Sagres, to wait for better weather, and luckily Prince Henry was at home in the castle. The prince recognized in him a kindred spirit and a most useful helper, and enlisted him as one of his captains. He gave Cadamosto command of one of his caravels, after placing at his disposal charts and instruments that would be of use in the voyage on which he set out in March 1455.

Cadamosto visited Madeira and the Canary Islands and then went southward along the African coast to the mouth of the Senegal, checking the charts supplied to him and adding new details. He pushed up the river and found that for sixty miles from the sea it was already well known to Prince Henry's pilots. He went some distance farther and leaving the river made an expedition for some sixty miles southward and found the local chiefs friendly. Putting to sea again he reached the Gambia river, but soon abandoned his attempt to ascend and explore it, for he found the natives were hostile. One may conjecture that they had recently been visited by some rough-handed irregular traders, perhaps contraband slavers, for in the following year another of Prince Henry's captains—Diogo Gomez—found them

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friendly. After this disappointment Cadamosto returned to Lagos and Sagres.

Next year (1456) there were two expeditions under the command of Cadamosto and Diogo Gomez. Off Cape Blanco Cadamosto's caravel was caught in a gale from the north-east and ran out seaward before it. This proved to be a fortunate interruption for his voyage, for he came in sight of hitherto unknown islands. The most southerly of these was about 400 miles due east of Cape Verde, from which they take their name. He spent some time surveying and fixing the position of the group, which as the Cape Verde Islands became a prosperous Portuguese colony (unhappily in later days a stronghold of the West African slave-traders). Having completed his survey, Cadamosto sailed for Cape Verde, visited once more the lower Gambia, and then explored and mapped farther south the Rio Grande and the Geba river.

The other expedition was that of a squadron of three caravels under the command of Diogo Gomez. For once Prince Henry seems to have departed from his patient policy, for Gomez was instructed to push far south if possible, and find the way to India, but he soon abandoned this ambitious project. He was well south of Cape Verde when, under the stress of bad weather and a strong ocean current setting northward, he decided that it would be well to go back to the Gambia river, in the hope of better fortune than that of Cadamosto in the previous year, and try to open trade there. Either the natives had recovered from their unfriendly attitude or the sight of the three caravels suggested that quarrelling with the Portuguese was bad policy, for ascending the river Gomez was able to enter into friendly relations with the chiefs, and arrange for the organization of peaceful trading. On his return to Lagos Prince Henry took such a favourable view of the outlook on the river that he arranged for the first missionaries to the new lands to be sent to the Gambia. Cadamosto seems to have stayed in Portugal for nearly five years. He wrote a narrative of his voyages before he returned to Venice after the death of his patron.

Prince Henry's long and busy life was now nearing its end.

When Cadamosto and Gomez returned from their expeditions he was in his sixty-second year: for men of those times a rare length of life, when for most of those who survived so long all serious activity was rare. Yet he was still full of energy and busy with his great project. Despite his lifelong devotion to it he had found time for taking a frequent part in other public affairs. He had been governor of the province of Algarve (southern Portugal) since his early manhood. In his youth he had taken the vows of a Knight of Christ¹ and had been elected its Grand Master, and this religious knighthood was the inspiration of his long career.

It was as Grand Master of the Knights of Christ that he took command of the army sent to Africa in 1458 when the Moorish Sultan was marching on Ceuta. In a brief campaign he routed the Moors, and captured the fortress known as the Lesser Alcazar. The fame of his victories brought him invitations from Rome to reorganize the army of the Holy See, and from the German Emperor Frederick III to serve under his standard. He returned to Sagres, where he was once more busy with his plans for Africa. He died there after a short illness on the 13th November 1460, in his sixty-fifth year.

He had made no personal profit from the exploring expeditions he organized and financed, for chartered companies and land-grabbing expeditions were still in the future, and he was one of the most unselfish of men. His great enterprise bore solid fruit, but it was not till nearly forty years after his death that his well-laid scheme of exploration gave at last the results

¹ The Military Order of the Knights of Christ was founded in 1317, soon after the suppression of the Order of the Knights Templars. A Court convened by the bishop of Lisbon having decided that the Portuguese knights were completely immune from the abuses alleged against other branches of the Templars, King Diniz embodied them in the new organization of the Knights of Christ. There were two grades in the order—priests, who were to serve as its chaplains, and be available for missionary work, and lay knights who were to serve in wars against the infidels. In 1492 the vow of celibacy was no longer taken by the lay knights. Later on the order became a mere honorary distinction of the Portuguese monarchy, and its Grand Cross was a decoration granted by the Kings of Portugal as a reward for political, charitable, or other public services. In Prince Henry's time it was a religious order. He was already a Knight of Christ when he took a brilliant part in the capture of Ceuta in 1415, and was chosen Grand Master of the Order in 1417.

he had promised. Within two years of the prince's death the Guinea Coast was reached. In 1480 Fiego Cam entered the estuary of the Congo. Two years later Diaz discovered the southern Cape of Africa, but driven back by stormy head winds he failed to round it and named it the 'Stormy Cape'. It was not till 1497 that Vasco da Gama changed its name to the Cape of Good Hope and made his way into the Indian Ocean.

CHAPTER V

The most famous of all exploring voyages—fact and fiction in the popular records of Columbus—his early life—development of his great project—stay at Lisbon—marriage to daughter of one of Prince Henry's captains—its influence on his project—attempts to secure patronage of the Portuguese king—disappointing attempts to secure support of the rulers of Spain—the visit to the Franciscans of La Rabida opens the way to success—the famous voyage to find a New World—triumphant return to Spain.

FIVE years before Vasco da Gama opened the southern way to the Far East round the Cape of Good Hope Columbus had made the most famous of all exploring voyages, and for a while not only the 'world finder' himself, but many of the experts of old Europe, believed that he had by his westward crossing of the Atlantic reached outlying islands of Far Eastern Asia.

There is no need to tell here once more in detail the oft told story of the voyages of Columbus. Only some salient points in his career need be noted, and then an attempt will be made to trace the influence of his epoch-making discoveries on the immense development of ocean navigation and discovery that followed.

If the books that have been written on his life and discoveries were collected, they would form a great library. In the last sixty years large additions have been made to this mass of Columban literature in many languages. A most valuable contribution to these studies of the great navigator's life-work is the collection of documents and memoirs published by the Italian Government in connexion with the fourth centenary of his discovery of America.¹ The expert researches in the preparation of this important work led to the discovery in the records of Genoa of evidence that was decisive as to the nationality of Columbus and all doubts about the date of his birth.

It is strange to have to note, however, that clear as is this contemporary evidence of the facts it has not prevented subsequent attempts, inspired by a false ultra-nationalism, to

¹ It was published in fourteen folio volumes, under the title of *Raccolta di Documenti e Studi pubblicati dalla Reale Commissione Colombina*, 1892-1894.

bolster up a theory that Columbus was a Spaniard. Despite the fact that the new evidence from Genoese archives amply confirmed the statements of Columbus that he was a Genoese and the official description of him in contemporary Spanish documents as a foreigner (*extranjero*), a Spanish scholar, De la Riega, a writer on historical subjects, published in 1914 under the title of *Colón Español* ('Columbus a Spaniard') an elaborate work which was an expansion of a paper he had read before the Madrid Geographical Society. It purported to prove from lately discovered documents that Columbus was a Spanish Jew, born in the province of Galicia. It had a widespread circulation, and was accepted by many of its readers as a triumphant proof that Columbus was a son of Spain. A committee of experts, appointed by the Spanish Academy of Madrid, examined Riega's evidence and reported that he had been misled by worthless documents. The Spanish section of the Görres Gesellschaft of Cologne issued a report to the same effect. It had the assistance of Streicher, an expert in palaeography who found that the Galician documents which Riega produced actually dated from the sixteenth century, but were full of erasures, interpolations, changes of names and other falsifications, by which he had been misled. There are still even among educated Spaniards some who hold that 'Cristóbal Colón' was their fellow countryman, just as most Frenchmen patriotically count the old Kaiser Karl the Great as a French sovereign though the Francia which he ruled was mostly east of the Rhine.

When Columbus was born at Genoa in 1451 it was one of the most prosperous of the maritime cities of the Mediterranean, the capital of a republic that had long been the rival of Venice in the eastern trade. His father Domenico Colombo was engaged in the wool-trade, and Christopher, the eldest of his four sons, was engaged in the same business. Little is known with any certainty as to his education and earlier life. He seems to have been somewhat reticent as to the events of these early years. His son Diego wrote that his father had studied 'astronomy, mathematics, and cosmogony' at the University of Pavia.

If this were a correct statement it is strange that his father seems to have never alluded to such early training at a famous university. There were later tales that he had as a young man taken part in an expedition against Naples and a raid on one of the African ports of the Moorish corsairs. All this belongs to doubtful popular tradition of his early life. It is said that he made a voyage to the island of Chios, then a possession of Genoa. Probably it was in connexion with his father's business. In a legal document dated 1474 there is his signature with his personal description of his occupation as that of a wool-worker or -trader. He was then in his twenty-third year.

Next year came the first step towards his great career as a world explorer, though the event had as yet no more significance for him than an escape from serious peril and the interruption of a business voyage. He sailed from Genoa in one of four merchant ships bound for England, on a business mission. Off the Portuguese coast they were chased by a squadron of corsairs. They scattered and two of the ships took refuge in the Tagus. Columbus was a passenger in one of these and he stayed for some time in Lisbon before continuing his voyage to England. He was back at Lisbon in the following year (1477). His return so soon to Portugal makes it utterly unlikely that in his visit to the north he made a voyage to Galway and Iceland, which is an incident in some of the accounts of his life. This story belongs to the popular legend of Columbus.

His return to Lisbon and his subsequent residence there marked a turning-point in his career. His brother Bartholomew was already a resident in the Portuguese capital, and was making his living by dealing in maps and charts, many of these being his own handiwork. Lisbon was an excellent place for such business, for it was the chief centre of the flourishing sea-trade of Portugal. There can be little doubt that it was in his residence at Lisbon that Columbus began a serious and persevering study of the possibilities of ocean navigation and developed his project of a voyage by the Atlantic to reach the Far East by steering westward.

He made at least one voyage to the African coast to improve

his knowledge of the sea and the ways of the navigators. When, probably in 1479, he married a Portuguese wife, Felipa Moniz Perestrello, a valuable part of the dowry she brought to him was a collection of her father's charts, papers, and records. On both the father's and the mother's side her ancestors were sailors. Her father Bartolomeo Perestrello had been for years one of Prince Henry the Navigator's captains. Under the prince's direction he had taken an important part in the colonization of the Madeira group of islands, and had been the first governor of the little colony established in the outlying island of Porto Santo. She had many friends there, and Columbus paid a long visit with her to Porto Santo. There was only one son of the marriage, Diego, and according to Las Casas his mother died at Lisbon in 1484.

It seems that his great project took definite shape in these few years of his married life. Its realization required much more than some help from any private citizen. He might perhaps have found some Lisbon shipowner willing to put a caravel at his disposal for an experimental voyage as one of the sea-captains in his employ, but such a minor venture would fall far short of his personal ambitions. These were not wholly selfish. Some of his later biographers have tried to represent him as inspired only with a mere personal ambition of winning a vast fortune by opening a new and better way to the golden East with the resources provided by some princely patron, and receiving for himself a splendid share in the stream of wealth that would be obtained by monopolized trade and well-organized colonization.

It is true that from the very outset of his efforts to secure help for realizing his plans he put forward definite claims for a large and lasting share in the results of their successful accomplishment. He insisted not only on a share in all financial results, but also claimed hereditary rank in the nobility and the title of 'Admiral of the Ocean'. It is possible that such claims for exalted rank, and a fortune to be derived from the wealth of the Indies for himself and his heirs, adversely influenced the various commissions of inquiry appointed by the sovereigns

whose patronage he sought, even though these claims were coupled with sanguine forecasts of vast wealth and world-wide power for any state and ruler that accepted his plans and entrusted him with their realization. He argued that this wealth and power would not only directly accrue to the state under whose flag he opened the way across the ocean, but that indirectly his success would be a gain to all Christian Europe. For a power that had at its command the boundless profits of the eastern trade could afford to equip great armies and fleets that would end once and for all the Moslem menace to Europe, breaking the Turkish power in the Near East, ending the Moorish piracy in the Mediterranean, and in a new Crusade winning back the Holy Land for Christendom. He held that any personal gain for himself would be of little importance compared to these immense possibilities for Christendom.

The reigning king of Portugal, John II, was keenly interested in oversea developments, and especially in the growing trade of his country on the lines that had been inaugurated by Henry the Navigator. Columbus hoped to secure his patronage. In 1481 he was employed for a few months in the king's service as an officer of an expedition sent to establish a fort and trading station at El Mina on the African Gold Coast. This brought him useful contacts with government officials at Lisbon, and through this he was introduced to King John, who at first seemed to be favourably impressed by his proposals. But negotiations for some practical action dragged on wearily when his project was referred to a committee of experts. After the death of his wife he found himself unemployed, short of money, and harassed by creditors, who thought he had misled them with false stories of coming good fortune. In the winter of 1484 the climax came when he was told that the commissioners had given an adverse report on his plans, and he was led to believe that they had played fast and loose with him. He gave full credit to a rumour—true or false—that without his knowledge or asking any co-operation from him they had made a blundering attempt to test his proposals by secretly sending out a ship on the suggested ocean voyage. The story was that after a few days of bad weather

the crew had lost heart and returned to the Tagus in panic-stricken despair of success. Suddenly and secretly Columbus left Lisbon, taking his little son, Diego, with him. He had decided to make his way to Spain in the hope of finding some way of submitting his proposals to its sovereigns. The years that followed were a trying time of high hopes alternating with bitter disappointments. A serious bar to his success was that, however attractive these projects of a Genoese adventurer might be, they were for Ferdinand and Isabella matters of very minor interest and importance compared with their crusade, the success of which would be the crowning victory of centuries of warfare. Yet the hopes of Columbus rose high when he had the good fortune to win the friendly protection of the count (soon to be duke) of Medina Celi, one of the wealthiest grandees of Spain. For two years Medina Celi treated him as one of his great household. He was deeply interested in the project of the ocean voyage. He gave Columbus liberal gifts of money and introduced him to learned men who might be useful advisers or helpers. He himself was convinced of the soundness of his protégé's plans, and told him that he would be inclined to provide him with a squadron of ships for the ocean voyage, were it not that he felt such an immense enterprise must be a prelude to still greater developments, and should therefore be undertaken, not by a subject, but by a sovereign who could organize the subsequent steps that would realize its marvellous after-results.

Acting on these views Medina Celi wrote to Queen Isabella asking her to assist Columbus, and outlining his project, with the result that the Genoese adventurer was invited to the court, then at Cordova. Thanks to his patrons he made some helpful friends, and it was Cardinal Mendoza, the most powerful prelate in Spain, who arranged his first audience with the queen. She took a kindly interest in his project. It was referred to a small committee, and though they described it as hardly a practicable plan, she did not make this a reason for ending her interest in it. Columbus was attached to the court, and in its subsequent movements from city to city he was given comfort-

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able quarters, and from time to time he received a grant of money.

When the court moved to Salamanca in 1486 he was for months a guest of the Dominicans. A committee that included some of the learned men of the famous university was appointed to consider the question of the ocean voyage, and he was more than once a witness or a pleader during its long series of sessions. Its final report was adverse, though he found friends among its members whose view was that it might be reconsidered after the war.

Reports that Columbus had found powerful friends in Spain had reached Lisbon, with the result that he received a letter from King John inviting him to return to Portugal, suggesting that this might have the happiest results for him, and offering him a royal safe-conduct for the journey and a warrant of protection from his creditors in Lisbon. He acted on this invitation but without any practical result. He returned to Spain, but before leaving Lisbon he arranged for his brother Bartholomew to go to England and find out if there was any chance of Henry VII financing the proposed voyage; Bartholomew found that this first of the Tudor kings was hard-fisted in money matters and averse to speculative ventures.

After his return to Spain Columbus obtained an interview with King Ferdinand, who granted that his project had attractive features, but until Granada was captured, and the Moorish power in Spain ended, all other enterprises must be set aside. Ferdinand evidently felt some interest in this new venture and presently Columbus learned that another committee had been appointed to consider his great plan. Cardinal Mendoza, who had befriended him when he came to Cordova five years before, was the president of the committee, so he hoped for some favourable result.

Once more he was disappointed. The committee took the same view as the king—the project might be considered later when the war was over, but for the present nothing could be done. Columbus despaired of any success in Spain. He decided to go to France and try to obtain the patronage of King

Charles VIII. He wrote to his brother Bartholomew asking him to come to meet him at Paris, and taking his son Diego with him set out for Huelva (a small town on the Atlantic coast, where he made friends on his first arrival in Spain) intending to take a passage from there to one of the western ports of France.

He was near his journey's end when by a happy chance he asked for a night's lodging for himself and his son at the Franciscan friary of La Rabida, on the hills above the coast-road from Palos to Huelva. He was welcomed by the superior—the Father Guardian—of the friary, Juan Perez. It was a fortunate meeting. Perez was the son of a noble family, and in his earlier years had been attached to the household of Queen Isabella. He had been promoted to the office of *adelantado*, or steward of her personal fortune, when he abandoned a promising career at court to enter the Franciscan Order and study for the priesthood. Later he returned to the court to act as the chaplain and confessor of the Queen. After a few years he resigned this position to take command of the friary of La Rabida. He had long been interested in questions and records of exploration and missionary enterprise, in which the Franciscans had taken a notable part since the days of their founder, and one of his community, Father Antonio de Marchena, was an expert in the geographical science of the time. In that winter evening of December 1491, when Columbus was his guest, he had a long talk with him, heard the story of his years of fruitless efforts to obtain help for his great project of an ocean voyage of discovery. He sent for Marchena to join in a discussion of its possibility and the immense results for which it would open the way, and finally invited Columbus to stay at La Rabida, promising to do all that he could to win the support of Queen Isabella for his enterprise.

Next day Perez dispatched a long letter to the queen. The court was then with the army, in the great camp of Santa Fé—a camp like a city—and the siege of Granada was nearing its victorious end. The reply to the letter was an immediate invitation for the Franciscan to come to Santa Fé. A few days

later there came to La Rabida an order from the queen bidding Columbus to come at once to the camp, and a letter from Perez sending him funds for the journey, and for a court costume to replace his travelling gear. He reached Santa Fé just in time to be present at the stately ceremonial of the surrender of Granada. This triumph over the Moors had removed one important obstacle to the success of Columbus. Perez had won the support of Cardinal Mendoza. Queen Isabella gave Columbus a welcome and expressed the most friendly interest in his proposals. She had decided that if need be she herself would supply all the necessary funds for the voyage.

An agreement seemed certain, yet it was three months before it was reached. The long delay seems to have been due in some degree to the insistence of Columbus on a promise that high honours and command and a substantial share in the trade profits of the newly discovered lands should be the rewards of one successful voyage.

At last, on the 17th April 1492, the all-important document was signed by which Ferdinand and Isabella authorized the great enterprise of the ocean voyage of discovery, under the command of Columbus, who was to have the rank of admiral of the expedition. It was ordered that the port of Palos should provide two ships for the enterprise and Columbus returned to La Rabida. But then there were new difficulties and delays. It was easy enough to requisition the ships but it seemed almost impossible to obtain crews to man them. A mere handful of seamen accepted the terms offered them, but most of the people in Palos seem to have regarded the proposed voyage as a mad venture doomed to disaster. Father Perez, however, was able to use his influence with the three Pinzón brothers, notable men in Palos and representing a family long engaged in trade with the African coast and the Atlantic islands. The two elder brothers were skilful and experienced navigators. They agreed to assist in organizing the expedition and act as the lieutenants of Columbus on the voyage.

At last preparations for the voyage began. Instead of the two ships originally required from Palos three were provided,

small craft for so great a venture. The flagship of the little squadron was the *Santa Maria*, commanded by Columbus, a three-masted caravel of 100 tons measurement with a crew of fifty-two men. Her consorts were the *Pinta* of 50 tons and the *Niña* of 40 tons, each with a crew of eighteen men. The *Pinta* was commanded by the eldest of the Pinzons, Martin Alonso, with his brother Francis as his assistant. His youngest brother, Vicente Yáñez Pinzón, commanded the *Niña*.

At last all was ready for the voyage. Early on the 3rd August 1492 the eighty-eight officers and seamen of the squadron were present and received Holy Communion at the Mass celebrated by Father Perez to invoke a blessing on the enterprise.

In the forenoon, with a fair wind and under sunny skies, the three ships set sail on the first stage of their adventurous voyage. Their first destination was the port of Las Palmas in the Canary Islands. So far the voyage was in well-known waters. Columbus, the Pinzóns, and numbers of their men had already made it. Here they would complete their stores and renew their supply of fresh water. Then would come the voyage into uncharted seas.

The visit to the port in the Canary Islands enabled rapid repairs to be made to some damage that happened to the rudder of the *Santa Maria*. When the flotilla put to sea again, the order of Columbus was that the course should be steadily westward, along the twenty-eighth parallel of north latitude. He hoped thus to reach, after a few weeks on the ocean, Antilia, shown on several rather fanciful charts of the time as a great outlying island of eastern Asia.

The compass was the chief guide for this western course. Each day the latitude was to be found by observations made with the astrolabe, the oldest of astronomical instruments. It had been in use by the astronomers and astrologers of classical times and later by the Arabs. Its essential features were a circular plate, usually of brass or copper, with a circle engraved near its margin, marked with the 360 degrees of angular measurement. It was hung up or held up by a ring attached at the 90th degree, and a movable bar was pivoted at its centre with metal

sights at each extremity. The observer moved the bar until his sights bore on the object observed—the noonday sun by day, the moon or the Pole Star by night. There was still no allowance for error resulting from refraction, or from the height of a ship's deck and the consequent dip of the horizon. It gave at best an approximate observation of the altitude of the object, from which the latitude was deduced with the help of tables that showed the angular distance of the heavenly bodies from the equator.¹ But it was not till more than two hundred years later that navigators were enabled to make accurate observations thanks to the invention of Hadley's quadrant and sextant. Until the invention of the chronometer there was no reliable method of finding the longitude at sea. The actual progress westward each day could be only approximately ascertained by keeping a 'dead reckoning', the course being marked off on a chart, by taking its direction from the compass, and ascertaining the speed of the ship and the distance covered by heaving the 'log' from time to time and reckoning the distance run in an hour from the length of the line that ran out to it in part of a minute.² The fine weather and steadily fair wind made this a fairly simple operation for the flotilla of Columbus.

Twice on the voyage one of the look-out men raised the cry of 'Land ahead'. Once at least the report of success in sight spread from ship to ship, and many knelt in thanksgiving. Probably the origin of the report was the sight of a cloud-bank on the western horizon, or it may have been a mirage of the tropical seas. As the days went by with the ships sailing west and over lonely seas there came a time of discontented doubt

¹ The best tables of the time were the *Calendarium* and *Ephemerides* prepared and published by the famous astronomer Muller of Königsberg (Regiomontanus), issued in 1473 from the observatory and printing-office placed at his disposal by Bernhard Walther, a wealthy citizen of Nuremberg. These gave a calendar of the positions of the sun, moon, and planets for the years 1474 to 1506. Columbus is said to have used them.

² The names given by the seamen of northern Europe to the piece of wood, thrown at the end of the distance measuring line, are obviously derived from the English name for it—the 'log'. The Spaniards called it the *baquentina*, that is 'the little ship', which suggests that they used a piece of wood with a pointed bow—a roughly shaped model of a ship's hull.

among the seamen. Pessimists suggested that they were being lured westward with only vague stories of reaching land, and even if the admiral could be persuaded to turn back they would have to fight their way by a zigzag course, tacking against head winds, and before long would be short of food and water. Some narratives of the voyage tell of a mutiny on board the *Santa Maria*, and only the influence of Alonso Pinzón saving the situation by persuading the men to hold on for a few days more, but it seems that the discontent of the crew never went so far as open revolt.

If Columbus had persisted in his plan of setting his course from the Canary Islands due west in the latitude of 28 N. he would have made his landfall on the low-lying coast of Florida, but he changed this course early in October. Flights of birds were seen flying to the south-westward, sometimes near or over the ships. This was taken to be a welcome sign that land was not far off. Telescopes were still an invention of a far-off future, but there must have been a number of keen-sighted men in the crews of the flotilla, for there were reports that some of the birds were not sea-fowl. Most of them were flying to the south-westward. Pinzón did good service to his chief by persuading him to change his course to the south-west. Hopes of reaching land now rose high, and Columbus promised a reward to the first who should sight it.

After dark on the 12th October he was on deck, and through the darkness saw a light out ahead, moving slowly and rising and falling slightly as it went along. He called the attention of others to it, and it was conjectured that it must be a torch or lamp carried by some one on land. It might perhaps be a light on board some fishing craft, but in either case it suggested that land was near. At 2 a.m. in the fine starlit night there was a shout of 'Land! Land!' from the look-out men of the *Pinta*, and the sunrise of the 13th October showed a low island coast with trees and bush in the background. The ships closed in to the land, boats were lowered and manned, and Columbus with the Pinzón brothers and an armed escort landed on the beach.

A wooden cross was erected, the banner of Castile and Leon was displayed, while men and officers knelt in thanksgiving for the success of their adventurous voyage. While they prayed groups of the islanders issued from the woods, dark-skinned men, naked and unarmed. Timidly gazing at the new-comers, who they thought must be beings from another world they ventured to come nearer. The strangers greeted them with friendly gestures, and the islanders were soon exchanging trifling gifts with the Spaniards. The news of the arrival of these wonderful strangers had spread rapidly, and while the first friendly meeting was still in progress other natives arrived, paddling canoes and rough boats made by hollowing tree-trunks. They drove their boats to the shore and joined the crowd on the land, all won to a friendly attitude of respect for the white strangers by the attitude of the first of their people towards the Spaniards.

It would be interesting to have had some detailed record of how Columbus and his colleagues were able to enter into closer communication with the primitive people of the island. All we know is that somehow by signs and noticing their names for things they handled or pointed out, he and some of his followers learned a few words of the native language during their stay on this and other islands of the West Indies. He gathered that the native name of the island was Guanahani, and chose for it the Spanish name of San Salvador. It was one of the Bahamas, the chain of some 600 islands and islets and more than 2,000 coral reefs that extend for some 600 miles from the Florida Channel to the south-eastward, this ocean archipelago lying to the north of Cuba and Haiti. Columbus had reached Guanahani at the best season of the year, for it is in October that the torrid summer ends, fine weather begins, and a milder season when nowadays the Bahamas rank as a health resort.

The name of San Salvador given by Columbus to the first island that he discovered has long been as obsolete as the native name of Guanahani. There is still no absolute certainty as to which of the hundred islands of the Bahamas it was. It was somewhere north of Haiti. In modern times it was long identi-

fied with Cat Island, but more recent opinion has substituted the neighbouring Watling's Island. This is a round island about twenty miles across, its outline that of the coral reef which is its foundation. It is a belt of fertile land around a wide lagoon which has an opening southward to the sea.

Columbus spent some days in examining the new-found island, and then proceeded to examine and roughly chart neighbouring islands, and somehow learned from the Indians that there were greater lands to the southward. The result was a voyage to Haiti and a brief visit to eastern Cuba. He had among his papers a letter from Ferdinand and Isabella, addressed to the Great Khan of Cathay, at whose court in Cam-baluc he might perhaps hope to find at least some remnant of the Christian Church founded by the Franciscan pioneers of the fourteenth century. In these islands of the western Atlantic he found only petty chiefs of half-naked bushmen and fishermen. The quest of Cathay and Cipangu must be left for another voyage. He and his colleagues, the Pinzóns, were convinced, however, that they had reached islands not very far from eastern Asia, fertile lands rich in natural produce and inhabited by a friendly primitive people, who were confidently described as 'Indians'—men of 'the Indies'—by the discoverers. One of the native chiefs in Haiti made Columbus a present of a belt clasped with two small plates of gold. The precious metal must have come from the alluvial gold still found in small quantities in the hill-streams in the north of the island. It was a welcome gift, for it suggested sanguine hopes of rich sources of the precious metal in the new lands, though it was only in later years that the rich gold-mines and still richer silver deposits were found by the conquerors of Mexico and Peru.

Once only was there any menace of hostility from the Indians. It was during the visit to Cuba, when a party of natives armed with clubs and bows threatened an attack and shot a few ill-aimed arrows at the Spaniards. Seven musketeers replied by firing shots from their arquebuses, aimed at a high angle so as to do no harm. The Indians fled in panic from these terrible men whose weapons were like the lightning and thunder.

On the return from Cuba to Haiti there was the only mishap of the expedition. The *Santa Maria* grounded on a coast-reef on the shore of Haiti. Attempts to float the ship (including the cutting away of her heavy mainmast) were unavailing, and Columbus decided she must be abandoned. He was already planning his homeward voyage, and the loss of his best ship left him only the little *Pinta* and *Niña*, rated as light half-decked craft of 50 and 40 tons with crews of eighteen men.

We have no details of how the plans for the homeward voyage were discussed by Columbus and his colleagues. There is some reason to suspect that the relations between Columbus and Alonso Pinzón, the ablest and most experienced navigator in the flotilla, were, to say the least, not entirely cordial. It would have been difficult to crowd the whole of the seamen on the two little ships, so it was decided that forty-four men, or about half of the whole number, must remain for a while in Haiti. The hull of the unlucky *Santa Maria* was broken up, and the timber with her spars and rigging used to erect a stockaded fort on the shore, with huts to lodge the garrison.

By Christmas Eve the work was completed, and the inauguration of the little stronghold next day was described as the foundation of what was to develop into a new city with the name of 'La Navidad' ('The Nativity'). It was destined to a brief and tragic history.

On the 4th January 1493 Columbus set out for Europe on board the *Niña* with the younger Pinzón (Vicente Yáñez), taking also with him two Indian youths, who were to be instructed and baptized and act as interpreters in a future voyage. Alonso Pinzón and the *Pinta* did not join Columbus till he was two days at sea. The ships parted company in a fierce storm as they neared the Azores. Columbus took the *Niña* into one of the island ports, where he found the Portuguese governor hostile and suspicious, so that he was glad to put to sea again. He steered for the Tagus and reached Lisbon on the 4th March. He received a generous welcome from King John. The Spanish court was at Barcelona, and Columbus sent off from Lisbon a trusty messenger to convey to Ferdinand and Isabella a letter

summarizing the result of his discoveries, which he had written while at sea. On the 13th March he sailed for Palos, where he landed on the 15th and after a visit to Fr. Perez at La Rabida set out on a journey across Spain to Barcelona.

His reception there by the king and queen was a day of triumph. He told of the chief incidents of his voyage, presented the two Indians to their majesties as the first converts from the New World, and his attendants showed a collection of products of the new lands, strange fruits, maize and cotton, and tropical birds of bright plumage. The gold clasps from Haiti were presented to the sovereigns, with an assurance that the natives had told of rich gold-fields in great lands farther south. Columbus was promised the command of a fleet that would convey colonists to the new lands, and promoted to ducal rank in the nobility of Spain.

Alonso Pinzón had no share in this day of triumph. While Columbus was at Lisbon he had arrived at the port of Bayona in the north-west of Spain. He was ill when he landed and he died soon after.

CHAPTER VI

The Colony of Hispaniola. Troubles and evil times. The last voyage of Columbus—how the end came—pre-eminent value of his great discovery and the new era of ocean exploration. Amerigo Vespucci—search for a southern way to the Pacific and the Indies—Cabral and Brazil—Balboa in Darien—Magellan finds the way to the Pacific—the first world-voyage—Dutch discovery of Cape Horn.

COLUMBUS did not leave Spain on his second ocean voyage until the 24th September 1493. These six months after his triumphal reception at Barcelona were probably the happiest time of his life.

He was enjoying the first-fruits of his successful enterprise. There was ample compensation now for the past—for the long years of persistent effort and recurring disappointment. He was now one of the *grandees* of Spain, and Admiral of the Ocean, this last no empty title, for he was preparing to sail westward as governor of the new lands, and admiral no longer of a few small ships, but in command of a fleet of three galleons and fourteen caravels. He was sent to lay the foundations of a Spanish Empire beyond the ocean. He was to organize a colony in Haiti, now renamed Hispaniola—'little Spain'—and believed to be rich in gold. A party of missionaries were to go with him and more than a thousand colonists. There were some skilled artificers and farmers among them, besides adventurers who hoped to find a fortune awaiting them. There was another element that boded ill for the enterprise. It had been by no means easy to recruit the desired number of colonists and as a makeshift a number of convicts had been released from prisons and galleys on condition of volunteering for the new country, where it was hoped they would make a new start in life in return for their liberation.

The fleet sailed on the 24th September 1493, and after a visit to Ferro in the Canary Islands steered westward on a more southerly course than that of the first voyage. Several new islands were sighted and added to the chart of the West Indies. The fleet sailed past Haiti until Jamaica was in sight, and then turned back to steer for the fort of La Navidad, where it was intended to begin the work of colonization.

A terrible disappointment awaited Columbus when he landed only to find evidence of disaster. Where the fort had stood there were only its ruins. Its site was marked by the charred timbers of stockades and huts and in the neighbouring bush there were decaying corpses of Spaniards bearing the marks of wounds. The local Arawak Indians told that raiding Caribs from more southern islands had sacked the fort, but later it was discovered that some of these once friendly Arawaks, incensed by misconduct of the Spanish garrison of La Navidad, had taken part in the sack and massacre. For Columbus it was a bitter disappointment, the tragic prelude of sad years of failure in a task he should never have undertaken.

He believed the islands he had discovered were the threshold of far-eastern Asia—then regarded as the wealthiest region of the world. So far, the bed-rock foundation of the project to which he had devoted so many years of his life was the opening of a western way to the Far East and ending the false tradition of centuries as to the hopelessness of a bold ocean voyage across the Atlantic. He rightly decided that the site of La Navidad must be abandoned as the scene of ill-omened tragedy, and at another point on the island coast he founded the new settlement, to which he gave the name of 'Isabella'. The wise course would surely have been to make it a base of operations for further exploration and entrust to one of his brothers, Bartholomew or Diego, or one of his Spanish officers the work of colonization. Unhappily he was misled by the idea that Haiti was rich in gold that could be easily won with native labour, and that a prosperous colony could be rapidly organized. The record of the troubled years of disastrous failure hardly belongs to the history of exploration and discovery.

There is no need to tell once more the story of those years in any full detail. It may be well, however, briefly to note some aspects and incidents of this ill-directed effort in colonization. There was an attempt at once to transform the Indian bushmen into labourers, tillers of the soil, artisans, and gold-miners; numbers of the so-called colonists imagined fortunes could be picked up without turning their hands to any work. There

were unfriendly relations between many of the Spanish officials and their governor, whose autocratic moods led to cliques and factions barring comrade-like co-operation. There was the unpleasant discovery that the Indians of the coast districts broke down under the strain of unfamiliar work, and the death-rate among them rose rapidly, while it was found that the hill-men of the interior were distinctly hostile. The missionaries declared that under these unfavourable conditions it was all but hopeless to win the goodwill of the natives.

There was one minor success which might have been important if Columbus had thought less of improvising a colony and more of resuming the task of exploration. When the work of setting up the houses, store-rooms, and stockade of the 'city' of Isabella was well advanced, Columbus employed his artificers in organizing a small shipyard, and began the construction of the caravel *Santa Cruz*, the first ship built in the New World. Ships arrived from Spain, bringing some more colonists and supplies. The shipyard was useful for needful repairs and refitting now that regular communication with the home country was being established. Some small quantities of gold were won from the gravel of rivers and streams, but a rumoured vein that could be mined proved to be a deposit of glittering iron pyrites. Some small hoards of gold were obtained from the Indians by bartering with cheap Spanish goods, but the total result of all this gold-seeking was of no great amount.

Leaving his brother Diego in command at Isabella Columbus sailed for Cuba, attracted by vague reports that the great island was rich in gold. He soon came back disappointed of any reliable news of gold, and found that while he was absent a despairing revolt had begun among the Indians. Columbus organized a small force of musketeers with a handful of horsemen under one of his soldier colleagues, Ojeda, and in a few weeks of bush-fighting the rising was trampled out. It is a blot on the record of Columbus that he shipped off some five hundred of the rebels to be sold as slaves in Spain. Half of them died on the voyage, but Queen Isabella intervened to prevent the survivors from being sold into slavery.

Columbus realized that his whole position was in peril when, in the autumn of 1495, Juan Aguado arrived at Isabella with a warrant from the Spanish sovereigns to report on his governorship. Aguado showed at once that he was strongly prejudiced against him by unfriendly reports sent to Spain and by the talk of discontented colonists who had returned to the home country. Columbus refused to recognize Aguado's authority or give him any facilities for his mission, and in the spring of the following year set out for Spain to appeal personally to the king and queen, leaving his brother Bartholomew to act as his deputy. In March 1496 he embarked in the *Niña*, and after a three months' voyage and many days of bad weather reached Cadiz on the 11th June. He spent nearly two years in Spain and it seemed that he was laying a foundation for renewed success. Despite the current reports of disappointed colonists and his cavalier treatment of the royal envoy Aguado, he received a friendly welcome from Queen Isabella and King Ferdinand. They accepted his contention that he had to deal with the difficulties that so often marked the first stage of a great enterprise and they listened to his forecasts of better times in the Indies. His governorship of the new lands was confirmed; he was given a grant of a wide tract of land in Hispaniola, and it was promised that a fleet would be placed at his disposal for his return to the Indies.

He sailed with six ships from San Lucar on the 30th May 1498, and first steered southward till he reached the Cape Verde Islands, then westward across the Atlantic. Once more he was for a while an explorer. He had heard in Haiti the Indians telling of great lands to the southward, and he hoped to sight them, with a vague idea that they might be part of Asia. On the 31st July he came in sight of a large island, with three great mountain peaks, and gave it the name it still bears—Trinidad. Sailing round its south shore he found beyond it what he thought was another and larger island, and landed on it for a short time. It was the north-western shore of South America, and he and his boat's crew were the first Europeans to reach the great southern continent of America.

He then sailed south along the coast of the supposed island and came on what he first took to be a channel along its south coast. Working into it against a strong current from the eastward he soon found that he was in fresh water. It was the mouth of the main stream of a wide river—afterwards known as the Orinoco. He had been ill before he went to Spain, and at times during the months he stayed there, and it would seem that he was no longer the bold clear-headed investigator who had planned the first voyage across the ocean. He reasoned strangely and confusedly. He rightly conjectured that this great river must be fed by the waters of a large extent of country, but he thought it must be a river of Asia. He even made the wild suggestion that perhaps it was one of the rivers of the primeval Paradise. He did not attempt to explore the great river, for he must soon make his way to Haiti. Aided by the current that sweeps along the South American shores into the Caribbean Sea, he coasted westward, detaching three ships to proceed to the colony. It was probably in the strait between the coast and the large island which still bears the name of Margarita—'Pearl Island'—that he found Indians diving for pearls, and bought enough of these gems to fill three sacks, the natives gladly exchanging the pearls for cheap barter goods from Spain. Then satisfied with the discovery of this new source of profitable trade he sailed north-westward for his colony in Haiti. He landed on the 31st August 1498 at the new settlement of San Domingo on the west coast to which his brother Bartholomew had transferred the seat of government from Isabella.

He found that in his absence open strife had developed in the colony, and soon realized that the majority of the colonists were friendly to the opposition. The leader of the revolt was a former official, Roldan, a legal expert, and a useful organizer in his employ. He entered into negotiations with him and made peace between the rival factions, promoting Roldan to the chief judgeship of the colony.

By the summer of 1500 the outlook seemed hopeful. There were reports of gold being found in greater abundance; the missionaries were making converts and establishing settlements

for the Indians, and, probably on Roldan's advice, grants of land were being made to the colonists, with conditions perilously near serfdom for the Indians on these new estates.

On the 23rd August 1500, while Columbus was absent on a tour of the colony, the fleet sent each summer from Spain arrived at San Domingo, and brought Francis Bobadilla, a royal commissioner, with authority to temporarily take over the governorship and inquire into the state of the colony. Diego Columbus, assisted by Bartholomew, was in command in the settlement and refused to hand the government over to Bobadilla, or allow him to open his inquiry until their brother returned from his tour. Bobadilla was obviously prejudiced against the three brothers by hostile reports that had reached Spain and, instead of temporizing until Columbus returned, he took a violent course, declared that Diego and Bartholomew were rebels against the royal authority, and sent them to solitary imprisonment in chains. When Columbus hurried back to San Domingo and protested against this outrageous proceeding Bobadilla, now acting as governor, sent him also to a prison cell, declaring his government was at an end, and that he would be sent to Spain to be dealt with there. The colonists seem to have been either indifferent or actually hostile to Columbus, and there was not one solitary protest against Bobadilla's action when early in October Columbus with iron fetters on his limbs was put on board ship to be taken to Spain with his brothers.

The ship reached Cadiz in the first week of December. A letter that Columbus had written during his voyage was sent to Ferdinand and Isabella, then holding their court at Granada. This led to orders for the immediate liberation of the three brothers, an invitation for Columbus to come to the court, and a grant of money for his expenses.

At Cadiz and on the way to Granada he found the people friendly, and he was received at the court with an honourable welcome. He was no longer the strong, self-possessed man of earlier times. Years of disappointment had broken him down, and as he knelt in homage to the king and queen he burst into

a fit of sobbing. He was told to be seated beside them and they spoke to him in words of sympathetic encouragement.

He was told that Bobadilla would be superseded by a new governor at San Domingo, but in vain he suggested that he himself should resume the governorship. He was told he must rest awhile in Spain, and when his health improved he would be given a squadron of caravels for further exploration in the Indies.

It was not till February 1502 that the new governor, Ovando, sailed for San Domingo. In the following May Columbus set out from San Lucar with four caravels and 150 men. His declared purpose in this his last voyage was to find a way from the West Indian seas to India and the famous empire of Cathay. He seems now to have imagined that perhaps the lands of the Orinoco were a great island, and he thought that somewhere to the north-west of it he would find a way to the great countries of Asia. He touched at San Domingo, but was not allowed to land. Then he went south-westward across the Caribbean Sea till he reached the coast of Honduras. He then cruised southwards along the coast till he reached the Darien shores and the western part of the South American coast. He found no channel opening a way to the East. On the coast of Darien he heard from the natives that on the other side of the ridge there was a great sea by which men sailed to a very rich country. He thought this sea might be the Indian Ocean. Probably the natives were trying to tell him of the way by the Pacific to the rich country of Peru.

Beyond adding a new coast-line and some islands to his chart, the voyage gave little result. An attempt to found a settlement in Darien on the river Veragua, in the hope of winning gold and pearls, ended in trouble with the natives. Two ships were lost in bad weather, the other two were leaking and their timbers were rotting. Columbus after a visit to Cuba reached Jamaica, where the ships were found to be so unseaworthy that he abandoned them, and sent a boat to Haiti, asking for other ships to be sent to him.

He and the remnant of his crews lived for months among

friendly natives in Jamaica. It was not till May 1504 that two ships reached Jamaica. Then Columbus, after a brief visit to San Domingo, returned to Spain. There was bad weather on the Atlantic, and it was not till the 17th November 1504 that Columbus landed at San Lucar, wretchedly ill and bitterly disappointed. His age was probably just over fifty, but he was older than his years. The death of his royal patroness Queen Isabella, soon after his return to Spain, was a heavy blow to him. He still followed the court from city to city, but his appearances in the royal circle became less frequent, and ceased not long before his last days at Valladolid. He died on the 20th May 1506. He had, the day before, made a revision of an earlier will, adding a long codicil to it. Almost to the last he was fully conscious, and in this last will there were only kindly words for all he named and no resentful memory of those who had dealt harshly with him.

He had had failures and disappointments, but these count for little compared to the splendid enterprise that has made his name, still after four centuries, one of the most famous in the records of the world.

He had swept away the traditional terror of the ocean voyage, and proved that the 'wilderness of waters' was no barrier but a link between the continents. This had immediate results of world-wide importance.

While he was yet living navigators of many nations were making voyages that gave immense results, and in the lifetimes of men still living when he passed away these developed into a vast system of ocean exploration. As the pioneer of a new phase of discovery and world-wide extension of European influence he must be counted as the greatest of explorers.

It is interesting to note the progress secured in the last years of his life under the influence of his great discovery.

These exploring voyages were often attempts to find a passage to Asia from the Atlantic and the West Indian Sea, but one of the earliest expeditions was, strange to say, a voyage across the North Atlantic in the hope of finding a north way to the Far East, and it was the pioneer of Arctic exploration and discovery.

It was organized by a fellow countryman of Columbus, a Genoese, naturalized as a citizen of Venice, Giovanni Cabotto, known in England as John Cabot, when, after spending some years of successful trading in the Levant, he made his home in Bristol. He had heard something of the early Norse discoveries in Greenland and 'Vineland' and, when the news came of the voyage of Columbus to the Indies, he thought that these old Norse voyagers might have reached outlying lands of Asia. He obtained from Henry VII a royal warrant to sail under the English flag in search of a northern way to Cathay and Cipangu. He was to make the voyage at his own cost and, though any goods he brought back were to pay no duty, the king was to have a share of the profit they might yield.

In a first voyage he reached Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland. Next year he sailed farther to the east coast of Greenland and then still northwards into what was later known as Davis Strait, but he had to turn back when icebergs seemed to bar the way and the men refused to go farther. Crossing the strait to Baffin Island he looked in vain for any passage westward, and then returned to Bristol after a cruise along the shores of Labrador. The Indians he found had no better idea of trade than offering a few furs for barter. He returned from this second voyage without any gain and convinced that a north-west passage to the Far East was difficult to find. Yet this disappointing venture was the beginning of Arctic exploration, and of the centuries' quest for the north-west passage.

The voyages in the tropics and the south Atlantic gave important results from the very outset. While Cabot was making his first northern voyage in 1497 a Florentine in the service of Spain, Amerigo Vespucci, made the first of his voyages to the new Indies. He had with him two experts in navigation, who had been with Columbus on his pioneer voyage, Vicente Pinzón, and La Cosa, the owner of the *Santa Maria*, a skilled chart-maker and pilot. La Cosa produced the earliest still extant map of the West Indies. Vespucci cruised along the coasts of the Gulf of Mexico, and visited also the shores of both the American continents. His reports were widely circulated

in Europe, and thanks to the suggestion of a German geographer the name of America came rapidly into widespread use as that of the newly discovered lands. It was to say the least an honour hardly due to anything that Amerigo Vespucci had accomplished. In Spain it was long before it came into use, the official names for the new-found continent being for many years after either 'the West Indies' or the 'New World'.

There were now several attempts of the Spanish pioneers to find a way to eastern Asia and India by coasting southward along the shores of the tropical land, which counted as a great island of the Indies. In 1499 La Cosa passed the equator and claimed to have gone forty degrees south of it, but it seems he made no close examination of the South American coast. Next year Vicente Pinzón discovered a far greater river than the Orinoco. In its wide estuary he would find himself still coasting along one of its banks in fresh water, while the other bank was out of sight. It was known later as the Amazon, one of the greatest navigable rivers in the world. The visit to its estuary gave sufficient proof that it must be fed by the waters of an immense hinterland.

In the same year 1500, on the 9th March, Alvarez Cabral sailed from Lisbon in command of a fleet of thirteen ships with 1,200 men bound for the East Indies by the Cape route. He took a more westerly course than the Portuguese navigators usually followed, hoping for better weather conditions. On the 29th April he unexpectedly sighted land where according to his chart and reckoning he expected to be still well out at sea. Landing near the bold headland afterwards known as Cape St. Augustin, he set up a cross, displayed the Portuguese flag, declared the new land to be Portuguese territory, and named it 'Terra de Santa Cruz'—'Holy Cross Land'. He then continued his voyage, and sent from Africa a report of his discovery of lands in South America that Portugal might claim, as within its sphere of influence, for he reckoned that it was well to the east of the line that, according to the treaty of Tordesillas, divided the Atlantic region into Spanish and Portuguese fields for exploration and trade, at the meridian of 48 degrees

west.¹ In 1501 a ship was sent from Lisbon to verify the discovery, and a first settlement was made in 1502. Portugal thus gained rights of possession and colonization along some 3,000 miles of coast with a hinterland that later expanded into her great possession of Brazil.

In the early years of the sixteenth century the Portuguese were chiefly occupied with their ventures in Africa and Asia. In the West Indies the Spaniards were developing their island settlements. There was some exploring on the coasts of the Mexican Gulf and the Caribbean Sea. In 1512 De Solis and Pinzón surveyed the peninsula of Yucatan, and Ponce de Leon made a voyage to Florida. But little attention seems to have as yet been given to the North American continent. There was still hope of finding a way round South America to the Far East of Asia. De Solis in the service of Spain went as far south as the Rio de la Plata, and entered this great inlet in the hope of finding a channel to the Indian Seas. He found it was only the estuary of rivers from the interior, and named it the Mar Dulce, making a bold conjecture that it might be the outlet of an inland freshwater sea.

In the following year an adventurous soldier, Nuñez de Balboa, was the hero of an incident that had important results. After failing to make a living in the West Indian islands, he joined a new settlement on the Isthmus of Darien. He heard from the Indians the same account they had given to Columbus of a great sea beyond the ridge of hills that is the central feature of the isthmus. With a small armed escort and some hundreds of Indians to carry his supplies, he made his way through wild country to the crest of the ridge from which he saw an immense

¹ The Bull of Alexander VI, issued on the 4th May 1493, soon after the news of the discovery of the New World by Columbus, was not, as is sometimes alleged, a claim to parcel out the sovereignty of the world lands outside Europe between Spain and Portugal, but a proposal for a dividing line between their regions of their exploring and trading activities. It chose a dividing line in the Atlantic about midway between Portugal and the islands of the West Indies at the 37th meridian of longitude. After negotiations between Spain and Portugal, the Treaty of Tordesillas, signed on the 7th June 1494, placed the line farther west at longitude 46. Broadly speaking it was intended to mark the eastern half of the Atlantic as the Portuguese sphere of influence and activity, leaving the western half to Spain.

expanse of water with neither islands nor a far-off coast in sight. The ridge here lay east and west, so he named the great sea 'Mar del Sur', the 'Sea of the South'. He went as far as its shores, but only a few canoes were to be found and he could not think of embarking on it. The natives told him of the land of gold to which it was the way. Pizarro, the future conqueror of Peru, was a young soldier in his escort.

The first European to find a way from the Atlantic to the great seas beyond America was a Portuguese officer in the service of Spain, Ferdinand Magellan. As a young man, about thirty years of age, he had gone to the East Indies and held a command in an expedition to Malacca in 1511 under the celebrated Albuquerque. From Malacca he was sent on a voyage to the islands of the eastern archipelago, then known as the Spice Islands, the source of a rich trade through the Levant to Europe. He returned soon after to Lisbon, but under the impression that he had not been well treated by King John of Portugal he offered his services to Charles V of Spain. He proposed to him a plan for a voyage by the South Atlantic in the hope of finding in the far south of America a water-way to the eastern seas, where rich spice islands would be a source of valuable trade for Spain, and this without infringing on the Portuguese sphere of influence in the Far East, or intruding on their trade-routes. After the usual delays in the consideration of any such scheme, the king accepted the proposal, and on the 20th September 1519 Magellan sailed from San Lucar in command of a squadron of five ships, small craft of from 60 to 250 tons.

At the end of November the coast of South America was sighted, and Magellan sailed southward and examined the Rio Plata but found it was no way to the eastern seas. The fleet was laid up till the following spring in one of the bays farther south, and when the spring of next year came he carefully explored the coast still farther to the southward.

It was not till August that he found a strait far south between the islands of Tierra del Fuego and the extreme south of the American continent. Two ships left the squadron, and it

proved to be a difficult passage for the first ships that passed through it by its winding course of some 360 miles with snowy mountains on either side. It was nearly three months before Magellan reached the exit from the winding straits and entered the 'Sea of the South'. For nearly a century later these straits were the only known passage between the oceans, for there was a persistent belief that the islands on its south side with their mass of snow-capped mountains were a promontory of a frozen continent around the South Pole.

His course was now north-westward, with fine weather and fair winds, and he named the great seas he had reached the Pacific Ocean. It was nearly a hundred days before he reached a group of islands still far to the east of those he sought. Here he anchored to obtain fresh water and provisions for his crews—for some time they had been in a wretched condition, for their supply of water was scanty and foul and most of the provisions in decay, so that scurvy had broken out among the seamen. He named the islands (afterwards renamed the Marianas) the Robber Islands, for some of the natives could not resist the attraction of various odds and ends belonging to their visitors.

Having here repaired and provisioned his three ships he left the Ladrões in the middle of March and steered for the island group afterwards annexed to Spain as the Philippines. Here he landed at the island of Cebu, and received a friendly welcome from the native chief of the island. Unhappily while acting as the ally of his host in a fight with the tribesmen of a neighbouring island he was mortally wounded. This seems to have led the chief of Cebu to the idea that the Spaniards were useless allies, and he entrapped and murdered two of the officers. One of the remaining captains, Del Cano, then took command of the ships. The crews had been so reduced by loss of life during the long voyage that Del Cano decided to abandon and burn one of his ships. The two that remained sailed for the Molucca Islands, touching at Borneo on the way. At the island of Tidore they secured good cargoes of spices, but as one of the ships was now leaking dangerously she was left behind, and in

the ship he commanded, the *Vittoria*, Del Cano sailed for the Indian Ocean in the last month of 1521. She rounded the Cape of Good Hope in the following April without touching at the Portuguese settlement, and did not reach the Cape Verde Islands till July. His ship had had to battle with head winds and stormy seas, and scurvy had broken out among the men, for provisions ran short and water was scanty. At the islands the Portuguese were unfriendly, supplies were obtained with difficulty and thirteen of the men were detained as prisoners after some trouble with the local authorities. Sailing for Spain Del Cano completed his voyage of nearly two years when, with some thirty officers and men, he reached Seville on the 26th September 1522.

It was the first voyage round the world. Magellan had realized the idea of Columbus that there must be a westward way by sea to the Far East and thus a voyage across the Pacific to the Indian Ocean and the Atlantic had been completed.

The way by the far-southern channel of Magellan's Straits was a terribly long one, but before many years Spain held the Pacific coasts of Darien and Peru, ships were built on these shores and, with a land transport across the isthmus, a new line of travel and traffic was organized between Asia and western Europe. It gave Spain an island empire in the Philippines. In our own days the canal cut through the isthmus has made way for traffic from the Atlantic to the Far East.

The long voyage of Magellan and Del Cano had an important bearing on the exploration of the world. It made clear the relation of continents and oceans, swept away all ideas of the new lands of the west being a mere fringe of the Asiatic continent, and revealed the position of the New World as a continent extending from the Arctic to the verge of the Antarctic seas.

For nearly a century Magellan's Straits were the gateway between the great oceans. It was not till 1616 that the ocean way between them was discovered by the Dutch seamen Le-maire and Schouten. Finding the straits barred against them by the Spaniards, they coasted farther south, and found a new

way round the bold island promontory of Cape Horn. They named it after one of their countrymen, a Dutch merchant Mynheer Van Hoorn. In the days of sailing-ships the way round Cape Horn was an easier and quicker way than that of the winding straits. The Dutch discovery ended the long-accepted idea that an Antarctic Tierra del Fuego was part of an Antarctic continent.

CHAPTER VII

The new geography—Mercator's world-map—missions and exploration—Portuguese and Spanish conquests and discoveries—Diaz and the Cape of Good Hope route to the Indies—Albuquerque in the Far East—the Spice Islands, China, and Japan—Cartier explores the St. Lawrence—the 'New France'—quest of North-West Passage to the Indies—Chancellor's 'Discovery of Muscovy'—English rivalry with Spain—Hawkins and Drake—Champlain the explorer and maker of Canada—the Hudson's Bay Company—Dutch and English rivalry in India—discovery and closing up of Japan—the first survey of China—Russian penetration in Siberia—exploration of interior of Africa begun—discovery of Australia—immense extension of modern geographical research and discovery—the new international map of the world.

WHEN Del Cano returned to Spain in 1522 it was just thirty years since Columbus found the 'New World'. These few years were surely the greatest time in the exploration of the world. They made the pathless oceans the highways for the world-wide enterprise of Europe. Prince Henry the Navigator had laid the foundation for the enterprise of these thirty years. Columbus found the 'New World' beyond the Atlantic, Diaz rounded the Cape of Good Hope, Da Gama reached India by the ocean beyond it, Magellan found the way far south from the Atlantic to the Pacific and the islands of far-eastern Asia, and his lieutenants continued the voyage to Spain, the first voyage round the world. All the world-maps and geographical treatises and theories of two thousand years were obsolete. These thirty years from Columbus to Magellan had fixed the true distribution of continents and oceans. There was still much scope for discovery, but a sound basis had been secured for the work of the scientist in his study, and the navigator and trader on the oceans.

The result was a remarkable development of European contacts with the rest of the world. There was a new continent to the west to be explored with sanguine hopes of profitable trade, and settlement of colonists in fertile and scantily peopled lands, and new and safe sea-ways had been found from Europe to the Far East—an important gain now that the Turks were extending their empire from Egypt to the Danube, controlled the sea-ways of the Black Sea and Dardanelles, and were

becoming a formidable sea-power in the Mediterranean. The rich commerce of the Indies and the Spice Islands would now be carried on directly with western Europe by the oceans. For some time this new development of maritime enterprise was chiefly in the hands of the Spaniards and the Portuguese, though at an early date the Bretons of St. Malo and the seamen of Dieppe took some part in it. Later came the world-wide activities of the French, English, and Dutch.

The maps produced in Europe after the first great voyages of discovery form a rough record of the evolution of knowledge of the world among the scientists of Europe. Ptolemy was rapidly dethroned from the position he had long held as the chief authority for the geographers of the learned and the guide of map- and chart-makers. A new edition of his treatise on the subject printed at Strasbourg was provided with an appendix of maps based on the recent discoveries, the work of Waldseemüller, the most notable German geographer of the time.

Most noted of the geographers of the first century of modern discovery was Gerhard Kremer, who latinized his Flemish surname into 'Mercator'. Born in 1512, he was a student of Louvain in the time when many of the pioneers of the new geography were still living. It was there that he began his life-long career as a geographer. He organized in the university city one of the earliest centres for the production of maps and charts, and spent his later years in similar activity at the newer university of Duisburg in Germany, where he died in 1595, busy almost to the last with the work to which he had devoted his life. He won the patronage of the Emperor Charles V, who commissioned him to make a survey and map of the Spanish Netherlands. His greatest title to lasting fame is his invention of the scheme for mapping the curved surface of the globe as if it were a plane surface.

His map of the world published in 1569, in his later life at Duisburg, is interesting as including the result of the first seventy years of exploration, after the first voyage of Columbus. But at the same time it shows how immense was the field still left for exploration and discovery, and how great a mass of

traditional and imaginary geography had still to be swept away. Here only a few of its leading features may be noted. To deal fully with it would need a lengthy treatise on the new geography of the sixteenth century.

Thanks no doubt to the use of the Portuguese charts there is a fairly good coastal outline of Africa, but the mapping of the interior shows only some features of the traditional and conjectural geography of the time. Thus, for instance, the sources of the Nile are placed much too far south, and the Niger is shown as one of its tributaries. As for the New World beyond the Atlantic, the West Indies and Central America and the north coast of South America are fairly well outlined, but the Pacific coast-line north of the Gulf of California is obviously conjectural, and the Arctic northern coast is utterly misleading. All hope of the long-sought North-West Passage to the Far East is barred by an imaginary isthmus linking the western continent with the great circumpolar continent, long the accepted tradition of the early geographers.

The extent of the North American continent is exaggerated so that it occupies more space than all Asia on the map. The only important feature of its interior that is shown is based on Cartier's exploration of the St. Lawrence in 1536-7. The country through which it flows is described as 'Nova Francia'. The width of the river is exaggerated. Hochelaga, the Iroquois village to which Cartier pushed his survey, is marked on the map, but beyond this there is a conjectural and utterly misleading mapping. The river is shown as rising in hill-country in what is now the far south-west of the United States, and flowing north-eastward across all the great central plains to Hochelaga.

The coasts of South America, on the West Indian seas, on the Pacific as far as Peru, and on the Atlantic as far as the Rio de la Plata, show the results of the Spanish and Portuguese explorations, but farther south the coasts on both oceans are represented, not as converging southward but as roughly parallel in direction, and the continent ends with a south coast, nearly as long as its northern shores. For one-third of its length

this coast is mapped as the north shore of the Straits of Magellan. The south shore of the straits appears as 'Terra del Fuego', and is shown as part of the coast of a circumpolar Antarctic continent ('*Pars Continentis Australis*'). This imaginary coast-line bends north-eastward to within a few hundred miles of the Cape of Good Hope, and then, after curving round an immense bay, runs northward to a broad promontory, separated by a wide strait from a large island to which Mercator gives the name of 'Java Major'.

Much of the mapping of Asia is based on earlier Ptolemaic lines. The outline of India is corrected. The name of Cipangu is no longer used for Japan, which with its new name appears as a large island. West of it on the mainland we find China, with 'Thebet' to the north of it, and still farther north-west on the shores of the Sea of Japan appears the venerable name of 'Cathay'.

Mercator describes his map of the world as prepared for the use of navigators. With all its inevitable defects, it was the best chart of the time when ocean voyages were no longer exceptional events, but were becoming more and more important in the affairs of all the maritime peoples of Europe. Voyages specially devoted to exploration and discovery were becoming rarer enterprises, because the number of voyages for trade with the new-found lands, and along the routes opened by the famous pioneers, had become an ordinary element in the activities of many nations and incidentally led to new discoveries.

Three great movements extended in several directions Europe's contacts with and knowledge of the other continents. These were trade, colonization, and conquest, all three mainly directed to the quest of wealth and power. There was a fourth which was inspired by something far higher than the quest of wealth and power—the world-wide development of the Catholic missions. The pioneers of these missions to the new lands and the Far East were the Franciscans and Dominicans. This peaceful crusade received a marvellous reinforcement when St. Ignatius Loyola with a few of his fellow students of the University of Paris founded the new order of the Jesuits

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in 1534. Again and again the missionaries of these and other Orders made their way into countries where the traders and explorers had not ventured. The friendly relations they established with peoples of every grade of civilization, from the great empires of Asia to the Red Indian tribes of the New World, enabled them to make contributions of the highest value to the progress of discovery and exploration.

Spain and Portugal took the lead in this new apostolate. The fleets that sailed from Lisbon and Cadiz to the New Indies beyond the Atlantic, and to eastern Asia, year by year, carried reinforcements to the mission field. Portugal founded the college of Coimbra for the training of Jesuit missionaries for East and West. The great development of missionary enterprise began only a few years before Luther nailed his defiance to the church-door of Wittemberg, the prelude of strife in Europe. Some sixty years later, when the ambassadors of three princes of Japan came to pay their homage to the Holy See, Rome rejoiced in the declaration that the missions were winning for the Catholic Church far more than it had lately lost by the conflict in Europe.

No attempt need be made here to do more than trace in mere outline the progress of world exploration during the four centuries since the epoch-making voyages that opened the ways of the ocean to European expansion. This, it is hoped, will serve as a sufficient prelude to the more detailed studies of European contacts with the peoples of other continents.

The chief lines of the oversea enterprise of Europe¹ in the earlier years of the sixteenth century were at the outset under the control of Spain and Portugal. Settlement in the sparsely populated islands of the West Indies and the coast-lands of

¹ The Europe of the sixteenth century may perhaps be described as a somewhat smaller continent than the Europe of later times. East of the Baluc the Knights of the Sword and of the Teutonic Order held a small coast territory. Practically the frontiers of Lithuania and Poland were also the eastern frontiers of Europe. The Russia of the time might be counted as a semi-Asiatic state, and the Turks had reached the Danube and were pushing on into Hungary. When Hakluyt compiled his great collection of *Voyages* in the last years of the century the voyage of Richard Chancellor to the White Sea, and his visit to the Tsar Ivan the Terrible at Moscow, were given the title of 'Discovery of the Kingdom of Muscovy'.

Central and South America was at first in the hands of Spain. The lure of the gold and silver of Mexico and Peru led to the conquest of these countries by Cortes and Pizarro. Unity of direction for the enterprise of Spain and Portugal was secured for sixty years (1580-1640) by the union of both countries under the Spanish crown.

The trade with Asia was at first entirely in the hands of the Portuguese. The immensely profitable trade of India had long been in the hands of the Arabs in its first stage by the Indian Ocean, the Red Sea, and Egypt to Alexandria, the most important port and market of the eastern Mediterranean. Thence it was long almost monopolized, so far as Europe was concerned, by the Venetians. The object of the Portuguese in opening the ocean way to India by the Cape of Good Hope was not conquest or settlement but the diverting of the Indian trade from Venice to Lisbon by making treaties with the rajas and obtaining trade facilities for business agencies in some of the Indian ports.

When Diaz rounded the Cape it was the refusal of his men to push on to India that compelled him to go no farther. He was the pioneer who opened the way for the voyage of Vasco da Gama, whose squadron of four ships sailed from Lisbon in 1497, secured an Arab pilot at Melinda on the east coast of Africa, and, by a direct course across the Indian Ocean, arrived at Calicut, the most important trade-centre on the Malabar coast of India. Though the Hindu governor of the place gave him a friendly reception the opposition of the local Arab merchants prevented his securing the hoped-for concessions for establishing a trading centre in Calicut. When he returned to Lisbon he received honours only second to those that Spain had given to Columbus after his discovery of the West Indies, including the title of Admiral of the Indian Ocean.

He was sent out again in 1502 with a powerful fleet, when serious news had arrived from Calicut: Cabral had made a second Portuguese expedition to India and, though he failed to obtain the hoped-for trade agreement with the governor of Calicut, he left a party of some forty of his followers in the city

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in the hope that his officers might be more successful. The news was that they had all been massacred in a riotous attack by the Arabs. Gama avenged the massacre by silencing the weak batteries of the port with the fire of his guns, ruining many buildings on the sea-front of the city, and sinking numbers of Arab ships. The terrified governor asked for peace, and accepted terms which practically made the port and city all but a Portuguese tributary, for some years to come the centre of the eastern activities of the new-comers. Trading stations were secured at Cochin, the chief port of Travancore, and other places on the west coast of southern India, and though no attempts were made to extend the Portuguese power into the interior the representatives of the king of Portugal at Calicut, and later at Goa, assumed the proud title of 'Viceroy of the Indies'.

The most famous and the ablest of these viceroys was Albuquerque who, after some earlier experiences in the Portuguese service in Asia, was viceroy for six eventful and successful years from 1509 till his death in 1516. The Portuguese power in the East depended on its fleet, and that fleet was based on Lisbon and the Tagus. The government, directed by the viceroys of the Indies, had not even a mile of territory in India but only trading stations and rights held from native rulers. Albuquerque felt that the Portuguese power in the East must possess a capital and a harbour of its own as a naval base for the fleet. Thanks to the Portuguese command of the sea he was able to seize and hold Goa, the chief port of the Hindu kingdom of Bijapur, some 300 miles north of Calicut. He improved the defences and the port and remodelled the city. He captured Ormuz, at the entrance to the Persian Gulf. Though he failed to capture Aden and win control of the Red Sea trade, he secured a more important key-position by leading a fleet to Malacca and establishing an outpost and trading station at the outlet of the straits that are a gateway of the China seas. From Malacca he sent one of his captains to explore the great eastern archipelago with a view to opening trade with the wealth-giving 'Spice Islands'.

Regular Portuguese trade with China by way of the Malacca Straits began in 1516, the year of Albuquerque's death. At first it was almost entirely carried on by voyages to Canton. In 1565 the Portuguese secured for their growing trade the occupation of the little town of Macao on a peninsula at the mouth of the wide estuary known as the Canton River. They fortified the neck of the peninsula, and founded the new trading city of Macao. This acquisition of Chinese territory was secured by a peaceful agreement somewhat like a perpetual lease. Until about fifty years ago the Portuguese paid a very moderate rent for Macao to the Chinese Government which appointed a magistrate to be present at cases in which the Chinese inhabitants of the place or seamen of Chinese ships were concerned. Under its new masters Macao became one of the most important ports of the East. It was Portuguese voyagers from it that first discovered Japan, the long-sought Cipangu, now revealed as a great island empire.

Magellan had sailed to win for Spain islands of the far-eastern seas beyond the regions claimed by the early Portuguese explorers as their field of enterprise. It was not till 1564 that Legazpi organized on the Pacific coast of America an expedition for the great archipelago to which he gave, in honour of Philip II, the name of the Philippine Islands. In April 1575 he landed on the island of Cebu, where Magellan had met his death. There he made his first settlement. He found little opposition from the islanders. It seems indeed that they mostly welcomed the Spaniards, and the Franciscans who came with Legazpi soon began to win many converts.

There was some trouble with Portuguese adventurers, who probably hoped for but did not receive any help from their countrymen at Malacca, trouble also with Malay sea-rovers whom the Spaniards described as 'Moros'. No attempt was made to deal with the wild tribes of wooded mountain districts in the larger islands. Legazpi received new settlers from America, and in 1572 he made Manila, in the great island of Luzon, the capital of the island empire he had won for King Philip.

France took an important part in the exploration of North America when in 1534 Jacques Cartier of St. Malo sailed into the Atlantic in the hope of discovering the North-West Passage to Asia. Thanks to Cabot's discovery of Newfoundland, St. Malo was already sending its fishing-boats each summer to the cod-fisheries of the great island, and he hoped to find a channel through the land beyond it to the eastern seas, free from the ice that had barred Cabot on his more northern voyage. Sailing along the north coast of Newfoundland and through Belle Isle Strait he reached the great Bay of St. Lawrence. He examined the wide inlet of Chaleur Bay on the mainland, hoping to find the passage to the Eastern seas. Here, too late for further exploring in that summer, he heard from the Indians of the waterway of the St. Lawrence. In his second voyage in 1536 he explored the great river as far as the Indian village of Hochelaga, beyond which further progress was barred by the rapids of Lachine. Cartier gave the name of Mont Royal to Hochelaga. When Champlain began the colonization of Canada in the opening years of the next century it became the site of Montreal.

On his way up the St. Lawrence, where the Saguenay river joins it, he probably misunderstood the Indians telling him that this tributary of the main river ran through good lands, for he reported that the river was the way to 'Saguenay', a country rich in precious stones. Pioneer explorers have often made similar sanguine reports as the result of failing to understand their interpreters. Cartier's two subsequent voyages were connected with the quest of this imaginary northern El Dorado. After his return, in 1544, from his last expedition, he spent the rest of his life in shipping business in St. Malo. Though the colonization of Canada came much later, the lands of the St. Lawrence soon appeared on the maps as 'New France' (Nova Francia).

In the brief reign of Edward VI there was a notable English attempt to find a North-East Passage to the Indies by a voyage through the Arctic seas north of Asia. It was organized by a group of business men in London, prominent amongst whom was Sebastian Cabot, a son of the famous John Cabot. A Royal

Warrant was granted for the expedition, and £6,000 subscribed for fitting out three ships—the *Admiral* commanded by Sir Hugh Willoughby, the *Bonaventure*, commanded by Richard Chancellor, ‘Pilot-major of the voyage’, and a small craft as a tender. The squadron sailed from the Thames on the 20th May 1535. It was scattered by a storm as it entered the northern seas. The tender was shipwrecked, and Willoughby and all his men lost their lives while wintering on the ice-bound coast of northern Asia. Chancellor, with the *Bonaventure*, explored the White Sea and travelled as the guest of the Tsar Ivan to Moscow. He made arrangements for trade and on his return to England brought news that led to the forming of the ‘Muscovy Company’, to trade with Russia by way of the White Sea. The fate of Willoughby put an end to the English project for finding a North-East Passage to the Indies, but during the reign of Elizabeth English seamen broke into the monopoly of Spanish and Portuguese trade in the Atlantic and the tropical seas, when Philip II was the sovereign of both Portugal and Spain and all their oversea possessions.

The bitter conflict between the Spanish Empire of Philip II and the England of Elizabeth has obscured in English and popular tradition of history the fact that for centuries there had been close friendship, frequent alliance, and profitable trade between Spain and England. When this long friendship was broken in the reign of Elizabeth the rupture was not merely the result of the persecution of the Catholics in England and of English aid to the revolt of the Dutch Netherlands against Spain. A most important factor in the quarrel was the systematic raiding of English adventurers on the Spanish colonies in South America and their contraband share in the slave-trade to the West Indies and the Spanish ports of the mainland.

In 1508 the Spaniards, finding that the natives of the West Indies were unfit for mining and other heavy manual labour and had a high death-rate when they were engaged in it, began to import negro slaves from the west coast of Africa. It was a horrible but also a very profitable trade. In this and other highly profitable and more honourable branches of commerce

the English traders were excluded from traffic with a great part of the world by the growth of the Spanish Empire. The international law and practice of the time (and for hundreds of years later) gave to colonizing states the monopoly of trade to their oversea possessions. John Hawkins of Plymouth was the first Englishman to break into this monopoly of King Philip's new empire. He took his first negro cargo to the West Indies in 1562 and the local authorities and the colonists were so eager for black labour that they winked for a while at his irregular traffic. It was not till five years later that the Spanish Government decided to keep foreign slave-traders out of the Indies. A squadron of ships which Hawkins had ventured to bring to Vera Cruz in Mexico was attacked by a Spanish fleet and only two ships escaped, his flagship and a small craft commanded by Francis Drake, of Tavistock.

Drake had already made several voyages to the West Indies. He had observed that the ports were weakly held by small guards, chiefly for police purposes and that each year, for months before the arrival of the annual transport fleet, the gold and silver of Peru was brought by sea to Panama and carried over the isthmus by mule trains to accumulate in a warehouse at Nombre de Dios on its north coast, until it was to be shipped for Spain.

In his voyage of 1572, with two ships and seventy-three men, Drake's first objective was the treasure of Nombre de Dios. He had abandoned mere dealing in the contraband slave-trade and planned a new policy of what may be described as naval guerrilla warfare against the Spaniards in the New World. He captured and sacked Nombre de Dios, but temporary disablement by a wound prevented him from carrying off the treasure. He captured and sank several Spanish ships, after taking valuable booty from some of them, and made a safe return to England, where Plymouth rejoiced at his success, 'as evidence of God's blessing on our Queen and country'. England was at peace with Spain which, though counting Drake as no better than a lawless pirate, remained at peace even when Queen Elizabeth took a share in Drake's later ventures.

In December 1577 he sailed on what proved to be the first English voyage round the world. He avoided any appearance on the usual course to the West Indies, sailing south in the Atlantic till he was beyond the Cape Verde Islands; then steering for Brazil, he ran down the American coast to the river Plate, and reached the Pacific by the Straits of Magellan. He raided Valparaiso and Callao and other Spanish settlements on the coasts of Chile and Peru. These were utterly defenceless, and as he approached them their people thought a Spanish ship was coming. He destroyed the coasting craft in the ports, plundered the churches and warehouses, and steering north captured a Spanish galleon from Asia, which was bringing to Panama for transport to Europe a rich cargo of silks and spices, gold bars and silver ingots. He sailed across the Pacific to the Moluccas, refitted and secured provisions in a port still held by a native raja, steered across the Indian Ocean, rounded the Cape of Good Hope and safely reached England in the autumn of 1580. The queen knighted him and took a good portion of his magnificent profits.

Elizabeth had her share, too, in fitting out his third expedition of 1585-6, when, with a fleet of twenty-five ships he raided Puerto Rico and San Domingo in the West Indies, Cartagena in South America, and the settlements in Florida. Philip II had protested against Drake's earlier hostilities in time of peace. He now withdrew his ambassador from London and the war between Spain and England began. It dragged on for years after the failure of the 'Great Armada', until at last James I, on his accession to the English throne, made peace with the successor of Philip II.

The irregular adventures of Drake and the failure of the Armada had opened the tropical seas to the seamen of England. The successful revolt of the Netherlands (whose fleet had helped the English in the defeat of the Armada) brought into existence a new maritime power, and in the trade and exploration of the seventeenth century the English and Dutch seamen took a prominent part. But it was the France of Henry IV that in the early years of the century opened up in the New World an

immense field of colonization, exploration, and settlement, by following up Cartier's discovery of the St. Lawrence. For some sixty years there had been no more attempts to develop its possibilities and here French trade had been limited to occasional deals in furs bought from the Indians by the cod-fishers where the great river reached the sea. The lands of the St. Lawrence, neglected for some sixty years after Cartier's discoveries, became a flourishing French colony, thanks to the enterprise of Samuel Champlain in the opening years of the seventeenth century.

He was born during the stormy times of civil strife that French historians describe as 'the wars of religion', probably in 1567. His birthplace was Brouage, a small seaport town on the Bay of Biscay a few miles north of the Gironde estuary, sheltered behind the Île d'Oléron. His education was chiefly due to lessons from the local curé in his boyhood, and in early youth he made several voyages with his father, a seaman of the port, who taught him seamanship and navigation. He left the sea for a while to serve as a soldier in the army of the League against the Huguenots. When the contingent with which he served was disbanded, he returned to Brouage, eager to be at sea again. Long after he wrote that navigation had always seemed to him the noblest of arts, bringing the knowledge of other lands and nations, and attracting their wealth to the homeland, and making it possible for Christianity to be spread through the world.

This [he added] is what led me to explore the shores of America and especially those of the New France, where I always longed to see the Fleur de Lis flourish, and beside it the only religion—Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman.

On a voyage to Spain he obtained employment as one of the officers of a ship bound for Spanish America. He kept a careful diary of the voyage and of nearly two years of cruising in the Gulf of Mexico and the Caribbean Sea. From Vera Cruz he paid a visit to the City of Mexico. Among his notes there was a suggestion that it would be well to make a canal through the Panama Isthmus, for it would shorten the voyages to the Pacific by more than 4,000 miles. When he returned home a

friend at court presented his journal to King Henry IV and the result was his being appointed a 'geographer' to His Majesty with a moderate pension. This prepared the way for his taking the leading part in the colonization and exploration of Canada, at first as the expert for merchants who had received warrants for monopolies in the fur-trade, and later as the king's representative—his 'Lieutenant General' (though the title was not a military one).

On his first visit to Canada, in 1603, he explored the St. Lawrence as far as Cartier had gone, and established friendly relations with the Huron and Algonquin Indians. Next year he made his second voyage and, while assisting in exploring the coasts south of the St. Lawrence, founded a trading post for a fur-dealing company on the Bay of Fundy. It was named Port Royal (later changed to Annapolis when Nova Scotia was annexed by England). Then he resumed his work on the St. Lawrence and founded in the summer of 1608 the village settlement that developed into the City of Quebec. At Hochelaga there was long only a small fur-traders' post. It was for some time better known by its Indian name than by the name of Mont Royal given to it by Jacques Cartier.

For some forty years Champlain was patiently building up the new Canada. At first he found the fur-traders and the wealthy company that marketed their goods opposing his plans for bringing colonists with their families from rural France to clear the wild country along the banks of the great river and bring the land under cultivation. He made many voyages to France to recruit these colonists, selecting them with studious care for their success in their new homes. He explored the great lakes as far as the western opening of Lake Huron, and in an expedition south of the St. Lawrence he discovered the lake that still bears his name—Lake Champlain.

In 1608 Champlain had founded Quebec, soon to develop into the capital and citadel of New France. Thirty-four years later, in May 1642, came the event which began the development of his frontier post, the little fur-trading station at the head of the broad navigable course of the St. Lawrence, into the

City of Montreal, now ranking fifth among the great ports of the whole world. It was no mere business venture but primarily the foundation of a centre of missionary enterprise and exploration for the wide lands around the great lakes and along the rivers of the wilderness to the west, north, and south of the new city. It was made possible by the generous initiative of Olier, the founder of St. Sulpice in Paris, who not only recruited that band of devoted men and women who were to carry out his plans, but also, thanks to the generosity of his friends in Paris, was able to promise that neither the home government nor that of New France would have to provide one penny for the expenses of the enterprise.

Champlain had already brought Franciscans and Jesuits and Ursuline nuns to Canada, founded not only churches, but also schools and hospitals, and had forwarded missionary work among the Indians north and south of the St. Lawrence. A still wider field of enterprise was opened by the foundation of this new base of operations at Montreal. There is no more splendid story of enterprise and devoted courage and endurance than that of these early missionaries of Canada in the vast field opened to them by the foundation of Montreal. They founded mission stations far beyond the French settlements, and had a large share in the exploration of North America. The Spaniards of the West Indies had discovered the lower course of the Mississippi. It was the Jesuit Marquette who reached its upper course and explored it for hundreds of miles.

Champlain had found his first efforts at colonization obstructed by the fur-dealers. For two centuries after the foundation of the English Hudson's Bay Company a wide region westward as far as the Rocky Mountains was barred against colonization by the monopoly secured by this fur-trading enterprise. Its organization was a result of the abortive efforts to find a North-West Passage to the Pacific and the ports of far-eastern Asia. Since the latter part of the sixteenth century the Muscovy Company of London was carrying on trade with Russia by the White Sea. It not only made several attempts to find a North-East Passage by the coasts of Siberia, but also sought it

in the north-west. After the Dutch had won their independence the new republic also took a prominent part in Arctic exploration. John Davis in his three voyages (1585-7) explored and charted the wide strait west of Greenland that bears his name. Henry Hudson made four voyages in the northern seas (1607-11), seeking in various directions a seaway to China. An attempt to reach the eastern seas by a voyage over the North Pole was stopped by the Arctic ice-fields. Captain John Smith, one of the most famous of the founders of the new colony of Virginia, made suggestions that led him to seek a channel to the Pacific by sea from Chesapeake Bay and by the river he discovered and to which he gave his name, the Hudson river in New York State. The first English settlers in America did not carry their explorations into the Alleghanies and seem to have imagined that they were on a mere belt of land between the two oceans. In his last voyage Hudson explored the great northern bay that bears his name—Hudson Bay—a bay nearly 600 miles wide and extending southward for 1,500 miles, with many rivers entering it from the western plains. Sixty years later Prince Rupert formed an ambitious project for opening a lucrative fur-trade from Hudson Bay with the Indians of north-western America, which would be more valuable than the French trade based on the St. Lawrence. He secured the support of a number of London merchants, and in 1670 obtained from his cousin King Charles II a charter for the foundation of 'The Company of Adventurers of England trading into Hudson's Bay'. Rupert's Land was long the name given to the immense territory under the company's control. From the very outset it was a source of ever-increasing success as a business venture. In its earlier years its operations were limited to collecting at a few trading stations near the coasts furs brought by the Indians. Later its agents explored a considerable part of its vast territory, and at last trade was opened with northern Asia. It was not till the mid years of the nineteenth century that it resigned its original wide-reaching monopoly and, after it had limited its land rights to a relatively small tract of the vast region it controlled and assigned all rights of government

to the Crown and Canada, it began a new and successful career as a land-holding and trading company. It may be argued that, although it had for so long been a monopolist barrier to outside traders and settlers, it was only towards the later years of its existence as all but a sovereign power that there was any great movement of emigrants from Europe to North America, and few of the settlers in Canada and the United States had any desire for a new settlement as pioneers in the north-west.

Two other important trade organizations, the English and the Dutch East India Companies, secured for their countries a rapidly increasing share in ocean commerce, and incidentally prepared the way for England and Holland winning important possessions in Asia, while their seamen made some contributions to the exploration of the world.

A decline of the Spanish world-power began after the death of Philip II. In 1640 Portugal became independent of Spain. Both the peninsular powers held till the early years of the nineteenth century their colonies in South America. Year by year the annual treasure-fleet of Spain brought the gold and silver of Mexico and Peru to Vigo or Cadiz. The only territorial losses beyond the Atlantic were the annexation by England, Holland, and France of some West Indian islands and part of Guiana. In South America the settlements of the Spanish and Portuguese were mostly in the coast-lands. The Catholic missionaries were the chief pioneers of exploration and colonization in the interior.

It hardly belongs to the story of exploration to trace even a brief record of the decline of Spanish and Portuguese power in Asia and the successful rivalry of England, Holland, and France for trade and dominion in the Far East. The competition for the wealth of Asia was in the hands of rival chartered companies with such wide powers that the home governments had little control over their action in the distant lands and seas in which they operated. The wars in Europe led to armed conflicts between their agents in Asia and the clash of their interests led to wars in Europe. They were so keenly interested in their

monopoly of trade, and incidentally of empire-making, that until the first part of the nineteenth century they took a very slight interest in exploration.

The East India Company, chartered by Queen Elizabeth in 1601, laid the foundation-stone of the Empire for England when its envoy to Agra obtained in 1608 from the Emperor Jehangir the right to establish a 'factory' (that is a trading station) at Surat in western India. Portugal was still subject to Spain, which had made peace with England, but for some years to come the company's armed squadrons carried on intermittent war against fleets fitted out from Goa. A squadron that seized Ormuz in 1622 deprived the Portuguese of their trade in the Persian Gulf and secured it for the company.

While the English were carrying on this somewhat irregular warfare with the Portuguese the Dutch traders had already reached the Indian Ocean and the great islands of the Far East. A year after the founding of the English East India Company a similar organization was founded by the Netherlands Government. At first its operations were the harrying of the Portuguese traders from the Moluccas (the Spice Islands) and making trade agreements with the native rulers of Java and other islands. Then a government was established in Java with Batavia for its capital; the coast-lands and ports of Ceylon were taken from the Portuguese; Malacca was captured and the command of the strait secured; trade was opened with China and a monopoly of the foreign trade of Japan by a treaty more profitable than honourable to the Dutch adventurers.

The first Europeans who reached Japan were three Portuguese driven by stormy weather to seek refuge in one of its southern ports in 1542. The pioneers of trade with the island empire were the Spaniards of the Philippines. St. Francis Xavier landed at Yamaguchi in Japan in 1542 and founded the successful missions which before the century ended had made tens of thousands of converts. The Dutch were the most successful competitors against the Spaniards of the Philippines for trade with Japan. They persuaded powerful men at court and at last warned the Shogun that the Spanish missions of

the Jesuits, Dominicans, and Franciscans were secretly preparing the way for an attempt to conquer Japan. This intrigue was the most effective support to the bonzes and other enemies of 'the foreign religion'. Edicts of persecution followed, and the Dutch were rewarded for their hostility to the missions by being exempted from a decree that barred the entrance of all European traders to Japan and ordered that even shipwrecked Europeans on its coasts should be put to death. The Dutch alone were to trade with Japan. They were to live apart in an island near Nagasaki, and each year receive the renewal of their privileges after their envoys had trampled on a cross to prove they were not of 'the foreign religion'.

Until the mid-years of the nineteenth century, when American intervention led the way to the removal of the ban on trade with Europe from the island empire, it was best known to the rest of the world by the letters of Xavier and his successors. Here, as in so many other lands, the missionaries had been the pioneers of exploration. Cathay was first revealed to Europe by the Franciscans in the Middle Ages. The same land under its later name of China was largely explored by the missionaries of later years; the first of this reopened mission field was the Jesuit Matteo Ricci. Until the closer contacts of Europe with China in the nineteenth century the map of the Chinese Empire in all the countries of the West was mainly based, directly or indirectly, on the great survey made for the Chinese Government by experts from the Jesuit observatory at Peking by order of the Emperor. They made their surveys while accompanying the mandarins in their periodical visits of inspection to the Chinese provinces.

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries Siberia became known to the Western geographers almost entirely by the gradual exploration of Cossack and Russian pioneers of empire. About the year 1580 a Cossack advance beyond the Ural Range pushed as far as the Tobol river. It was a century before the gradual advance of Russian adventurers, hunters, traders, and refugees gradually reached the Amur river in the Far East. It was long before the whole of the northern coasts of Asia were

explored. The attempts to find a North-East Passage to the Pacific Ocean were a failure till our own time. Behring, a Danish seaman, who took service in the Russian navy of Peter the Great, explored the strait that bears his name, starting from a Siberian bay, and made a survey of the American coast of Alaska, later a Russian territory until it was sold to the United States in 1867.

Central Asia, from eastern Persia to the Chinese frontier, was mostly unexplored till the nineteenth century. Geographers till then based their maps of this great region largely on the reports of Marco Polo and the medieval Franciscan missionaries. Some little knowledge of Tibet was secured by missionaries from India who made unsuccessful attempts to obtain an open footing in the country. A Portuguese, Goes, who had served for some years in the army in India, and then became a Jesuit lay brother, made a journey through Tibet to China, but from the beginning of the eighteenth century Tibet was rigidly closed against all attempts of Europeans even to make a passing visit to its borders.

The exploration of the African continent made little progress until the nineteenth century. The Portuguese had been the pioneers of European navigation along its coasts, and long claimed rights of discovery and occupation in all the lands southwards from the equatorial zone. Their present colonial possessions in the province of Angola on the western coast and Mozambique on the east are all that remains to Portugal of this African Empire. The immense territory originally claimed was never largely explored or widely occupied. Missionaries penetrated into the far interior, but it was only near the coast that they permanently established any mission settlements. Rights over large regions were claimed in virtue of treaties with negro chiefs and kings, but seldom represented any real occupation. Attempts at gold-mining in the hinterland of Mozambique gave scanty results and were abandoned when reports of gold and diamonds in Brazil made America more attractive than South Africa. The slave-trade was here and elsewhere in Africa for some two hundred and fifty years more attractive to business

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men in many countries of Europe than any attempts at colonization in Africa, or plans for opening trade with its interior. Until the middle of the eighteenth century the maps of Africa, even when the coast-line was fairly correctly shown, were utterly misleading in their representation of the interior. D'Anville, the great French geographer, in preparation for his famous work on ancient and modern geography (published in 1771) devoted much of his time for thirty years to testing the authorities for existing maps, and in his map of Africa left most of the interior south of the Sahara absolutely blank, and this blank remained till mid-Victorian days.

Two Scotsmen, James Bruce and Mungo Park, were among the pioneers of modern African exploration. Bruce, while British consul at Algiers, learned Arabic and studied medicine in order to facilitate travel in Africa by posing as a physician. From Upper Egypt he reached Abyssinia, and his discovery of Lake Tana, the source of the Blue Nile, led to his being popularly described as the discoverer of the mysterious source of the famous river, a claim he never made. Mungo Park, the son of a Scottish farmer, had qualified as a surgeon and made a voyage to the East, before he went to Africa in 1795 and reached the Upper Niger from the Gambia. He went out again in 1815, and attempted to trace the course of the great river to the sea. He was drowned in the rapids of Boussa. He had rightly conjectured that beyond these rapids was its lower course southward to the sea.

Australia was the name invented by a Spanish navigator from South America, who imagined he had found the great Antarctic continent of the earlier map-makers. It became the name of the island continent that was so often seen by voyagers to the southern islands of the Malay Archipelago, without their realizing that they had sighted the headlands of a fifth continent. The Dutch called it New Holland and their ships visited many parts of the coast-lands. Tasman found the large island that bears his name, though he called it after a Dutch dignitary, Van Diemen. The Dutch were so occupied with their business in the rich Malay islands, and New Holland was so unattractive,

that though they declared it Dutch territory they never made the claim valid by occupation.

Captain James Cook, when he reached the east coast of Australia, in his voyage of 1768-71, not only claimed the country for England, but made a careful survey of hundreds of miles of its coast. In the same voyage he charted the coasts of New Zealand. The first settlement in Australia was begun in 1788, where the city of Sydney now stands. It was the foundation of the peaceful conquest of all this southern continent.

Wars in Europe, from the beginning of the French Revolution till Waterloo and the Congress of Vienna, interrupted European exploration of the world. It was, however, in this time of war that Baron von Humboldt, one of the chief founders of modern exploration, spent five years of research in Spanish America (1799-1804) collecting the material for his book that gave the scientific results of his travels. After the peace of 1815 he entered the service of the Tsar Alexander of Russia and organized and directed the exploration of central Asia, fruitful in results of lasting importance. His great summary of the geography of the world, *Cosmos*, was published in four volumes in 1845-58. He died in his eighty-fourth year in 1859, a worker almost to the last.

No attempt will be made here even briefly to summarize the immense progress of exploration and geographical science in the years since the peace of 1815. The continuous advance of scientific research and technical invention in securing more rapid communication, safer and speedier travel, and more efficient equipment for the explorer has made travel and discovery no longer the slow and difficult undertaking of earlier times. The latest developments have been the coming of aviation and world-wide radio-telegraphy. When Blériot flew across the narrowest part of the English Channel it was counted as a marvel. The latest record time of transatlantic flight has been thirteen hours. International co-operation has aided the work of exploration and the record of its results. The leading governments of our time began the preparation of an international map of the whole world in 1913; though interrupted and delayed

for five years by the Great War, it is again progressing towards completion. This great work was made possible by the world-wide research of a century. The seas and oceans have been charted and with the help of marvellous instruments the depths of the sea have been charted. Explorers have reached the North and South Poles—the South Pole in a land of snow and ice, much smaller than the great Antarctic continent imagined by early map-makers—the North Pole in the midst of an ice-bound sea, more than 1,500 fathoms deep. The motor-car has made desert lands an easier and more rapid region for survey and research. The aeroplane and the camera are mapping the pathless forest region of Brazil. The time is approaching when the last unexplored blank will disappear from all the maps in the modern world.

SPAIN IN MOROCCO

By SATURNINO RIVERA

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PART I

THE RELATIONS BETWEEN SPAIN AND MOROCCO UNTIL 1900. PRINCIPAL HISTORICAL EVENTS

THE north African region we to-day call Morocco, which formed the old empire known in Arabic as Mogreb-el-Aksa, was in antiquity a part of that still larger geographic and racial unit known by the name of Barbary. In the Roman epoch the present Moroccan region, with small variations, constituted Tingitan Mauritania, and later during the Byzantine Empire it formed part of the Prefecture of Africa, one of the four large areas into which Justinian divided his empire.

To-day the Mogreb region forms a political unit, divided into two protectorates, one French, consisting of the South Moroccan region, and the other Spanish, covering the north of the Empire, except for the city of Tangier and its environments, which are under international control.

The Spanish zone of influence in Morocco is bounded by the following geographical frontier in accordance with the treaty made between Spain and France on the 27th November 1912. The boundary-line runs from the sea along the Moulouya as far as beyond Mexera-Klila, then on to Jebel-Beni-Hassen, and from there to Uad-Uarga, touching it at the north of the Yema of the Cheurfa de Jafraut, continues in a westerly direction along the northern frontier of the river tribes as far as the tribe of Selhama, rising towards the north at 25 kilometres to the east of the route from Fez to Alcazarquivir until it meets the river Loykos, and runs along this as far as the tributaries of Sarsar and Flig, bends round the Jebel-Garri, leaving this mountain in the Spanish zone, then unites at 35° of northern latitude the Mgaria and Marya of Sidi Selama, and continues to the sea.

The recent treaties that have given Spain the care and protection of a Moroccan zone are consistent with ancient history, which shows continuous political relations between the north African zone and the Iberian peninsula. The old classical legend of Hercules forcibly separating Calpe and Abila, the

two promontories which face each other across the straits, and rather join Spain and Africa than separate them, seems to have been translated into living reality when we review the relationship between the coasts of both continents, so magically attracted towards each other.

In prehistoric times the populations carried on barter with each other, and the Upper Palaeolithic period reveals a culture known as the Capsian, which was at home in Spain and in Africa. Later, invasions in the south of the peninsula brought Oriental civilization from African localities when the Mediterranean world was romanized and Tingitan Mauritania became a Spanish province, at first temporarily under Marcus Aurelius and then finally under Diocletian, as is shown in the list of Verona of 297, and in that of Polemius Silvius of 385, reading: 'In Hispania . . . Tingitana trans fretum quod Oceano infusum terras intrat inter Calpe vel Abila.'

By the invasions of the barbarians both territories were separated. The German invaders did not succeed in establishing their authority over north Africa, but that did not deter them from continuing to aspire to its possession, as is shown by the unsuccessful expedition of Teudis. The Byzantines, who were the heirs of the Roman Empire, dominated Moroccan Africa, but the Arab invasion again brought the territories of the Mogreb and the peninsula into contact. From there the domination extended all over Spain, which became Moslem, except for a small part which later became the centre of the Christian conquest, and the higher culture of the Spanish Moslems influenced the Mogreb considerably. If during the first period of the Moslem conquest of Spain it was no more than a dependency of Africa, it nevertheless freed itself almost immediately from its political union with Africa, and once the caliphate of Cordova was constituted the Moroccan region passed under its sway. Abd-er-Rahman III, at the request of Abulaix, went over to Africa and took nearly the whole of the Mogreb, the dominion of which was completed under Alhaquen II and was consolidated by Hixen II (A.D. 985) by the defeat and death of Ben-Kenmun, who was the last of his dynasty.

The eleventh century in Morocco was what has been called the religious era. Almorabides I and later Almohades ruled in the Mogreb, and Moslem Spain, owing to the sweeping victories of the Christian kings who were wresting territory from it, asked for the help of the former, although they knew full well that of the African hordes to whom they were appealing the first to surrender would be those aristocratic and decadent Taifas, who, in the words of the Emir of Seville, preferred to 'tend the camels of the King of Morocco to being tributaries of the Christian dogs'.

We can say that in the thirteenth century, during which the Christian conquest of Spain took place, Spanish activities in Africa were started. The defeats suffered by the Christian kings and inflicted by Almorabides and Almohades were over, as Alphonso VIII had conquered these men, who had been sent by the king of Morocco, Abi-Abdalah ben el-Mansur. Ferdinand III, the saint, seized the sceptre of Castile and Leon and did not hesitate, after conquering large Arab villages in the south, to help Abulaela to become Emir of Morocco by sending him 12,000 men, on the condition that if he entered Marrakech he would have to build a church for the Christians. This and other conditions relating to the defence and propagation of Christianity were fulfilled, and the first Christian Church was erected in Moslem Africa.

From that moment onwards strong detachments of Castilian troops were stationed in Morocco and took an active part in its civil discords. They helped the Emir Abul-Hassan to inflict the defeat of 1244 on Abu Moarref, fought the Emir Abu-Hafiz (1267), and after taking possession of Salé, which they later lost, they returned to Spain.

Armed expeditions for the purpose of establishing a permanent sovereignty over the other side of the straits, such as play a part in modern politics, were only begun by Ferdinand and Isabella, the Catholic. After the Christian conquest of Spain was accomplished by the fall of Granada (1492), which was the last bulwark of the Moslem dominion, continuous raids took place on Spain from the African coast. Earlier in the same reign expedi-

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tions were made to Africa and its importance for the future was realized. In the Treaty of Toledo made with the Portuguese in 1480 one of the features was the interest taken by the kings of Castile in the African territories. In the same year the governor of Rota at the head of 150 vessels had taken Azamor, then some gentlemen of Jerez led another victorious expedition, and in 1487 Don Pedro de Estopiñan attacked the west coast of Morocco.

After the conquest of Granada Ferdinand and Isabella encouraged and assisted these operations on the African coast, and in her will the queen urged that Spain should persist in the effort to conquer Africa, and push forward against the infidels in the name of Christendom. Such was the nature of the relations between Spain and Africa at that time—on the one hand the Spanish coast was defended against its neighbouring enemies, and on the other frequent crusading ventures against the infidels on the Moorish coasts were undertaken. Cardinal Ximenes was the leader and organizer of the African expeditions. He was in personal command of the expedition which captured Oran, and he took with him not only the troops which helped him to victory but also brothers of his own Order—Franciscan friars—who propagated the faith and were prepared to suffer martyrdom for it, if need be. From that time onwards this humble militia of Christ was the principal missionary force in Moroccan Africa.

The most important expeditions of this period were the capture of Melilla on the 17th September 1497 by Don Pedro de Estopiñan at the order of the duke of Medina Sidonia, captain-general of Andalusia, who, knowing this town to be weakly held, ordered that a fleet which had been prepared for Christopher Columbus be used for its capture. Velez de la Gomera on the Morocco coast was captured in 1508 by Count Pedro Navarro.

During the sixteenth century the relations of Spain with Morocco were still chiefly of a military character. In 1522 Velez de la Gomera was lost owing to the imprudence of its governor, Don Juan de Villalobos, and the expedition to re-

capture it organized by the marquis of Mondejar, captain-general of Granada, was unsuccessful, as his galleys were destroyed by the cannon of the town, and his troops, which landed on the Isle of Iris, were repulsed with heavy losses. A similar attempt by Sancho de Lieva, general of the galleys of Naples, in 1564, was also unsuccessful, but on the 8th September 1564 Don Garcia de Toledo, viceroy of Catalonia, attacked Velez de la Gomera with 153 ships and 13,000 men, and it then fell into Spanish hands again. In the following year Melilla repulsed the Moors who repeatedly attacked it, despite the continual defeats inflicted on them by the governors, Don Alonso de Urrea and Don Pedro Vanegas of Cordova. From the sixteenth to the nineteenth century the Spanish possession of this coast-fortress and of Velez de la Gomera rendered service of the highest importance to the Christian traders of the western Mediterranean. They were outposts of European civilization against the corsairs of Barbary, especially against the Algerine pirates cruising on the trade-route to and from the Strait of Gibraltar. Ships chased by the corsairs steered for these Spanish guard-posts on the African coast, and as they approached them were escorted to safety by the galleys that were kept in readiness to bring them in to the protection of their seaward batteries of cannon.

In the opening years of the sixteenth century Tunis under a Berberi dynasty had become the most important city of north-west Africa. Amongst its citizens there were European traders, a small prosperous colony. Algiers was soon to be its rival. Two Greek renegades, the Barbarossas, had gained control of the city. One of them was defeated and killed in a raid on Oran, but his brother Khair-ed-Din, reinforced by Turkish troops, and acting as the regent of the Sultan, captured a small island, within gunshot of the city, which the Spaniards had occupied and held for several years. He linked the island with the city by a long breakwater and constructed the harbour and dockyard that made Algiers the centre of Turkish power in the western Mediterranean.

In 1525 a disputed succession at Tunis gave Barbarossa the

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opportunity of extending Turkish influence to the great city by supporting one of the rival claimants. The defeated candidate appealed in vain to the Sultan, and then, probably on the ground of the fair treatment his predecessors had so long given to the Christian traders in Tunis, sought the help of Charles V. He had been ten years an exile when in 1535 he was brought back to Tunis and installed as Bey of the city by the victorious aid of a Spanish army, commanded by Charles in person, with a fleet under the Genoese admiral Andrea Doria. For some twenty-five years the Berberi ruler of Tunis was counted by Spain as a tributary, but the position was a kind of ill-defined protectorate, with little interference with the local government. Tunis was a safe port for the European traders, but there was no annexation of the city and country. The Spaniards held only a few points on the coast, with a garrison in the fortress of La Goletta on a promontory in the Bay of Tunis.

Encouraged by this success Charles V attempted in 1541 the capture of Algiers and the destruction of Barbarossa's power. A Spanish army was landed and once more Doria commanded the fleet and transports. The siege had begun well and the prospect of success seemed excellent, when a gale, that might well be described as a hurricane, swept the coast and strewn it with the wrecks of the fleet. On land the tempest and its deluge of rain levelled the camp of the besiegers and ruined their siege-works. The attempt to capture Algiers was abandoned and the remnant of the fleet brought the army back to Spain.

Whilst the Spaniards carried on these enterprises Portugal also occupied various places in Morocco. The Christian reconquest of Portugal was over before that of Spain, and the independence of the kingdom was firmly established by the victory of Aljubarrota. In 1415 the Portuguese hoisted their flag on the walls of Ceuta, and later conquered Alcazar-Seguer, Arcila, Tangier, and other places, but these African expeditions were ended by the tragic defeat of the Portuguese forces in 1578 at Alcazarquivir, where they were led by their King Sebastian, who lost his life in the battle, together with 'all who

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were young, noble, and enthusiastic in Portugal'. The defeat of Alcazarquivir and the death of King Sebastian gave Philip II the Portuguese crown and its African possessions.

In the middle years of the sixteenth century the Turkish Empire was at the summit of its power, under the rule of the Sultan Solayman the 'Magnificent'. His father Selim I had extended the Ottoman power in the Near East, annexed Egypt and the holy cities of Arabia, and transferred the caliphate from Cairo to Constantinople. He captured Belgrade, and in 1526 routed the Hungarians at Mohacs, occupied Buda, and pushed the Turkish frontier westward to within eighty miles of Vienna. He organized a powerful navy, expelled the Knights of St. John from Rhodes, swept the Adriatic, and defeated the combined fleets of Venice, Rome, and the Emperor in a great sea-fight off Prevesa (1538). It was a time of grave peril for Christian Europe, now divided by the internal strife resulting from the Reformation, and the long-standing rivalry between France and the House of Austria.

In 1565 the heroic and victorious defence of their new home at Malta by the Knights of St. John gave hopes for the cause of Christendom. Suleyman died in the following year, and his successor Selim II (whom Ottoman historians surname 'the Drunkard') was a half-imbecile wretch, devoid of intelligence or enterprise. But while he idled in his seraglio the rule of the Ottoman Empire was in the vigorous hands of the Grand Vizier, Sokolli Pasha. He had at his command the veteran commanders of Suleyman's wars, and he formed an ambitious plan for uniting in one great armada the warships and corsairs of Turkey, western Asia, Egypt, and northern Africa to secure command of all the Mediterranean. He did not expect to meet any great alliance of the Christian powers, for not one of them had come to the help of besieged Malta. He hoped to deal with divided opponents, and when he had completed his preparations he began his campaign with a challenge to the Venetian power in the eastern Mediterranean. Venice had for years been making the interests of her Eastern trade the guide of her policy and cultivated friendly relations with Turkey. She had

a well-organized trading station at Constantinople, and held Crete and Cyprus, the latter island under a convention that recognized the local suzerainty of the Ottoman Empire. Venetian garrisons held the two island fortresses of Famagusta and Nicosia, and Venetian warships were detailed to prevent smuggling on the coasts and piracy in adjacent waters. Rumours from Constantinople told that the Turks were fitting out a large fleet, but it came as a shock to the Doge and Senate of Venice when an envoy from the Sultan abruptly demanded that Cyprus should be handed over to him, the fortresses evacuated, and the Venetian squadron withdrawn. The Senate rejected the Turkish demand and prepared for war.

Venice asked for help from the reigning Pope, St. Pius V. He promised that his galleys would join the Venetian fleet, called on the Knights of St. John to send reinforcements, and tried to secure from Philip II the co-operation of the fleets of Spain and Naples. In the first year of the war the negotiation with the king gave no result. He was occupied with the troubles of the Spanish Netherlands and the affairs of his vast overseas empire, and probably underrated the importance of the new activities of the Turks. It was not till the summer that the Christian fleet, reinforced from Genoa and other ports of north Italy, sailed for a base of operations in Crete. The Turks captured Nicosia and besieged Famagusta. The Christian fleet was nominally commanded by the Papal admiral, Prince Colonna, but it was really under the direction of a council of war, and its operations were paralysed by long delays, changing plans, and the lack of determined command. When the fine weather broke in the autumn, it was resolved to defer serious action till next year. Part of the force remained in Suda Bay, the rest of the ships returned to their home stations. Meanwhile the Ottoman fleet was reinforced from Egypt, Syria, and Asia Minor, and the pasha of Algiers, after securing possession of Tunis, was sending eastward a formidable fleet of the corsair galleys of Barbary, commanded by the most famous of his admirals, the renegade Ulugh Ali.

Pius V had realized the peril of this concentration of the

Moslem sea-power, and was endeavouring to form a Christian League to deal with it. He succeeded in obtaining the help of Philip II, and Spain played an important part in the victorious campaign of the following year. To the Christian armada which assembled in the harbour of Taranto in the early summer of 1571 Philip sent a strong contingent of the fleets of Spain and Naples, under the most famous of his admirals, the marquis of Santa Cruz. France, divided by internal dissensions, sent no help, though some French volunteers joined the Christian fleet. Germany provided some hundreds of soldiers. Every maritime city of Italy sent its galleys and amongst these were several from Nice, then the Port of Savoy. The main strength of the armada was provided by the Spanish contingent, the Papal and Venetian squadrons, and that of the Knights of St. John. Pius V gave the supreme command to Philip II's half-brother, Don John of Austria. The allied fleets did not complete their concentration and equipment till the end of August. By that time the Turks had completed the conquest of Cyprus, and the Seraskier, Ali Pasha, had collected his fleet, moved westward, and anchored in the Gulf of Corinth, inside its fortified narrows with his head-quarters at the town of Lepanto. On the 16th September Don John set out from Taranto. Bad weather interrupted his voyage and the decisive battle was not fought till the 7th October, when the two fleets met off Cape Scropha near the entrance of the Gulf. They were made up chiefly of war-galleys. In all Ali Pasha commanded 274 ships and Don John 284. The battle was a close fight between the galley squadrons locked together, with much hand-to-hand fighting on their decks and heavy loss of life on both sides. A mere handful of Ali's ships escaped capture or destruction.

No attempt was made to follow up this splendid success. The Christian armada dispersed and did not assemble again next year. Then Venice broke away from the League and, for the sake of resuming her eastern trade, made peace with the Turks and gave up all claim to Cyprus. Philip II abandoned Tunis to the Algerines and the Spanish garrison was withdrawn from Goletta.

The Algerine admiral, Ulugh Ali, with part of his corsair following had escaped from the rout at Lepanto, and during the rest of Philip II's reign piracy was the plague of the western Mediterranean, the corsairs sometimes raiding villages on the Spanish coast. The Spanish posts on the African coast had mostly a quiet time, though in 1587-8 there were skirmishes on the land-side of Ceuta and Oran. The king was anxious to obtain the port of Larache (El Arish), on the Atlantic coast, about fifty miles south-west of the Straits, and offered the Sultan in exchange for it the port of Mazagan which the Spaniards occupied, about 150 miles farther south. The negotiations dragged on without result to the end of the reign. His son and successor Philip III resumed them. Once more there were long delays and Philip became impatient, and on the 6th September 1609 a Spanish squadron attacked Larache. It was repulsed, but a Moorish envoy was actually on his way to Madrid and on the 9th September a deed was signed there by which Larache was to be handed over to Spain, at the price of 200,000 ducats and a gift of 6,000 arquebuses. On the 21st November 1610 the marquis de San German took possession of Larache in the name of Spain. Four years later Mahamora (Mehedia) between Larache and Mazagan was annexed.

During the reign of Philip IV the policy of diplomatic relations with Morocco was continued and Spain obtained the right of travel and commerce there. With the separation of Portugal, Spain lost the cities of Mazagan and Tangier. By the marriage of Catherine of Braganza to Charles II, Tangier passed to England, not without a protest from its inhabitants, but the English abandoned it twenty-three years later after destroying its fortifications. The Spaniards took Alhucemas during the reign of Charles II, and Mahamora and Larache were lost, whilst Ceuta held out heroically against the attacks of the Moors.

During the eighteenth century the intermittent attacks on the Spanish cities and their defence continued, the Portuguese abandoned Mazagan, the last town they possessed in Africa, but Spain maintained itself in its possessions. During the reign

of Charles III, thanks to the suggestions made to P. Giron by the Minister Grimaldi, a Moroccan delegation arrived at Madrid to negotiate a treaty in the name of the Sultan, which was finally signed in Marrakesh by the Spanish ambassador, Don Jorge Juan, in 1767. This was the first treaty of peace and commerce between Spain and the Moroccan Empire in which the commercial liberty of both countries was established, and Spain was allowed the right to have consuls and vice-consuls in the African ports of Larache and Tangier and other places inland.

However, that treaty did not last very long as Sidi Mohamed, the Sultan who made it, broke it in 1774 and declared war on Spain. The Moors unsuccessfully attacked Velez de la Gomera and Melilla, and the Sultan asked for peace, which was concluded by the treaty of the 30th May 1780. Floridablanca, the Spanish minister, however, did not obtain any decisive advantages for Spain, nor did he secure real peace for the Spanish possessions, for the Arabs continued hostilities towards them.

In 1785 a Spanish delegation headed by Don Francisco Salinas arrived in Morocco and obtained certain commercial advantages in exchange for a long series of needless concessions. This unwise policy of Floridablanca culminated in the treaty of the 12th September 1791 with the Dey of Algiers, by which the latter obtained Oran and Mazalquivir, and the Spanish possessions in Africa were reduced to Melilla, Ceuta, Alhucemas, and Vélez de la Gomera.

During the reign of Charles IV a treaty of peace, friendship, navigation, commerce, and fisheries was concluded with Morocco on the 1st March 1799, by which Spain obtained definite influence in the Mogreb, but some opportunities were missed, and in exchange the error was made of recognizing the sovereignty of the Moorish Sultans in the Riff which had hitherto only been nominal. This recognition made further territorial expansion impossible.

In this reign the Spaniard Domingo Vadia undertook his remarkable voyage to Morocco for political and commercial reasons. Dressed as an Arab and under the name of Ali Bey

el-Abbasi ben Othman, he obtained the confidence of the Sultan, who took him for a real Moslem. This was really a remarkable achievement, but no definite result was obtained from it because, although the armed expedition which Ali Bey had asked for was prepared, it was not sent to Morocco.

As early as 1764 the idea of abandoning the smaller Spanish fortresses in Africa had been considered. The Central Council, in spite of advice to the contrary from the Army and Navy Councils, negotiated for the cession of these fortresses to the Sultan, and the usurper, Joseph Bonaparte, made the same offer. The Cortes dealt with the matter and England, then Spain's ally, opposed the cession, suggesting that if it took place they should be ceded to her. Finally, although the Cortes in 1820 again agreed to make the cession, it was not carried out. Nevertheless, Spanish prestige in Morocco had greatly decreased. That of the other European powers was, however, no greater, as they even went to the shameful extreme of paying tribute to the Sultan, in the guise of presents to secure for their traders immunity from the corsairs.

A few years later France began activities in Africa. In 1830 she took possession of Algiers, extended her territory, and carried on a war which ended in the victory of Isly, thus consolidating her position in Algeria. At that time, however, her ambitions went no farther than that.

The boundary questions of Ceuta and Melilla were the cause of constant difficulties with Morocco in the mid-years of the nineteenth century, and they were not settled either by the agreement of 25th August 1844 or by the Convention of Larache of 1845. Morocco was now beginning to be the subject of rivalries and diplomatic manœuvres between the Governments of Madrid, Paris, and London. Spain wished to wash her hands of the Moroccan question in 1854, but the incessant attacks of the Moors did not permit her to do so and, when the Spanish ship *San Joaquin* was captured and the crew of the Prussian warship *Danzig* was attacked, Spain undertook to avenge these offences, but the fall of the O'Donnell Government prevented action being taken. When in 1859 the Moors

of the Anyera tribe destroyed the new fortifications which were being completed in Ceuta by a night-attack, the Madrid Cabinet protested energetically, but the Sultan did not deal satisfactorily with this protest and, although England intervened, war was declared. The Spanish army advanced victoriously to Tetuan and entered it on the 4th February 1860; soon after a peace treaty was concluded at the request of Muley-al-Abbas after the Moors had again been defeated in Uad Ras. It was stipulated that Morocco should surrender to Spain all the territory from the sea along the ridge of Sierra Bullones to the valley of Anyera, and the undertakings concerning an indemnity and the towns of Melilla, Vélez de la Gomera, and Alhucemas, and Santa Cruz de Mar Pequeña, were confirmed. Another commercial treaty was signed soon afterwards in which diplomatic relations were resumed and the free exercise of the Catholic religion was secured.

In the closing years of the nineteenth century the Spanish possessions were disturbed by repeated attacks of the Moors. In the opening years of the new century the Sultan's authority was menaced by the internal troubles of the country, and Morocco was in the perilous condition of a weak state that had become the object of rivalries for influence and commercial advantage among the European Powers.

PART II

RECENT SPANISH ACTIVITIES IN MOROCCO. THE PROTECTORATE

SINCE the settlement of the French in Algeria they have tried by every means to extend their influence to other Moorish territories. England has also been interested in the Moroccan question.

A treaty of commerce between England and Morocco was signed on the 9th December 1856; and this was followed by the Spanish Treaty of the 29th November 1861, the conditions of which were laid down in the notes exchanged between Spain and France in August 1863, to which Belgium, Italy, the United States, England, and Sweden adhered on an invitation from the Sultan.

The concession of these rights only increased the ambitions of the Powers in Morocco, who were slowly extending their influence in the territory, and their rivalry led to not a few disputes and abuses of their new privileges. The International Convention of Madrid was therefore convoked in 1880 at which were present the representative of Sultan Sidi Mohammed Vargas and the plenipotentiaries of Germany, Austria-Hungary, Belgium, the United States, France, England, Denmark, Italy, the Netherlands, Portugal, Sweden, Norway, and Spain. The Agreement of Madrid was made on the 3rd July of that year, by which the diplomatic and consular representation was regularized and the right of acquiring and possessing property in Morocco by foreigners, the payment of agricultural taxes, naturalization dues, and most-favoured-nation treatment for all, were established. That convention did not stop the abuses. There was a notable increase in French immigration and investments in Morocco, and the district of Ifni was occupied. Spain realized that the interests of France and England were about to be harmonized and the Spanish ambassador negotiated in Paris with Delcassé for a policy of collaboration in Morocco, which provoked an intense campaign of opposition from the

French Colonial Party, but nevertheless a secret treaty was made in 1902 between France and Spain, by which two large zones, one at the north and one at the south of Morocco, were conceded to Spain. However, this concession did not materialize, for in 1904 a Franco-British Agreement was made by which England, in exchange for freedom of action in Egypt, allowed free action to France in Morocco, although in article 8 Spain was granted a privileged position in the Moorish Empire. France and Spain were to come to an agreement about their zones of influence.

This agreement, to which Spain adhered, provoked the opposition of Germany, and on the 1st April 1905 the Emperor William landed at Tangier and publicly declared that Germany had business interests in Morocco, that must be protected, and the Sultan should be treated as 'an absolutely independent sovereign'. At the request of Mohammed Torres, the representative of the Sultan in Tangier, the Conference of Algeciras was convoked. It opened on the 16th January 1906 and ended on the 7th April of the same year, the Powers represented being the Sultan of Morocco, England, the United States, France, Spain, Portugal, Germany, Russia, Sweden, Belgium, and Holland.

The agreement and its protocol were then signed, by which the right of France and Spain to intervene directly in Morocco was recognized, but it settled neither the international nor the Moroccan problem. France's aspirations were unfulfilled, she had paid for Morocco with Egypt, and the collaboration of Spain and the participation of Germany in economic undertakings and the open-door principle were imposed upon her. As regards Spain, the ability of Señor Perez Caballero was wasted in view of the conditions under which Spain went to the conference. These, according to the note dated the 1st September 1905, placed the Spaniards in the position of mere auxiliaries of France.

Soon after the Agreement of Algeciras was signed, incidents provoked by Raisuli in the zone outside Tangier and by the tribes near Casablanca necessitated the landing of French and

Spanish troops, and in 1908 the activity in the eastern zone of the rebel Rogui, who established his head-quarters in the fortress of Zeluan and captured that of Frajana defeating the Sultan's regular troops, obliged Spain to send forces to Melilla and on the 12th March 1908 they took possession of the Cabo de Agua.

At that period a French and a Spanish mining company had begun work in that zone and, as the workmen were attacked by the tribes, General Marina was obliged to fight, and he occupied Sidi Musa, Sidi Ahmed el Hach, and Sidi Ali, thus starting the campaign of 1909, by which Spain extended her influence to all the territory of Guelaya, except for Beni Sidel and Beni By Gafar, first by armed action and then by the policy of peaceful penetration.

Military activities continued in the following years and extended to the Riff territories, and on the 8th June 1911 General Fernandez Silvestre occupied Larache, and soon afterwards Alcazar and Arcila.

In February 1911 France made an agreement with Germany to obviate opposition from Berlin, and in the summer occupied Fez on the plea of protecting French residents in the Sultan's capital, and then began negotiations with Muley Hafid that led to the Franco-Moroccan Convention on the Protectorate of the 30th March 1912. In a privileged position France then completed negotiations with Spain which resulted in the Convention of the 27th November 1912, by which the Spanish zone of influence was again fixed but considerably reduced in comparison with what had been allowed to Spain in 1904.

The negotiations for this convention lasted for eleven months, and its signature was precipitated by the provisional ministry formed after the assassination of the president, Señor Canalejas.

Delcassé, the French minister, threatened Spain in the columns of the *Echo de Paris* with a change in the tariffs, in order to overcome Spanish resistance, and the delicate situation in Spain to which we have referred was partly responsible for the signature of this treaty. Although the territories which

were wrested from Spanish influence were not large, France, with the support of England, managed to take Tangier from the Spanish zone and declared it international. There therefore remains a part of the north coast which does not belong to Spain, which rightly caused Señor Maura y Gamazo to say: 'Tangier as an international zone sums up the question of Morocco in a reduced but complete form', and later: 'The Treaty cuts down all our rights and does not give entire satisfaction to any of our interests, and each one of these badly settled questions means danger and friction and conflict to-morrow.'

From that time Spain set up a high commission in her zone of influence in Morocco which sometimes acted with entire freedom and at others according to the policy ruling in Spain and whose object was the civilization of the tribes. From that time to this it may be said that the activities of Spain in its protectorate have been largely influenced by two rebels, Raisuli or Raisuli and Abd-el-Krim.

The first break with Raisuli came about when General Alfau was high commissioner in Morocco. The former had been refused the post of Caliph and began to put every possible obstacle in the way of Spanish activities. This tense situation came to a head when General Silvestre was in Arcila during the last few days of January 1913 and ordered Raisuli to liberate a number of prisoners he held. Raisuli thereupon fled to Tangier whilst his relatives were held as hostages by Silvestre, but they were later placed at liberty by order of the high commissioner, and soon afterwards Raisuli left Tangier, sought refuge in Zinat, and began to instigate the tribes against Spain. This made Spain's position difficult as the Spanish outposts were repeatedly attacked at night. Some battles were fought (such as the advance on Ben Karrich) and negotiations were started with the rebel, who went to Tangier to ask for the protection of Germany.

In the meantime General Gomez Jordana occupied Tistutin, with the intention of effecting a landing on the coast of Alhucemas, but this had to be abandoned in order to send troops to the western zone.

When General Marina became high commissioner he changed a fundamentally warlike policy for more peaceful methods, and only occasionally made use of armed action. For defensive purposes he established a series of blockhouses, which, however, were not very useful. The assassination at Cuesta Colorada of an agent of Raisuli by Dris Er Riffi, a friend of Spain, was the reason for Generals Marina and Fernandez Silvestre leaving Morocco, and General Gomez Jordana was appointed high commissioner.

This distinguished general, who during the commissions of Alfau and Marina commanded the zone of Melilla, had behaved creditably in the territory under his command. He brought a peaceful atmosphere to it and did some effective colonizing by creating native councils, schools, and granaries, and making roads. He took over the high commission at a really difficult period. The European War had just been declared, and Spain's neutral policy prevented her from taking advantage of the situation and doing anything in Morocco which might have been interpreted as detrimental to France. The policy adopted at that period was that of peace at any price, and at times the Spaniards went much too far in trying to obtain it, for by means of a clever negotiation Raisuli approached the high commissioner and Spain allowed him to hold the territory of the tribes he could command, whilst Spain's troops in the meantime advanced peacefully into the Zoco el Arbaa in 1915, into the district of Beni Aros in 1916, and the operation in the Fondak Pass took place in the same year. As the high commissioner said in a letter to President Dato of November 1918, about the disloyalties of Raisuli: 'it had constantly been necessary to curb the desires of the Chief to proceed actively against the French during the War.'

On the death of General Gomez Jordana, General Berenguer was appointed high commissioner, and he arrived in Tetuan in January 1919. The European War was over, there was no longer any reason for non-activity in Morocco which had been due to the desire of Spain to keep neutral, and the high commissioner arrived with orders to put an end to the rebellion in

the zone. He threatened to break with Raisuli unless the latter changed his tactics and submitted to the government. Instead, Raisuli made some audacious attacks on Spain's positions and on the 5th July was declared a rebel and his property was confiscated. As this meant an official declaration of war, the troops of Fernandez Silvestre moved on Sidi Mesauar and Uad Ras and occupied the Fondak, defeated Raisuli's army on the 5th October, captured Jebel Hebid, and isolated the rebels in the mountains. During 1920 Spanish troops were continually active in the territory, subduing the rebel tribes and restoring normal administration; the services of the native police were usefully employed and co-operation with the Moorish authorities was established.

The same year the heights of Beni Hozaar, Ben Karrich, and Ben Ider were occupied, in preparation for the occupation of Xauen, which took place on the 14th October 1920 whilst General Barrera carried out some very difficult operations along the river Loykos. After the occupation of the Gomara and Miskrela regions Xauen was linked with the sea by a series of positions known as the Line of the Lau.

These operations created a compromising situation for Raisuli. The high commissioner offered him peace provided he surrendered, but to this he proudly replied with incessant attacks, and military operations therefore had to be continued. The centre of Raisuli's rebellion was the Zoco Beni Aros, in which lay Tazarut, the head-quarters of the rebel. The operations were directed against it by isolating Jebel Alam and Jebel Buhaxen and began on the 6th July. Ten days later the Spanish troops arrived at the Zoco el Jemis of Beni Aros, on the road to Tazarut, but when the surrender of Raisuli seemed inevitable urgent requests for help came from Melilla, where the whole position was imperilled by the successful advance of the rebel tribes about Anual.

At Melilla, Fernandez Silvestre, the general to whom many military and political successes in the western zone were due, was in command in 1921. He had made important advances in that quarter occupying M'Talza, taking Tafersit, subduing

the tribe of the Beni Said, and occupying Monte Mauro. The occupation of the Beni Said district, including the surrender of Tenseman, suggested to him an advance against Alhucemas, which he had been planning for some time, and for this purpose he occupied Anual and the Sidi Dris coast so as to get into contact with the tribe of Beni Urriaguel. These operations were regarded with suspicion by the tribes of Alhucemas, and Abd-el-Krim organized a counter-attack.

This rebel leader had been in the service of Spain and had been arrested at the instance of France, as an agent for German activities in the Riff, but had been liberated. He went back to his tribe, the Beni Urriaguel, and he now called them to revolt. Although he was the son of a sheikh, he was as yet without prestige in war, but his successful operations soon raised him to an unexpected influence with the tribesmen.

From his advanced position at Anual, General Silvestre had pushed forward detachments to occupy Abarran, Talalit, and Igueriben. Abarran was betrayed to Abd-el-Krim's tribesmen by its inhabitants. He captured Igueriben after almost all of its little garrison had perished in a heroic sortie. The revolt spread like wildfire, and there were harassing attacks on Anual, and raids on the Spanish line of supply. Silvestre had asked for reinforcements, but before any such help arrived the situation had become so difficult that he decided to withdraw to the line of Ben Tieb, where he counted on the expected reinforcements joining him. The first signs that the position was being evacuated were the signal for a mass attack by the tribesmen. Silvestre and numbers of his officers lost their lives in the battle that followed, and as the Spaniards retired the Moors kept up a series of harassing attacks by day and night. The retreat became a disorderly rout. Wearied men threw away their rifles; guns and wagons were abandoned. The tribesmen made very few prisoners, and massacred wounded and broken-down men and officers who fell into their hands. At Dar Drius General Navarro rallied part of the broken army and organized a rear-guard. Some of the officers kept a handful of their men together, and a young cavalry colonel, Primo de Rivera, with

some troopers of the Alcantara regiment made a splendid counter-attack. At Monte Arruit the close pursuit slackened. Less than half of the hapless army still held together. The retreat was continued to Melilla. About 18,000 men had held Anual, not quite 4,000 reached Melilla.

Twelve years of intense work, continuous sacrifice of blood and money, twelve years of civilizing efforts were undone in a few days. The enemy occupied the whole region from Gurugu to the gates of Melilla, which was in danger of falling into the hands of the Moors. The town was saved partly by the drunkenness of the enemy hordes, who were enjoying their booty, and partly by the arrival of forces from Ceuta and of the legionaries commanded by General Sanjurjo.

His energetic action secured the reoccupation by the Spanish troops of Sidi Ahmed El Hach, Atalayan, Nador, Zeluan, Monte Arruit, and Dar Drius. Early in 1922 Spanish public opinion demanded that operations should be stopped as enough had been done to restore the prestige of the army. At the Conference of Pizarra the prime minister, Señor Maura, met the secretaries of state for war and the navy, the admiral of the fleet, and the high commissioner, so as to determine what further steps were to be taken. It was decided to occupy Beni Said and Alhucemas. The former operation was carried out by Sanjurjo, but the latter was countermanded when the Maura Government was succeeded by that of Sanchez Guerra.

During this period operations continued in Beni Aros. At the beginning, owing to the fall of the Commandancy of Melilla, there was more defensive than fundamental activity, as the forces were inadequate, but later on action was more aggressive and finally, on the 12th May 1922, Tazarut was occupied by Spanish troops, and Raisuli was forced to flee and nearly fell into Spanish hands. The change of high commissioner, as General Burguete was now appointed to succeed Berenguer, and his policy led to an arrangement with Raisuli, who returned to his home at Yebala and whose land at Tazarut was restored to him.

In the eastern zone the troops advanced and occupied

positions in Izen Lahassen, Azib el Midar, Tauriat Uchem, Red Alcazabam, Sidi Mesaoud, Tizzi Assa, Afrau, and Izumar. The high commission was reorganized, and as a further step in the development of the protectorate the co-operation of Moorish officials and detachments of the Sultan's troops was arranged.

When the Spanish Cabinet was replaced by the Liberal bloc at the end of 1922, it was decided that the time had come to give the high commission of Morocco a civil character for the purpose of inaugurating a new policy, and Señor Villanueva, an ex-minister, was appointed high commissioner. However, illness prevented him from assuming the office. Don Luis Silvela Casado, also an ex-minister of the Crown, was then appointed and he took office in February 1923 shortly after the exchange of prisoners had taken place through the intermediary of Señor Echevarrieta against a payment of 4,200,000 pesetas.

Silvela, faithful to the charge that had been entrusted to him, carried out a pacific policy as was the wish of the Spanish public, but nevertheless he constantly advised the government that it was necessary to change this policy. In order to put an end to the continued peril from the rebel Abd-el-Krim, he proposed a methodical advance on Alhucemas and stated that in any case it was essential to remodel the line of outposts on the border of his territory, if danger and losses at the advanced positions were to be avoided.

When Abd-el-Krim asked for peace, negotiations began, but they were broken off because he rejected the Spanish demand that he should submit to the authority of the Moorish Sultan. General Martinez Anido, who was then in charge of the Commandery of Melilla, proposed to the government the conquest of the coast region of Alhucemas as the only means of putting an end to the rebellion and stopping the smuggling of arms. When the Cabinet in Madrid refused to accept this plan on the advice of the general staff, Martinez Anido resigned his position. There was a new outbreak of hostilities on the outpost line, and Abd-el-Krim's attacks at Tizzi Assa and Tifaruin were repulsed with heavy loss to the assailants. The second one of

these victories was won by General Echague, who had replaced Martinez Anido.

The difficulties which Madrid put in the way of energetic action and the neglect with which the government treated the proposals of the civil high commissioner forced the latter to resign. Before this resignation was formally accepted General Primo de Rivera made his *coup d'état*, the 13th September 1923, and established the military dictatorship.

The new régime appointed General Aizpuru as high commissioner. No sooner had the latter arrived in Morocco than, in order to make peace, he had an interview with Raisuli, who was ill and had lost the prestige he formerly enjoyed. The dictatorship changed the organization in Morocco and created an office dependent on the President of the Council of Ministers, and centralized in it all the business of the protectorate.

While Primo de Rivera was organizing the new régime in Spain a dangerous situation was developing in Morocco. Abdel-Krim had failed before Melilla in 1921, and had lost some of the territory he had occupied after the battle of Anual, but he still ruled as a semi-independent chief at Alhucemas, and regarded as signs of weakness the fact that the Spaniards had so long been content to watch the border of his territory with a line of outposts and had made more than one effort to persuade him to accept a settlement of their quarrel with him on the basis of his becoming a local tributary chief, nominally under the Sultan, really under the high commissioner of the Spanish zone. He was patiently preparing for another effort to expel the foreign rulers of the country, and he was encouraged and assisted by adventurers from more than one country in Europe. Dealers in arms and munitions who after the Great War accumulated huge supplies of this merchandise smuggled quantities of such goods into his territory. Sanguine speculators helped him with loans and gifts for promises of future 'concessions'. When active operations began there was in some organs of the European press a laudatory propaganda in his favour.

In 1921 the disturbed region in Spanish Morocco was the east, with Melilla for its chief military centre. There had been

little trouble in the west, in the hill-country near Tetuan. By 1924 Raisuli's influence in this region was waning, and Abd-el-Krim's agents had been busy among the local tribes, with the result that large numbers of the tribesmen were drawn into the revolt. It began in the summer with attacks on Spanish military posts and convoys both in the east and the west. These were at first regarded as mere local disturbances, but as the numbers engaged in these affairs increased and they spread to district after district in east and west it was realized that the Spanish authorities had to deal with an organized insurrection.

In September Primo de Rivera left Spain to take personal command at Tetuan. As a young officer he had served against insurgents in Cuba and in the hill-country of the Philippines, and after considering the present situation on the spot he adopted a course that exposed him to some adverse criticism on the part of veterans of the Moorish wars. The mountain country south of Tetuan had long been policed by establishing a considerable number of military posts in the villages. Abd-el-Krim's levies had already captured several of them and these successes were described as great victories. The Emir himself paid a visit to the district, and made Raisuli a prisoner when he hesitated about joining the insurrection. Primo de Rivera, with some reinforcements drawn from Ceuta and Spain, organized a mobile column at Tetuan and pushed it into the hills. Its first objective was the relief of a small garrison hard pressed by the insurgents. This was accomplished without any serious fighting, but it was followed by the withdrawal of the rescued detachment and the relieving force returned to Tetuan, only delaying its retirement to cover the withdrawal of all the military posts in the neighbouring valleys. Primo de Rivera had decided that the maintenance of numbers of detached posts in the hills would fritter away his forces, and give the insurgents opportunities for fairly easy successes. He ordered similar concentrations in the western zone and protected Tetuan by keeping his forces ready for action in a camp outside its old walls. Abd-el-Krim assumed the attitude of a victor, and talked of an early capture of Tetuan, but did not venture to attack it.

The bad weather of an early winter interrupted all serious operations on both sides. In the spring a new situation developed through Abd-el-Krim adopting an ambitious policy that was inevitably to lead to his ruin. Marshal Lyautey, the governor of French Morocco, had for some time been engaged in the gradual conquest of the mountain region of the Atlas range, near the borders of the Spanish protectorate. Its local chiefs had long been little more than nominal subjects of the Moorish Sultans. Each ruled his own district from a mountain stronghold and kept up an armed force, like the medieval barons of Europe. The difficulties of the country and the warlike character of the local leaders had made the progress of the French columns slow and costly. Abd-el-Krim, flushed with what he regarded as a series of victories, resolved to join forces with the chiefs of the Atlas. In April 1925 he led a large force across the border, and his arrival was the signal for the mountain tribes of the Atlas rushing to arms. Lyautey was advised by several of his colleagues to abandon his advanced positions, but he called for reinforcements from France and Algeria, and held his ground though Taza was besieged and the vanguard of the Moors reached a point some twenty miles from Fez, the northern capital of the old Moorish Empire.

A conference at Madrid decided on joint political and military action by France and Spain. Marshal Pétain met General Primo de Rivera, and plans for the operations of the coming summer were adopted. There was also joint naval action to end the smuggling of munitions for Abd-el-Krim. Reinforcements were reaching Lyautey, including foreign legionaries and Algerian regiments trained for African warfare. By the end of the summer he had 160,000 men under his command. The enemy was steadily pushed back, and Abd-el-Krim's levies were driven into the Spanish zone, with a French column following their line of retreat.

It had been arranged that the French were to deal with the revolt in the border hill-country, leaving to the Spanish forces the task of capturing Alhucemas. Primo de Rivera directed the operations against the enemy's capital, having for his chief-

of-the-staff, Sanjurjo, one of the best of the Spanish generals and the successful defender of Melilla in the dark days of 1921. The army of operations, organized at Tetuan, moved eastward clearing the country of the enemy's detachments and in touch with a squadron of French and Spanish warships that cruised along the coast. In the first days of September the advance approached Alhucemas, and a flanking column in the hills, on the extreme right, was in touch with the French. On the 8th September the fleet entered the Bay of Alhucemas and at dawn a squadron of aircraft flew over the town and reconnoitred the enemy's position. Abd-el-Krim, leaving only a small detachment in the place, was holding it by occupying an entrenched position on the heights of Aidin that dominated the town. The fleet had been joined by transports conveying a division under General Saro. This force landed on the shore of the bay to assault the camp. The defence collapsed so rapidly that Abd-el-Krim made his escape with a considerable part of his forces, but abandoning most of his artillery, before the main Spanish force could encircle the position. Evading a column pushed out from Melilla he reached the eastern hill-country. The fleet had not opened fire on the town and it was occupied without even a show of resistance. All the neighbouring country was cleared of the enemy and in October 1925 Primo de Rivera returned to Spain leaving General Sanjurjo in command of the Spanish zone as high commissioner.

The Spanish and French forces cleared the hill-country of the enemy and by the early spring of 1926 Abd-el-Krim's position was hopeless. In May 1926 he withdrew into French territory in the Atlas, and on the 30th surrendered to General Boichut at Taza, after having obtained a promise of good treatment. He was sent to spend the rest of his days peacefully in the island of Réunion, one of the French possessions in the Indian Ocean.

In 1927 a few risings took place in Ketama which were repressed by the column of Mola and various operations were carried out in unsubdued territories, especially in Jebel Alam. In July General Sanjurjo declared his satisfaction at having

completely subdued and pacified the Spanish zone of the protectorate.

In 1929 and 1930 peaceful work in the protectorate was intensified through the organizations peculiar to the country, and services and centres for the improvement of the natives were established. In 1931 the proclamation of the Spanish Republic produced slight disturbances, which with the help of extremist propaganda among the native elements provoked a movement in Tetuan dangerous to the peace in that zone, but the energetic hand of Sanjurjo soon restored order.

Morocco has been conquered and pacified. At the present time intensive organization work is going on. Much has been done, but much still remains to be done. Spain must follow her traditional custom of giving what she has with a generous hand to the territories in which she rules. One of the mistakes of Spanish policy in Africa is the constant change in the governorship in those territories, represented by high commissioners. If formerly it was necessary to achieve continuity of policy this is all the more essential now that intensive civilizing work has to be methodically carried out, as the best safeguard for peace in the future.

PART III
THE CIVILIZING INFLUENCE OF SPAIN IN
THE NORTH OF AFRICA

THE series of internal struggles and cruelties which fill the history of the Moroccan people from the very beginning show that most of their energy was directed to warfare among themselves and against the Christians, but this does not signify, as one might suppose, that the Moroccan people lacked all civilization and culture.

At present, the general mass of the people are extremely uncultured and their knowledge scarcely amounts to more than being able to recite a few chapters of the Koran, but, side by side with this absence of knowledge, most noticeable in the mountain population, there have existed in Morocco noteworthy centres of civilization and culture, although they lacked the importance, originality, and constancy of other such centres of the Islamic world.

Spain had a decided influence in this development, and Arabo-Spanish science, philosophy, and literature were the principal sources from which the Moroccans derived their civilization in these centres of north African culture.

One of the most, perhaps the most important one, was Fez, a city in which scarcely a century had passed after Muley Edris had founded it in 808 before it had a reputation for practising the sciences, so much so that the Arab poets sang of Fez as the 'mansion of science and abode of learning and wisdom, seat of the Arabic language, of peace and of religion, the acme and centre of all the Mogreb'. The Arab historians describe Fez of the twelfth century as one of the most notable cities in the world. They tell us of its excellent universities and schools, generously endowed, of its many well-filled libraries which contained the cream of the books then in existence, supplied as they were with whatever was published in Arabic, and that to its centres of learning flocked a multitude of men of science, medicine and law, philosophers, and poets to complete their studies.

That the fame of the city of Fez was well gained is proved by the eminent men that came from it. Among these were the immortal Avicenna, whose works were translated in Spain by the Jew Juan Aben-Daud 'el Hispalense' and by the archdeacon of Segovia; the remarkable prose-writer and grammarian of Baghdad, Dumas Ben Labrat, was also in Fez when he was called to Cordova to revise the dictionary of the Hebrew language by Mercachen Ben Saruc, who was responsible for the fixing of the rules of Hebraic poetry; the notable talmudist Isaac Alfassi established in Lucena (Cordova) a famous school for talmudic studies; then there were Abu Othman, Saharabi, Gueber, &c.

Apart from Fez, there were in Morocco in the past other centres of culture which acquired importance, such as the university of Marrakesh which the Sultan Abu el Hassan Ali built, and which he so beautified that Yacub el-Manzur was reputed to be a marvel. The sons of the most important Moorish families of Tangiers and Tunis went there, and it gave men of great reputation to the Mussulman world.

Marrakesh, in the sixteenth century, was a centre of Mussulman culture of capital importance, and gives proof of its intellectual activity by the fact that in 1526 it had more than a hundred libraries.

Another of the large cities was Tangier, which already in the Roman period was the capital of Tingitan Mauritania, and under Arab dominion it reached an unprecedented degree of greatness, as recorded by Castellanos in his history of Morocco.

Mequinez, Rabat, Tadla, Alcazarquivir, Uxda, Uasan, &c., were also cities of importance for their commercial and manufacturing development, and of Mequinez we know that, during the period of the Almohades, it had four hundred manufactures of paper apart from many other factories. When the Moors were expelled from Spain to Morocco it was principally to Fez that they took their manufactures of silk and of leather and their considerable agricultural knowledge which further increased the wealth and progress of this part of North Africa.

But this intellectuality of the Moroccan upper classes, which

finally languished and died between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries as a consequence of their internal strife and the breaking up of the Mogreb Empire, was in striking contrast to the ignorance and barbarism of the people, who were subjected to every form of slavery and had no access to the centres of learning, which, as one author says with justification, is not a phenomenon peculiar to Morocco, but is a characteristic of all the Mussulman peoples, where these abysmal differences in culture can be constantly observed. During the first six centuries of their history the Moroccan people were not uncultured, but they did not attain the degree of cultural development of the Spanish Arabs, for which the causes were doubtless their isolation and the Berber fanaticism. The rebellions which took place in the Moroccan Empire had a predominantly religious character owing to the increase of Morabitism and the existence of brotherhoods with strange superstitions brought in by foreign racial elements with which the Sultans increased their armies.

The expulsion from Spain of the Moors who later settled in north Africa brought to the Moroccan Empire waves of civilization which swept the Mogreb along paths of sure progress. Together with the personages who counted for little on the other side of the straits, there emigrated a large number of artisans. The emigrations were increased by the religious persecutions after the death of Ferdinand and Isabella, which culminated in the expulsion of the Moors in the times of Philip III. This Hispano-Arabic people, which was a hundred times more cultured than the Moroccan, transferred to the principal cities of the Empire its manufactures and its culture, and had a considerable influence on the native population and the development of the arts.

The Spanish Mussulmans were the masters of the Mogreb artists. The currents of Oriental culture which in the south of Spain met the Christian artistic tradition resulted in an original type of Arabic art which centred first in Cordova, then in Seville and Granada, and finally took refuge in Africa when Granada fell into the power of Ferdinand and Isabella.

The monuments of Fez, Mequinez, Marrakesh, and other cities remind one of the Arabo-Spanish traditions and are largely the work of these refugees and of the constructive and decorative traditions they brought with them. The palace of the Sultan at Tangier, of relatively modern construction, with its arches decorated with stalactites, the marvellous carving of its roofs where the complicated geometry of interlaced flower-work can be traced, and the decoration of its glazed tiles, is only a transplantation of Hispano-Moorish constructive and decorative principle and process.

In the minor arts Spanish influence is plainly shown.

The glazed tiles and Mogreb tile-work bear tribute to Spain and, after the expulsion, manufactures of Spanish tile-work were established in the Moroccan cities. This direct influence of Spain has been sufficiently demonstrated by William and G. Marçais in *Les Monuments arabes de Tlemcen*, and they quote Ibn Khaldoun when he says that in the time of Abu Tachfin orders were given to the workshops of Granada for glazed tiles for Tlemcen, and the inscribed tile-work on the Mosque of Mechouar at Tlemcen is without doubt some product of the Andalusian factories.

Two other of the Hispano-Arabic manufactures which Morocco took from Spain after the expulsion, but without the character they had in Spain, were those of silk cloth and silver and gold embroidery, in which the workshops of Almería, Málaga, and Granada had excelled, and the tanning and decorating of leather. It was principally Fez that welcomed within its walls the workshops and looms of these emigrated artisans.

In spite of this revival which suddenly sprang up as a result of the fortunate immigration of a more cultured people, Moroccan decadence could not be stayed. It halted on its way, absorbed ideas which remained interwoven in the history of the country, but the disintegration of the Empire went on, aided by the continuous risings of the tribes and the constant struggles the Sultan had with the tribal heads who rebelled against his authority, which was consequently more nominal than real.

Against this background must be visualized the cultural influence of Spain on the north of Africa in general and on Morocco in particular.

There was an abyss which separated Spain from Africa, and that was religion.

The Moroccan, like every Mussulman and fanatical people, feels an inextinguishable disgust for the Christian, and energetically resists any influence of a Christian and Western civilization, but in spite of this the greatest influence in Morocco was wielded by ecclesiastical elements, who, if they did not make many conversions, owing to the characteristic obstinacy of the Mussulmans, had a great effect on their customs. Although they continuously fell victims to the prevalent fanaticism and barbarism, their sacrifice was not in vain, for it was they who were sowing the seeds of a civilization which after many struggles (some not without bloodshed) transformed the country slowly but surely.

There were always contacts between the peoples and governments of Africa and the Iberian Peninsula, which varied from time to time, although relations could not always be described as neighbourly.

From the sixteenth century onwards these relations were ostensibly contributed to, and stabilized by, three elements: the renegades, the captives, and the missions. Although before this epoch the last had abandoned their centres in Africa, they now found their work easier on account of the decadence into which the Moroccan people was falling.

Before this epoch, during the reign of Abu Tabet, the head of the armies of the Emir was a Spaniard, one Gonzalo Sanchez de Trocones (without doubt the Gonzalu of the Mussulman chronicles), who exercised a great influence on the politics of the Mogreb Empire, and even created a rising against the Sultan Abu er-Rebia. The historic records of the battle of Alcazarquivir speak of a squadron of renegades who fought under Moluco. These renegades were not all captives, as some had fled from Spain and Portugal and had settled among the Moors. On account of their greater intelligence, the Sultans occasionally

gave them posts of confidence, or made them favourites or counsellors, as in the cases of the celebrated Mustafa, minister of ed-Dahabi, of the Frenchman or Portuguese, Reduan Elche, who was a minister of Moluco, of Juanetin Mortara, who became the adviser of Muley ex-Xiej, and of the Pashas Jaduar and Mohammed.

Captives, however, bring about better relationships between peoples and influence customs more favourably than do renegades. Whilst the latter were generally used as instruments and except in rare cases despised by the Moroccans, the captives were valued according to their ransoms, and a large trade was carried on in them with very profitable results. Further, at certain epochs their large numbers affected the language and customs of the people, and to them, more than to any others, it is due that the ferocious intolerance of the north African Mussulmans diminished and that the Spaniards began to increase in the Empire.

However, the greatest influence was exercised by the missions, whose object was, on the one hand, to alleviate as much as possible the terrible conditions of the captives and, on the other, to spread among the infidels the light of the Gospel and of Christian civilization.

Two orders carried on this work: the Franciscans and the Brothers of Mercy. The former dedicated themselves principally to mission work and proselytizing, without, however, neglecting the relief of the prisoners, whilst the latter took upon themselves the care of these.

The Franciscans were already in Morocco and north Africa from the thirteenth century onwards. In 1227 Friar Angelo, the companion of Saint Francis, settled in Morocco as Apostolic Legate and was appointed bishop of Morocco in 1233. Soon afterwards, at the order of Friar Angelo, other Franciscan friars came to Morocco to dedicate themselves to mission work, but all perished at the hands of Mogreb barbarism.

This did not mean, however, that these friars relaxed their efforts, for in 1246 the Aragonese Friar Lope Fernandez Dain was appointed bishop of Morocco, and with admirable perse-

verance and after many vicissitudes he managed to penetrate into the interior of the country and win the respect of the Mussulmans to such an extent that when the Emperor of Morocco was at war with the inhabitants of Fez, as a rebel pretender had arisen in that city, Friar Lope and his Franciscans went to Fez as ambassadors of the Mogreb Sultan to negotiate for peace, and, as Castellanos says in his history of Morocco, the inhabitants of Fez 'accepted the proposals and so much admired the poverty, modesty, and other evangelical virtues of those humble ambassadors, that they permitted them to preach freely the faith of Jesus Christ and build monasteries in Fez and Mequinez, whose ruins can still be seen to-day, called by the Moors "the homes of the wise men of the Christians"'.

Much could be said about the remarkable work of this humble and seraphic militia of Christ in Morocco, and we cannot omit mentioning the martyrdom by Ualid's own hand of the missionary Friar Juan de Prado, and also the work done after the proclamation of ex-Xiej ben-Zidan for the companions of Friar Matias of Saint Francis and Friar Gines of Ocana to whom the new Sultan gave their liberty and perpetual ownership of the church which exists in the prison where they were captives.

The example of their martyrdom, their humility, and spirit often gained the respect of the barbarous natives. They collaborated effectively in the political relations of Spain with the Empire and, for example, in 1637 the duke of Medina Sidonia, captain-general of Andalusia, sent as ambassador to Morocco the Franciscan Friar, Nicolas de Velasco, and Muley ex-Xiej utilized the services of Friar Matias of Saint Francis, the companion of Friar Juan de Prado, to obtain the favour of Philip IV. For this purpose he went to Spain in 1640, bringing with him several captives, among them Dr. Andres Camelo and the lawyer Manuel Alvarez who was the commander of a troop of militia of the Spanish captives.

But not only Franciscans were in Morocco as missionaries, spreading the Gospel and Christian civilization with their preaching.

The written and printed records of the Brothers of Mercy

are full of their continuous work in Africa, not only for the liberation of captives but also for the preservation and expansion of the Christian faith, but whilst the Franciscans developed their beneficial work in Morocco, the Brothers of Mercy had their principal centres in Algiers and Tunis.

Of their activities in Algiers, their influence and their consolation of the captives in their miserable lives, a perfect account is given in his *Topography and General History of Algiers*, by Friar Diego de Haedo, archbishop of Palermo, raised by Philip II to the offices of president and captain-general of the kingdom of Sicilia. In this truly remarkable work are accounts of the captivity in Algiers of the most sublime genius of Spanish letters, Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra. As an example of the meritorious work in Tunis, *The Trinitarian Colony in Tunis*, by Friar Francisco Ximenez, recently published, is worthy of note. In this is described the work in Tunis after 1204, when St. John of Matha founded the pioneer hospice for the release of captives and started the mission, the martyrdom of numerous Brothers of Mercy, their perseverance in founding hospices, their influence through this medium, their houses in Algiers, Bizerta, Tripoli in Syria, Aleppo, &c., until the founding in 1722 in Tunis by the author of the work of the new hospice for captives.

If the activities of centuries made it possible to bring nearer the epoch of modern African policy, the establishment of the protectorate has resulted in Spain being profoundly concerned with, and working continuously at, bringing the principal elements of a modern civilization to the zone of its influence in Morocco.

About Ptas. 50 millions are spent every year on improvements only, which is part of a total budgetary allowance of Ptas. 73 millions in which the military expenses, amounting to more than Ptas. 200 millions annually, are not included.

No sooner was the protectorate established in 1913 than the Spanish Government studied the problem of education and recommended to the Board of Education in Morocco catering for Spanish, Hebrew, and Moorish schools, all of which races

live together in the Spanish zone, to set up a Hispano-Arabic printing-press in order to encourage the study of the geography, history, sociology, literature, and law of the Mussulman people, and soon afterwards there were created Spanish and Hispano-Arabic schools in Tetuan, Arcila, Larache, Alcazar, Nador, Had de Beni-Sicar, and Melilla; subsidiary schools were established for Moroccans coming to Spain for a higher education. A grant was made in Tetuan to the School of Arts and Crafts and to that of Higher Mussulman Studies, and this has been gradually increased until it is now over a million and a half pesetas.

Among the seventy-three tribes which inhabit the zone of the protectorate, there are 2,315 Islamic elementary schools and 34 Hispano-Arabic ones, the former being attended by an average of 21,090 pupils and the latter by an average of 600. It is really difficult to establish reliable statistics of attendances of the Arab and Berber population, owing to their inconsistency.

In Melilla there is a secondary school known as the General and Technical Institute, which since 1923 had annexed to it a hostel for Moorish students living there as boarders, to whom the Spanish State grants half of their upkeep and free education, and there is also a hostel for native girls.

There is an active Patronage of Mussulman Education composed of eminent Mussulmans who act in unison with the employees of the Spanish administration in giving a careful vigilance to the education of the natives.

In 1931 the government of the Republic established the Institute of Tetuan which is to be a centre of complete education, where four years are allowed for preparing for Matriculation (*Bachillerato*), and the pupils can then choose and follow the professions of magistracy, commerce, civil service, sanitation, agriculture, or art. Islamic youth is thus being initiated into Western science and technical knowledge.

However, educational activities have not been confined to Morocco. In Spain, where the School of Islamic Philology has to its credit such names as Codera, Hibera, Asin Palacios, García Gómez, and González Palencia, a law was passed on the 27th January 1932 founding the Schools for Arabic Studies

in Madrid and Granada, and since 1933 these have been publishing a very interesting quarterly review called *Al-Andalus* in which remarkable contributions to this subject appear.

In public works Spain has also done a great deal, and Spanish Morocco has a series of roads and motor-tracks running throughout the zone. Worthy of special mention are those from Ceuta to Tetuan, Xauen, Bab Taza, Tangier, Arcila, Larache, and Alcazarquivir, which are all asphalted and as good as the best in Europe. Other important engineering works have been carried out, such as the bridge over the Lucus in Larache, the water-conduits of Arcila, Larache, and Tetuan, the aqueduct over the river Martin, and the improvements of the ports of Larache, Arcila, and Cala del Quemado, &c.

Much has also been done in the realm of sanitation, and every assistance is given to the inhabitants. Besides the native hospitals established in the principal towns and the native wing of the Hospital of Melilla, consulting centres have been established in all the tribal villages, where Spanish doctors, besides giving assistance to the Moorish population, carry on an intensive campaign with remarkable results against smallpox, the scourge of the Moorish population.

Studies and analyses have also been made of the thermal and medicinal waters of the zone, and the results have been published.

Spain has also succeeded in hastening forward colonization work in Morocco and has paid special attention to the agricultural side. Only about 204,000 hectares of the 19,613 square kilometres of which the Spanish protectorate consists can be cultivated. Spain's efforts in this direction are praiseworthy, as she has established provision centres, experimental farms, granaries, and irrigation and draining works. Reafforestation has steadily been taking place and amounted to 192,659 trees and vines in 1929, which is the last date we have.

There are agricultural education centres in Larache for the natives at the large experimental farm, and in Melilla for Spaniards. The budgetary grant for this is about Ptas. 3 millions.

If measured by figures, the work of Spain in the Moroccan region might appear small, but it should be taken into account that to-day our zone of influence is also small and largely consists of mountainous or sandy regions which are almost like deserts, where the dwarf fan-palm is the only plant which grows, and which cannot be compared either with the expanse or the wealth of the French zone.

Spain, from the beginning of the history of Morocco, has not spared any sacrifice to take across the Straits her civilization and culture. Propagator of the Christian faith in every continent and on every sea, she could not overlook a territory that was so near and clamoured for her influence. More than that, it needed her, and she can be proud of having established during many centuries the principles which facilitated modern political protectorate work, and to apply them to-day in the small zone which international agreements have assigned to her with notorious injustice to her traditional efforts. She can only continue to follow the path of sacrifice and generosity which has characterized her activities in the historic past.

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THE FRENCH IN AFRICA

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THE FRENCH IN AFRICA

IN 1846 the colonial empire of France in Africa was of very small extent. The greater part of Algeria had been conquered, and the surrender of Abd-el-Kader had closed the period of military operations on a large scale. Outside of Algeria there were only some fragmentary remains of the possessions of the old French monarchy—in the Senegal St. Louis and the Island of Gorée, and in the Indian Ocean the island of Bourbon, with besides these some more recent acquisitions in west Africa: Grand Bassam and the Gaboon. But this was the small beginning of a marvellous territorial expansion, for before another century had gone by more than a third of the African continent belonged to France.

But of the various governments of this period it was only the Second Empire that was decidedly favourable to a policy of colonization. The Second Republic adopted a timid policy as the result of troubles at home and the financial troubles of the time. The Third Republic under the depressing influence of the disasters of 1870-1 had for years no inclination to think of anything but the Rhine frontier. But the initiative of some far-seeing statesmen—above all of Jules Ferry—drew it, whether it wished or not, into the path of colonial expansion. The persevering energy of colonists, who often acted without the cognizance of the home government, did the rest, and from 1880 onwards oversea expansion became a dominant factor in French policy. Between 1882 and 1904 a rivalry, which at times came to the verge of open conflict, made England and France opponents in Africa. The latter thus lost its rights over Egypt, but on the whole made steady progress. Then Germany made an unsuccessful attempt to prevent France obtaining a foothold in Morocco. By 1932 northern Africa, nearly all the Sahara, a considerable part of western and equatorial Africa, Madagascar and some adjacent island groups, and Jibouti on the Red Sea, were under the shadow of the French tricolour. Despite many hesitations, and almost in

spite of herself, France had obeyed her destiny. Lying so near to Africa she had secured in the great continent a colonial empire of the first rank.

I. FRANCE IN NORTHERN AFRICA

A. *In Algeria.*

Algeria was the scene of nearly all the colonial activity of the Second Republic. The military operations of the time were of minor importance. In the south there was the occupation of Laghouat and the oases of Mزاب; at the cost of some fierce fighting the district of the Aures was pacified; and there was an expedition into Lesser Kabylia that gave very limited results. Of much more importance were the attempts to assimilate Algeria to France. The colonists were granted the rights of French citizenship, including the election of deputies to the National Assembly. Like France, Algeria was divided into departments and arrondissements, and besides this, so that it might become something like an outlying portion of the mother country, it was decided to make it a colony of settlers from Europe. A law was passed offering free grants of land to all who applied for them. Some 20,000 colonists set out for Algeria in the midst of somewhat theatrical scenes of enthusiasm, and forty-three new villages were founded. But 10,000 of the colonists soon lost heart, and abandoned their holdings, and despite the fairly satisfactory result of the enterprise (a permanent settlement of some 50 per cent.) the French Government did not persevere in the experiment.

Under the Second Empire (1852-70) the work of 'pacification' continued. On the margin of the Sahara the French Army took possession of Wargla, and pushing on from Tuggurt reached the oases of the Wadi Rir and El Suf. Eastward Lesser Kabylia was subdued, and then a trying campaign won Great Kabylia, where, as it was said, 'the mountaineers were as wild as their mountains'. On the western side there was successful war against the Moorish tribes who made plundering raids on the Oran district. But the Franco-German War brought to

an abrupt end the French operations in this direction. However, the conquest of Algeria was by this time completed.

Napoleon III took a keen interest in the problems of administration and colonization, but he several times changed his ideas on these matters. At first there was a Ministry of Algeria at Paris. The post of governor-general was abolished, and new privileges were granted to the colonists. As for the system of colonization there were variations between that of colonizing companies (which it must be granted made only wasteful use of their lands) and that of colonial villages organized at the expense of the natives. Eighty-five of these new centres were founded between 1850 and 1860, and the European population of Algeria rose to 200,000 inhabitants, while its external commerce amounted to the annual total of 157 million francs.

But the army, which regarded Algeria as its own property, and felt a hearty contempt for mere colonists and bargain-hunters, was thoroughly unfriendly to the civilian régime, which indeed was accumulating blunders on blunders, and the soldiers won over the Emperor to their point of view. His fickle and fanciful temperament was attracted by the mirage of a military and feudal Algeria. 'I am as much Emperor of the Arabs as of the French', wrote Napoleon III. 'I would rather make use of the bravery of the Arabs than be a burden on their poverty . . . Algeria is not a colony, but a possession; it is an Arab kingdom, a centre of European colonization, a French camp.' These cloudy and incoherent imaginations resulted in the re-establishment of military control and the régime of the 'Arab Bureaus' which lasted from 1864 to 1870. This new system, after having given at the outset some noteworthy results, fell into a state of decay and inefficiency. It practically ended the colonization movement, herding the natives together in one direction and the colonists in another, and incurred the detestation of both. It neither foresaw nor dealt effectively with the terrible famine of 1867, which brought death to 300,000 of the people of Algeria, and it was in vain that Mgr. Lavigerie, the archbishop of Algiers and the apostle and pioneer in the

conversion of the Berbers, denounced the failures of the military administration. Napoleon III was preparing to restore the civil régime in Algeria when the Empire fell.

But, notwithstanding these mistakes, Algeria had made some serious progress in this period, and there was a remarkable increase in the traffic between France and Africa. But a very grave crisis was coming that menaced the whole organization of the colony with ruin.

Under the Third Republic, 1870 and After. During the Franco-German War the natives realized that the military strength of France was very seriously weakened. They also felt that the change of government in the home country had led to terrible confusion in the administration of the colony. They were exasperated at seeing the Jews, now naturalized *en masse* as French citizens, posing as their superiors. Finally, serious mistakes in the treatment of one of the leading chiefs of the Kabyles, who had been hitherto a faithful supporter of the French Government, let loose an extremely formidable revolt in the province of Oran, and especially in Kabylia, where many French villages were given to the flames and their colonists tortured and massacred. But there was a swift repression of the rising. Three columns of troops crushed out the insurrection. Numbers of executions, heavy fines, and the confiscation of vast tracts of land revived, for a long time to come, the old hatred of the natives for the avenging 'Roumis'. This, however, was the last revolt in Algeria. Henceforth all its history is a record only of changes in the administration, the progress of the colonizing movement, and economic developments.

The system of the 'Arab Kingdom' was now out of date, and from 1871 onwards there was a return to the policy of assimilating Algeria to the home country. By 1880 it was completely realized. The handling of Algerian affairs was distributed among eight ministerial departments in Paris. Thus, for example, a school could not be opened in Algeria without the authorization of the minister of education; a new road could not be constructed without the authorization of the minister of public works. It was sheer madness. The confusion and con-

stant block of business in the ministerial bureaus in France rose to such a climax that the régime of connecting all the affairs of Algeria with offices in the capital was at last abolished in 1896. While fully maintaining the inviolable rights of sovereignty of the mother country, the colony was given a fairly wide system of decentralization, falling, however, far short of actual autonomy, which the immense numerical preponderance of the natives would have made very dangerous. 'Neither autonomy nor assimilation' was the policy now adopted. The 'Financial delegations' organized in 1896 were assemblies that voted a budget for Algeria and bore some semblance to an Algerian parliament, but a parliament with very limited rights. They practically represent chiefly the colonial element.

The number of the colonists has considerably increased in the last sixty years. From one point of view the rising of 1871 had some advantages, for its repression made available lands and money that could be used for establishing in Algeria large numbers first of Alsatians and Lorrainers who came as refugees from the German occupation and later many of the vineyard-proprietors and -workers of the south of France who had been ruined by the phylloxera. But crowds of Spaniards and Italians were also arriving in the colony. Their numbers increased to such an extent as to cause some anxiety for the French government. There was a marked decrease in the arrivals of colonists from France from 1885 to 1902, but there has been a renewed increase since this last date. The scepticism which once prevailed as to white colonization in north Africa has had to yield to the evidence of facts. The difficulties of the climate have been overcome, the ravages of malaria are a thing of the past, and a new white race has come into being. Since 1896 the number of Europeans born in Algeria has been greater than that of the immigrants from other countries. This new race is mainly French—700,000 French in a total of 921,000 Europeans; but it must be granted that this numerical majority is partly the result of the automatic naturalization as French citizens that lowers the official total of the foreign immigrants. Though the Maltese group has obviously decreased in numbers, the Italians

are still numerous in the province of Constantine, and the Spaniards, in a still more marked degree, in that of Oran. (This is the only part of Algeria in which there is any marked progress of agriculture on European lines.) But all the European colonists feel that they are Algerians; the Great War has cemented their unity and, if this new French people is only partly French in blood, it bears none the less a strong impress of French civilization.

To what extent has the mass of the natives been influenced by contact with the colonists? Let us note in the first place a fact of some significance—the French occupation, far from leading to a decrease in the numbers of the native races, has witnessed a rapid increase of the native population. It rose from some 2 millions in 1830 to 5,632,663 in 1931, and the rate of this increase is just parallel to that of the increase of the colonists. But although there is one European for every six natives (thus a very remarkable element in the total population), and although the colonists have both wealth and political power on their side, and compared with them the native element appears to be very divided and disunited, the latter, closely wedded to tradition, fatalist under the influence of climate and religion, and above all Moslem and thus hostile to ‘those dogs of Christians’, has proved very slightly susceptible to French influence. France has made repeated efforts to bridge this abyss. She has cared for the physical well-being of the natives, introduced sanitary improvements and official help for the needy, checked the usury of the money-lenders, and given special care to education. Of late the use of the French language has made notable progress, especially in Kabylia. The individual native, though with some hesitation, is becoming less dependent on the family, and the family less dependent on the tribe, and personal property is becoming freer from the old custom of tribal possession. In their everyday life the natives are less frugal, and there is some progress in their methods of tilling the land. But almost nothing has been accomplished in comparison with what yet has to be done. After all the Great War gave results in marked contrast to those of 1870–1. Algeria provided for France

several native regiments and a large number of war-workers, and its loyalty was so well manifested that in 1919 a law was passed that gave the natives an increased share in local administration.

Meanwhile, though they have not succeeded in transforming by the persuasive influence of example the mass of the native population amongst which they live, the colonists have devoted their energies to the first stages of the material development of the country. Algeria under Turkish rule had no roads, hardly a bridge or a fishing-boat, and the annual amount of its external trade was about $6\frac{1}{2}$ million francs. It has now 20,000 miles of roads, on which motor-car services are fully organized; nearly 2,000 miles of railways; some well-equipped ports (Bona, Algiers, and best of all Oran), and some aeroplane lines. Thanks to both 'dry farming' and the installation of irrigation systems the agriculture of the country has been remodelled. Forestry, in which the colonists take little interest, has made hardly any progress, but several minor vegetable products—such as cork, halfa grass, and hemp—to which no attention was paid before 1830 are giving good results. Besides the increased production of cereals there is the further cultivation of products that, thanks to European tastes, are valuable articles for export—tobacco, dates, and above all wine. The vineyards of Algeria are entirely the result of French enterprise; they are amongst the most fruitful in the world, and they have been developed on so large a scale that it is often difficult to provide for the marketing of their output.

The colonists have not given much attention to cattle-breeding and hardly any success can be claimed for it. A beginning has been made in the organization of the sea-fisheries. Under the Turks Algeria took no advantage of its mineral deposits, but French Algeria has actively set to work in developing its iron and phosphate deposits, and some modern industries have been organized, chiefly in connexion with food products. Finally and most important of all, the progress of trade is such that Algeria nowadays ranks as fifth amongst countries sending exports to France, and fourth amongst those taking

imports from the home country. Its external trade now amounts to over 800 millions of francs.

No one claims that everything is perfect in the work of France in Algeria. Far from being completely solved the economic problem clearly stands in need of a bold 'irrigation policy' for its solution. The political problem has its delicate aspects. How is the goodwill of the natives to be secured without losing their respect? How are they to be dominated without being oppressed? Finally, the question of population is of the highest importance, for it is only by colonizing Algeria on a grand scale that France can keep a firm hold upon it and shape its future according to her ideals.

Nevertheless, foreign observers have surpassed Frenchmen themselves in describing as something worthy of high praise the work actually accomplished in the colony. Many of the natives have so far profited by the general increase of wealth as to be able to buy back land from the colonists. As for France, she may well regard Algeria as the jewel of her colonial possessions and the foundation of her African Empire. If she had not possessed Algeria, she could never have occupied western and equatorial Africa, and it was because she had a firm hold on Algeria that she has been able to intervene in Tunisia and Morocco.

B. *Tunisia.*

Under Napoleon III Tunisia offered a valuable opening for French enterprise. By 1869 it was evident that France was obtaining a kind of financial hold on the country. But the disasters of 1870-1 utterly ruined French prestige in the eyes of the Bey of Tunis, to the advantage of England and still more of Italy. The Italian consul at Tunis helped to found Italian schools and hospitals, tried to deprive France of a monopoly of the railways and telegraphs of the country, gave a subvention to an Arab paper which proposed a massacre of the French, and promised the Bey the support of the Italian army. So between 1871 and 1881 the frontier between Algeria and Tunisia was violated 2,379 times by Tunisian raiders who invaded

French territory and set fire to the forests and also pillaged French ships wrecked on the coast, amidst the applause of the marabouts. In only five cases the Bey punished the guilty parties. If France took no action it would mean the collapse of her authority in Africa, and the establishment of Italy in Tunisia. 'Tunisia is the key of our household', said Jules Ferry. And as at the Berlin Congress on Africa in 1878, with the exception of Turkey and Italy, all the European Powers (and notably England) had left a free hand to France, Ferry, despite the very unfriendly attitude of Italy, decided upon an expedition against Tunisia.

This was carried into effect in the spring of 1881. Whilst two columns from Algeria surrounded the Khrumir tribes in their hill-country, a third force was landed on the north-east coast, seized Bizerta, and marched on Tunis. In eight days the result of the campaign was decided. It was little more than a 'military promenade'. The Bey was thunderstruck and signed the Treaty of Kassar-Said which established a French protectorate over Tunisia, despite the indescribable outburst of anger in Italy, but to the great joy of the many Frenchmen who were gratified at seeing their country once more taking bold and successful action.

It was a victory that was too rapid to be conclusive. The south, which had seen nothing of the French invasion, rose in arms. In the following midsummer there had to be a second expedition, which had a more serious task. Its result was the capture of Gabes, Susa, and most important of all Kairouan. By 1883 all Tunisia had been 'pacified' and since then there has been no hostile movement. Besides this the Treaty of Kassar-Said was further strengthened by that of Marsa which, while using terms that dealt carefully with native feeling, practically placed the government of Tunisia in the hands of France.

Partly out of its care to avoid exciting ill feeling among the natives, and also as a result of certain failures of official schemes of colonization in Algeria, the French government for a long time refrained from encouraging colonization in Tunisia. Until about 1900 the only colonists who came to the country from

France were those brought for the service of some important companies or wealthy individual capitalists, though numbers of Italian town workers and farmers came each year. Later on there was a change in the situation, especially after 1919, and this to such an extent that the census of 1931 showed that the French element in the white population was the largest—91,437 or 46·8 per cent. of the total. It must, however, be noted that this number was largely reinforced by the automatic French naturalization of all Europeans in the second generation. The Maltese group, which has been continually decreasing in numbers, was no longer more than 8,600, and the Spanish group insignificant. On the other hand, the Italian element was very strong (91,178 or 46·7 per cent.) and with a very high birth-rate. But there has been a marked decrease in Italian immigration since 1919, notwithstanding the nationalist propaganda of the Fascists, and French naturalization is still very frequent among the Italian colonists.

Including all Europeans there is only one colonist for every eleven native Tunisians. It is thus more necessary even than in Algeria to rely on native collaboration. On the whole there is a very good mutual understanding between Tunisians and Frenchmen. Some ten thousand Tunisians fell on the battle-fields of 1914-18 on the French front, and Tunisia certainly cannot be taken to be an oppressed country. France has sought to gain the goodwill of the natives by dealing with prevalent illnesses, and checking the usurers, by organizing provident associations, and above all with some marked success by promoting education. Unfortunately nearly all native Tunisians, who have acquired a little learning, have their heads slightly turned, give up any idea of making a living on the land or in the workshop, and look for official employment or entrance on a professional career. This too often means a woeful waste of energy.

Nevertheless, there has been very rapid progress. Tunisia has acquired much more speedily than Algeria its economic equipment. It has already 3,750 miles of good roads with considerable traffic; 1,270 miles of railways; and four well-

equipped ports—Tunis, Sfax, Susa, and Bizerta. The land question has been more successfully handled. Besides settling a number of colonists in the country, a class of small proprietors has been recruited among the natives, and these are inspired with ideas of systematic cultivation and the adoption of up-to-date methods. Better use is being made of the available supply of labour, which, however, is somewhat scanty and hardly to be relied on for steady work. One may say that now the resources of Tunisia are to a large extent utilized.

The business of cattle-raising has hardly as yet been influenced by European methods, and there has been no great development of the fisheries, though there has been some progress. The importance of many minor agricultural products is less than it is in Algeria, and almost the only industry depending on the land that has any serious value is the cultivation of plants for making perfumes. The colonists have hardly paid enough attention to market-gardening and orchards, and the development of the vineyards has to contend with the crushing competition of Algeria. But the production of cereals largely exceeds the local demand and leaves a margin for export, and since 1881 there has been an almost fabulous increase in the production of olives. Besides all this, the exploitation of the phosphate deposits (discovered in 1885) yields a splendid revenue, and something has been done in mining for iron, lead, and zinc. If Tunisia has not become a great industrial country this is the result of the lack of trained workers, of sufficient capital, and above all of local supplies of fuel. Business, however, is prosperous and gives good evidence of a remarkable change in the whole economic situation.

France has profited by this rapid rise to prosperity—facilitated by the experience gained in Algeria—but so also has Tunisia, and impartial judges have described the country as 'a model of intelligent colonization'. Nevertheless there has not yet been a complete solution of all economic problems. There might be better care for the human element in the capital resources of the colony, and agriculture, cattle-raising, and the fisheries might well give greater results. The political problem

is somewhat thorny. France has to deal with the agitation of the 'Young Tunisians' without sacrificing the peaceful mass of the natives to a handful of ill-humoured 'intellectuals'. She has to deal with the difficult Italian question—how to satisfy the claims of the Italian nationalists without sacrificing her own sovereignty. Finally, she has to solve the problem of reinforcing the French population of Tunisia, the most difficult question of all. It is true that there is an increase in the total of French colonists in Tunisia, but amongst these the number who settle on the land is very insufficient, and these must be the only really solid element in colonization. As long as this state of affairs continues the position of France in Tunisia will have a much less secure outlook than in Algeria.

C. *In Morocco.*

Since the reign of Louis XIII (1610-43) France had maintained diplomatic relations with Morocco, and regular commercial connexions that were at times very friendly. But the support given to Abd-el-Kader by the Moorish Sultan seriously injured this friendly connexion and, but for the veto of England, it is likely that the French protectorate would have been extended to Morocco in 1844. France had to be content with the vague and ill-advised treaty of 1845 which, by omitting to mark out a definite frontier between Algeria and Morocco, led to endless difficulties. The question of 'the Algero-Moorish border-lands', and above all that of Figuig (a centre of anti-Christian and anti-French propaganda on the flanks of the Oran region), became a nightmare for the governors of Algeria. At the same time, France in her anxiety for the security of the colony could not allow the establishment of any other power but her own in Morocco. She had thus perforce the keenest interest in the destinies of Morocco. Was it not a French explorer, De Foucauld, who gave the first really important description of this country?

Spain began to be anxious about this French 'pacific penetration' and by the Treaty of Madrid (1880) she secured a beginning of the internationalization of Morocco. Even more than

by this document it was secured until 1894 by the Sultan Muley-el-Hassan, who managed to play off the Europeans one against another—not only France and Spain, whose ambitions were evident, but also England, then hostile to France, and even Germany, which came later into this colonial competition. But his son and successor, Abd-el-Aziz, scandalized his subjects by his youthful follies and his senseless prodigality. Presently, in order to get money for himself, he made an attempt at a thorough change in the financial system of Morocco, but only succeeded in putting the old machine of government completely out of gear. He found himself forced to have recourse to a foreign loan, and this was the beginning of the end for Morocco.

It was then that France became anxious about the increasing influence of Germany and, despite the timidity of some Frenchmen, or their violent dislike of a colonial policy, decided to take action in support of her traditional claims. The French occupation of the oasis of Touat—which was in accordance with the Treaty of 1845—led to Moorish aggressions in reprisal, and a French colonist was murdered. The French Government then obtained from the Sultan a promise of co-operation in restoring order on the borders of Algeria and Morocco (by the agreements of 1901–2). But when Abd-el Aziz, in flagrant bad faith, eluded these undertakings, Colonel Lyautey was directed to pacify the border-land of the south of Oran and was completely successful in this task (1903).

France, considering that the conquest of Morocco had now begun, thought it advisable to prepare the way by diplomacy. The neutrality of Italy was secured by giving her a free hand in the province of Tripoli (agreements of 1900 and 1902); that of Spain by promising her the possession of the north coast region of the Riff (1905), and that of England by definitely renouncing all claims in Egypt (agreement of 1904). Then, believing that she was safe for the immediate future, France lent the Sultan large sums of money, obtaining in return the right of controlling the Moorish customs-houses, and Morocco seemed to her to be now a fruit ripe for harvesting.

Germany, rightly proud of her wealth and strength, was

anything but happy as to her very limited share in colonial acquisitions, and envious of those of France. Believing that France was weakened by the disasters of her Russian ally in Manchuria, she decided on striking a great blow. On the 31st March 1905 Kaiser William II made a speech at Tangiers which was a frank announcement of opposition to French projects in Morocco, and then, at the instigation of Germany, Morocco demanded that her future should be decided by an international conference. To avoid the danger of a war, France—pursuing an extremely peaceful policy—dismissed her minister of foreign affairs, Delcassé (who was accused at Berlin of working for the isolation of Germany), and accepted the principle of a conference. It met at Algeciras in the spring of 1906. Notwithstanding the almost unanimous disapproval of Germany's action, France lost nearly all the ground she had gained in recent years. The Act of Algeciras established a European control over the Moorish Empire, and France, though left some minor police duties, had very scanty rights of her own.

But it proved to be impossible to give practical effect to the Act of Algeciras, all the more because Germany, disappointed of her hopes in Morocco, desired its failure, and a conflict had arisen between two rivals for succession to the sultanate. There was increasing disorder with many outbreaks of violence, and France had to take military action. In the east of Morocco, General Lyautey very ably combining force and policy, and 'making a display of strength to avoid having to use it', won some surprising successes (the occupation of Udja and an advance towards the Mulaya river), while in western Morocco Casablanca was taken and order re-established in the plain of the Chauia. But the unfriendly ill humour of the Germans was not at an end; in September 1908, at Casablanca, a fight between German deserters from the Foreign Legion and French Marines nearly lit the flame of war, and it was in vain that by the agreement of 1909 an attempt was made to bring about French and German collaboration in Morocco.

In March 1911 the new Sultan Muley Hafid, though he had secured the succession, found himself faced by a revolutionary

outbreak and appealed for help to France. General Moinier occupied Fez, and Germany, after accusing France of having violated the Act of Algeciras, sent a small cruiser to the port of Agadir (1 July 1911). The diplomatic tension became acute, and for two months it was expected that there would be a Franco-German war. But peace was preserved by the calm attitude of France and the serious warnings addressed by England to Germany. The French Government decided to buy out the German claims in Morocco, and on the 4th November 1911, as the result of long and perilous negotiations and at the cost of ceding part of the French Congo to Germany, it secured the right of establishing a French protectorate over Morocco, the Riff country being reserved for Spain.

But the timid caution with which France inaugurated the protectorate—hateful in the eyes of most of the Moors—was the cause of a formidable revolt. In the south, the east, the south-east, and most of all the centre, the Moorish Empire was ablaze. As Lyautey said, 'Morocco was like a ship in distress'. But it was this same Lyautey who—when France gave him command of the ship—proved to be a leader of exceptional capacity. Energetic as well as prudent, as patient as he was daring, an organizer as well as a soldier, opposed to all rash schemes, but taking wide views of the situation, he meant 'to make the army the quartermaster of civilization, and the soldier the forerunner of the engineer, the trader, and the teacher' (to use the words of Poincaré). He proved to be for Morocco—though with more intelligence and less routine—what Bugeaud had been for Algeria: the creator of modern Morocco and undoubtedly one of the greatest colonial chiefs that France has ever produced.

Aided by such able lieutenants as Gouraud and Mangin, he relieved Fez and retook Marrakesh (1912), conquered southern Morocco (1913), restored order in the central plateau (June 1914), and secured the land communication with Algeria by the occupation of Taza. The outbreak of war in Europe deprived him of the best of his troops, and nearly led to the collapse of his work, for the French Government gave him orders

to withdraw to the coast. But Lyautey had the courage to act on his own initiative and, far from obeying the order, quietly continued his advance. After 1918 there was more marked progress; Morocco had been conquered, and its reorganization was pressed forward with marvellous rapidity.

But a terrible storm threatened to destroy everything. In 1921 the mountaineers of the Riff had risen in revolt, and defeated a Spanish army before Melilla. Years of warfare followed in which under their leader Abd-el-Krim they held their own against the Spanish generals. Marshal Lyautey had in vain warned his government of the ambitious projects of the leader of the revolt, and the danger of the Riff war to the peace of all Morocco. At last a critical situation developed when Abd-el-Krim invaded French Morocco and the Riffmen nearly captured Taza and menaced Fez. But the advance of the mountaineers was checked, and then combined operations of the French and Spanish armies put an end to the revolt of the Riff, and Abd-el-Krim surrendered to Primo de Rivera and was banished from the country (1926). Since then the Tafilet region has been conquered and the centres of disaffection in the Middle Atlas are ceasing to be of any importance.

Though Morocco is not a new country, the fact that it is not densely populated, coupled with its fairly healthy climate, makes it possible to bring in a comparatively large number of foreign immigrants. During the eighteen years of the protectorate there have already been more than 100,000 new settlers from Europe. Neither Algeria nor Tunisia ever saw such an influx of colonists. The Spaniards and Italians (skilled workers, labourers, and small farmers) are fairly numerous, but from the point of view both of numbers and social qualities the French colony is in every way the most important. Numbers, capacity, and wealth make it the leading force in the colony. Of the 104,000 immigrants about 90,000 have settled in the towns, all but new towns like Casablanca, mainly native towns like Fez and Marrakesh, and towns with a mixed population living in friendly concord, such as Meknes and Rabat. The rest of the colonists have settled in the country where, besides the

properties set apart for colonization on a grand scale such as the concessions granted to powerful companies, small and medium-sized holdings have been created, and there are villages of colonists.

In order to secure the best chances for the successful co-operation of Frenchmen and natives the administration of the protectorate has devoted special attention to social work. As in Algeria and Tunisia, there is an organized campaign against sickness, epidemics, and infant mortality; the natives are insured against bad harvests, famine, and protected against the usurers and their own traditional lack of foresight. Very special care has been devoted to organizing schools of all classes. At the same time, in order both to obtain profits for the French capital invested in Morocco, and to make the natives appreciate the benefits of the French occupation by increasing their resources, the government has from the very outset devoted itself to the economic improvement of the country.

A regular financial budget has been organized, and the administration has never found any difficulty in issuing colonial loans, and it has thus been able to make rapid progress in providing Morocco with an excellent economic equipment. To improve its communications with France the new harbour of Casablanca has been constructed on a magnificent scale. There are more than 3,000 miles of new roads for motor traffic, and good progress has been made in the construction of light and full-gauge railways. The colony has also been provided with the more modern means of rapid communication—telegraphs, telephones, and wireless installations, and the aeroplane line from Toulouse to Casablanca, Dakar, and South America. Efforts have been made to introduce a system of irrigation and to modernize the agriculture of the country.

At present the chief agricultural products are wheat and barley. There is a hopeful outlook for vegetable products and fruit, but no desire to extend the vineyards, and there has been no real success with flax and cotton, or with beet-roots for the sugar-trade. There are good prospects for cork-growing, but Morocco is still on the look-out for some highly profitable culture

such as that of the vine has been for Algeria. Cattle-raising and other varieties of pastoral work are carried on extensively, hardly with up-to-date methods, though there are some signs of improvement. It is a drawback for organized industry generally that labour is scarce and expensive. Mineral deposits exist in many places, but nowhere very abundantly. There are hardly any European manufacturing industries, except some preparation of food products. But there is an exception in the case of the extraction of phosphates, which has had a surprisingly successful development. Their abundance and their exceptional quality have contributed largely to the progress of the export trade of Morocco and the traffic of the new port of Casablanca.

Morocco is the youngest-born of the colonial family of France. It has profited by all the earlier colonial experiences of the mother country, and one can readily understand how, under the direction of a colonial organizer of the highest capacity, it has progressed with giant strides. The natives have quickly come to realize that the drawbacks of the protectorate are much less than its advantages, and it has been truly said that 'there are few countries in which Europeans and natives work together in such complete concord'. This is largely the result of the policy of Lyautey having been a policy not of compulsory assimilation, but of a collaboration that respects the manner of life and the traditions of the Moorish people. As is the case in Tunisia the great and difficult problem is to secure a sufficient immigration of French agriculturists without despoiling the native tillers of the soil.

To sum up : all north-western Africa is now French, and the changes effected in a century are surprising. France, which has here the most valuable of her oversea possessions, seems to have assumed the task of restoring the long-ruined work of ancient Rome. Already she has greatly enriched the country, and above all released it from its long isolation and brought it back into the main currents of the world's economic life.

II. FRANCE IN THE SAHARA

Mistress of Algeria and with, as we have seen, a foothold in west Africa, France must inevitably have turned her attention to the region that lies between these two parts of her African dominions—the Sahara. Under the Second Empire, despite the fears inspired by the desert and its traditional legends, the penetration into the Algerian Sahara had begun, and the explorer Duveyrier had brought back some interesting accounts of it. After the revolt of 1871 there were some punitive expeditions against the rebels in the margin of the desert, and El Golea was occupied in 1874; and there were some exploring expeditions such as those of Paul Soleillet amongst the Chambaa nomads and of Largeau to Ghadames. About 1880 the idea of a survey with a view to the making of a railway across the Sahara led to the explorations of Colonel Flatters. But his second expedition ended in disaster. Broken in health and no longer equal to his task, Flatters was betrayed by his guides and nearly all in his column were massacred by the Tuaregs (1881).

Greatly exaggerated by current rumours, this failure was a serious blow to French prestige in the northern borders of the Sahara. In France it led to absurdly false ideas as to the real strength of the Tuaregs, and for fifteen years the gates of the Sahara were closed to the explorers and soldiers of France. But about 1895 the necessity of directly linking Algeria with the territories recently conquered on the Niger led to resumed activity in this direction. The French began cautiously to push forward on the borders of southern Algeria. The explorer Foureau made a perilous journey as far as the northern slopes of the plateaus of Tademaït and Aur. Then in 1900 the daring expedition of the geologist Flamand led to the occupation of Ain-Salah and gave France the oases of Tidikelt, Tuat, and Gourara, and henceforth the Tuaregs were cut off from their best sources of supplies. About the same time the Foureau-Lamy expedition reached Lake Chad, thus traversing the Sahara from side to side. Finally by the victory of Tit (1902) Lieutenant Cottenest broke the military power of the Tuaregs and made

himself master of the Hoggar region, the home government knowing nothing of his operations until after their success. Since then explorations by experts have become more numerous—such as those of the geologist Chudeau and the geographer Gautier; Père Foucauld, the hermit of Tammanrasset, won by his saintly life the general admiration of the natives; General Laperrine organized the police of the desert by means of camel-corps companies, and later on with the help of the aeroplane. It was thus that he was able to hold the Sahara for his country, despite serious risings during the great war.

One cannot yet talk of any commercial exploitation of the Sahara. After all, every one knows how limited are its resources. But it may certainly be claimed that the 'Peace of France' has by means of scientific measures enriched and extended the oases, and very largely diminished the banditry of the Tuaregs. Yet actually the life of these nomads has not been much altered during the last thirty years, except in so far as the French occupation has ruined some 75 per cent. of the traditional commerce of the Sahara. There is no longer a market for negro slaves, almost an end of the native traffic in salt, woven stuffs, and tinware, and almost an end of the caravans. The nomads have not only lost the tribute they used to levy on the people of the oases, formerly their vassals, but they have also lost the profits they used to make as carriers. Their poverty is on the increase, which means some danger of their being again driven to pillage.

It is likely that 'the best prospects for the future of the Sahara depend on its geographical position' (R. F. Gautier). Already motor-cars have begun to make regular journeys across it, and aircraft fly over it. Will a Trans-Saharan Railway be laid down some day? If this is accomplished, it will perhaps transform the whole life of the great desert.

III. FRANCE IN WEST AFRICA

From the reign of Louis XIII France had some posts on the Senegal coast—St. Louis, Dakar, and Gorée. But all efforts to derive any advantage from these possessions—and notably

those of 1820 and 1830—had ended in failure. Once it ceased to be a market for slaves for the West Indies, the only product supplied by the Senegal was gum, and the abolition of the slave-trade in 1848 all but destroyed its business life.

Under Napoleon III Commandant Faidherbe, an officer of marked ability, raised the colony from its slough of depression and was practically its new founder. Of a calm, methodical temperament he excelled both as an organizer and a soldier, and it was he who planned the formation of a black army for France. This was a stroke of genius, that included a germ of French greatness in Africa, for the French people would never have accepted the enormous expense and above all the effusion of French blood that would have been entailed by a conquest of Black Africa carried out by the sons of the mother country. With this locally recruited army he chastised the Moorish raiders in the north, and crushed the ambitious efforts of the prophet El Hadj Omar, who had formed for himself an empire in the western Sudan, and whom he drove back to the Niger. But, above all, he laboured for the economic development of the colony, deepening the port of Dakar, reconstructing the city of St. Louis, encouraging agriculture, prospecting for mineral deposits, and organizing French education for the negroes. Finally, by a series of explorations he endeavoured to prepare the way for French penetration into Nigerian Africa, of which he held that the Senegal must be the starting-point. When Faidherbe—a man of the type of Bugeaud and Lyautey—resigned the government of the colony in 1865, he had made it the foundation-stone of French West Africa, and had given an irresistible impulse to further progress.

So it came to pass that neither the cautious advice given by the home government under the Third Republic, nor even its express orders against further advances, could prevent the French domination of this region spreading like a drop of oil. Often new territories were conquered without the ministry at Paris being told of what was in progress. There was no general and systematic direction, but numbers of energetic individual initiatives that Paris did not dare to disavow. Hence the

extreme confusion of the records of these years of conquest. Let us note some of their leading events.

1. *The final subjection of the Senegal*, in which the marabout Mahmadou Lamine had once more raised a revolt against France; Colonel Gallieni (who was destined to be the defender of Paris in 1914) crushed out the rising and conquered the upper basin of the Gambia, whilst French penetration in Morocco was in its earlier stage.

2. *The advance to the Niger in accordance with Faidherbe's ideas*. In this direction France was to find itself in conflict with two great negro chiefs—the Sultan Ahmadou, a son of El Hadj Omar, and the Sultan Samory, a methodical, ambitious, and brave leader. Luckily for French designs the two men hated each other. In 1883 Borgnis-Desbordes reached the Niger at Bammako. Between 1883 and 1886 Gallieni, now appointed governor of the French Sudan, linked up the Niger region with the Senegal, and forced Ahmadou to accept a French protectorate, while a series of explorations along the great bend of the Niger prepared the way for a further advance. In 1890, Ahmadou having proved false to his engagements, Commandant Achinard seized his capital, finally broke up his military power, and conquered Kaarta and Macina. In 1894 Bonnier's column having been surprised and cut to pieces, Colonel Joffre (the future victor of the Marne) avenged this defeat by occupying the important city of Timbuctoo on the bend of the great river. Meanwhile Samory, who was terrorizing the negro tribes, was holding his own against some of the best of the French leaders. Defeated again and again, he always reappeared at some other point. This desultory warfare went on for some ten years, until at last a converging movement surrounded him in the Kong country, where Captain Gouraud succeeded in capturing him in 1898.

3. *Organization of French Guinea*. France had long occupied some trading stations in the country of the 'Rivers of the South'. Ballay added to these possessions the Futa-Djallon district, founded Kanakry, thoroughly explored the country and linked it up with the French Sudan.

4. *The conquest of Dahomey.* This was an exceptional enterprise, for it was decided upon by the home government and carefully prepared by the ministry in Paris. The energetic and blood-thirsty negro King Behanzin having attacked a French protégé, France accepted the challenge. Setting out from the coast Colonel Dodds made a difficult march through the dense forests of Dahomey and defeated and captured Behanzin. In 1894 Dahomey became a French colony. A series of explorations linked it up with the French possessions on the Niger, and thus barred the extension of the German colony of Togoland to the northwards.

5. *Peaceful occupation of the Ivory Coast.* This had long been regarded as an unhealthy and undesirable region, and the French Government had refused to support some adventurous traders who were trying to introduce a French element into the country. But at last, almost single-handed, Captain Binger explored it; despite endless difficulties he signed a number of treaties with the native chiefs, and finally connected this country also with the French possessions on the Niger. During these proceedings only a few shots were fired in the northern interior of the country.

6. *Connexion of the Ivory Coast with Dahomey.* This was the work of a military expedition under Voulet-Chanoine, who annexed the rich provinces of Mossi and Gurumi and finally reached Lake Chad. His enterprise was continued by Captain Moll, who secured Zinder for France in 1903 without shedding even one drop of blood. The results thus obtained were of the highest value. They might have been even more important if there had been less apathy and timidity on the part of the home government in France. It might have secured Togoland and even part of the Gold Coast where French traders had obtained great influence before the British intervention. But above all, notwithstanding French explorations, including such remarkable expeditions as that of a naval officer, Ensign Mizon, France had not succeeded in forestalling England in the country of the lower Niger. 'Nigeria', thanks to the energy of her business men and the foresight of her statesmen, was secured by England

to the great loss of the French colonists. England thus acquired the richest and most populous region of West Africa, and Lord Salisbury was able to make his jest about the 'Gallic cock' that 'liked to have light soils in which to scratch'.

Nevertheless, the position of France in this part of the world was remarkably solid. It was further consolidated when in 1895 the French colonies so far founded were united in the single organization of the A.O.F. (*Afrique-Occidentale Française*—French West Africa), under the authority of a governor-general with Dakar for its capital. Since then there has been marked progress.

Although the soil of French West Africa is seldom very rich, it is a country of tillers of the land, rather than of fighting men, and methods of tillage in use among the natives are, comparatively speaking, well advanced. Food products are abundant—maize, wheat, rice, millet, arrowroot, cocoa, coffee, and above all bananas. But it seems as if the two great agricultural resources are likely to be the growing of textile materials (sisal and cotton) and of oil-producing plants (yielding palm-oil, shea-butter, and ground-nut butter). French West Africa has also splendid sources of wealth in its forests, important pastoral resources, and rivers and a sea rich in fish, besides a large variety of mineral deposits, which, however, are not likely to give an abundant yield.

The natural development of the country has been restricted by two adverse factors: (1) the wretched state of its lines of traffic and communication—no roads, nothing but tracks, on which the miserable methods of portage are in full sway, and rivers that are too often unnavigable, and (2) the deficiency in numbers of its population. There are hardly three inhabitants to the square kilometre (a total of 14 millions for 4,800,000 square kilometres). This is the result of the awful rate of infantile mortality, and also among adults of defective diet rendering them more liable to prevalent epidemics. The native race has also been weakened and decimated by centuries of raids and wars, yet in many districts it is gifted with real intelligence. But thanks to the climate and sometimes of under-nourishment

there is an immense prevalence of slacking and levity. One can understand easily how difficult it is to obtain a large output of results from such a people, which besides has still an embarrassing readiness to leave its settlements and emigrate by whole villages at a time.

The problem of population for these territories is thus an extremely serious one, all the more because French immigration is impossible in the climate, and the real colonist must be the native. France has therefore endeavoured to increase both the numbers and the capacity of the inhabitants by providing a more nourishing diet for the native workers, taking measures against such deadly maladies as small-pox, plague, malaria, tuberculosis, and sleeping sickness, and finally by educating the natives, especially in the matter of agricultural training from both the technical and the hygienic point of view. Efforts have also been made to develop irrigation, which is facilitated by the abundant water-supply of the Senegal and the Niger. The colonial government has also organized a large number of agricultural researches and experiments and has done useful work in facilitating the sale of land produce and ensuring its quality. Already there is evidence of good results in several directions.

The plantations of oil-palms have been extending, and the culture of oil-producing nuts has made surprising progress. There is an increased growth of sisal, and serious efforts have been made to organize cotton plantation on a large scale on the Niger. The production of coffee, cocoa, and bananas has also been encouraged, and the exploitation of the forests has begun, and the organization of fisheries on the Moorish coast. Though there is a deficiency of veterinaries in the colony a beginning has been made with measures against epidemic and parasitic maladies in the flocks and herds and there is an attempt to introduce breeds of sheep with good fleeces. But France has paid little attention to introducing any of the modern factory industries, European industry supplying even more than is really required.

But besides all this there is the vital problem of means of

communication. With a view to suppressing portorage, France, in the last thirty years, has laid down several railway lines to open up the interior, and besides these it has constructed more than 32,000 miles of roads or motor-tracks, on which in 1930 there was already the traffic of more than 8,000 motor-cars and lorries, giving immense facilities for the journeys of officials and colonists, and the export of produce. Finally, notwithstanding the unfavourable natural conditions of the sea-coast, it has been busy in equipping some good harbours. Dakar is the most important of these, but Abidjan has a great future as the port for the rich output of the Ivory Coast.

The organization of French West Africa has thus made a beginning and its first results are encouraging. Its colonies now form a united economic group, and the rapid progress of its trade has been interrupted only by the existing world crisis. But its prosperity is much less than that of the Gold Coast and British Nigeria, and the fact that the negroes of the French territory are very ready to emigrate to the English possessions shows that the 'policy of tutelage' adopted by the French government is not yet the best that can be imagined.

IV. FRANCE IN EQUATORIAL AFRICA

In 1875 the French colony of Gaboon had very little value. Yet it was the embryo of an empire which now includes more than a million square miles in French Equatorial Africa. But in the creation of this new empire the will of the government counted for very little, and everything was the result of one man's initiative. This man was a naval officer, Savorgnan de Brazza. In his first expedition he explored the course of the river Ogowe and the adjacent country, and persuaded the local chiefs to accept the protection of France (1875-8). In a second expedition he reached the Lower Congo, induced the negro King Makoko to declare himself a protégé of France, founded Brazzaville, and explored the course of the Kuilu-Niari river (1879-81). During a third journey he extended towards the Upper Congo, the Sanga, and the Ubangi the new French Empire he was founding, and prevented Stanley—who was

acting in the name of Leopold II and the Congo Free State—from intruding on the territories he claimed for France. All this he accomplished with insignificant material resources and without shedding a drop of blood. This one man possessed a marvellous influence over the negroes, whom he had delivered from the slave-hunters. He literally fascinated them with his kindly bearing and personal charm. This was the secret of his strength.

Attempts were soon made to link up this 'French Congo' with French West Africa. The first of these, that of the explorer Paul Crampel, cost his life (1891). But step by step French expeditions pushed on to Lake Chad, in spite of innumerable difficulties, through forests, bush country, and marshes. In 1900 three French columns, one coming from the Congo, another from the French Sudan, and a third across the Sahara from Algeria, met on the shores of Lake Chad. They inflicted an irreparable defeat on the last of the great negro sultans, Rabah, who was killed in battle. After this one could travel from Algiers to Brazzaville without anywhere leaving French territory. In the following years the united French possessions were further enlarged by the conquest of various territories in central Africa, notably the wild country of Wadai, a land of plundering raiders and slave-dealers (1910-11), and of Borgu and Tibesti (1913).

For a while France had had a more daring dream. Realizing the mistake she had made in 1881 in allowing England practically to expel her from Egypt, where till then she had held so splendid a position, she had hoped, in the words of President Carnot, 'to reopen the Egyptian question' by taking up a position on the banks of the Upper Nile. This was the objective assigned to Marchand's expedition. Starting from the Upper Congo in the summer of 1897, he explored the region of the Upper Ubangi and Mbomu, and not without unheard-of suffering made his way through the forests and marshes of the Bahr-el-Ghazal, and at last reached the Upper Nile at Fashoda in July, 1898. Two months later the Sirdar Kitchener arrived at Fashoda, coming up the river from the battle-field where he

had completely defeated the Mahdists, and bringing with him a gunboat flotilla and British and native troops. He had volunteered for service in the French army in the Franco-German War. After landing his force and hoisting and saluting the British and Egyptian flags, he invited Marchand to meet him, and told him that if he came as an explorer he would welcome him and congratulate him on a splendid feat of enterprise and endurance, but if he claimed to have occupied Fashoda for France he must demand his withdrawal. It was agreed that Marchand should refer the decision to his government. England and France were on the verge of war, and the first preparations began on both sides. But the French Government had the good sense not to engage in such a perilous conflict for so small a stake, and the Marchand expedition evacuated Fashoda.

Even though Brazza exaggerated its immediate value, French Equatorial Africa has very considerable resources. There is abundance of timber, and especially of the fine woods used by the cabinet-maker. There is rubber, though this has now fallen in value. Ivory has almost ceased to be available and there is not much production of oil. Cattle-raising has become impossible on account of the tsetse-fly, except in the region about Lake Chad, which has large herds of cattle and flocks of sheep. The manioc, millet, maize, sesame, tobacco, and bananas can give good results, as well as cocoa, coffee, and potato-growing. Not much is yet known of the mineral deposits of the country, but it is certain that it can yield a good deal of copper, and also gold, lead, and manganese and perhaps petroleum.

But the country has a very scanty population (about 5 to the square mile). Decimated in the recent past by wars, the slave-trade, and cannibalism, and in the present by endemic and epidemic disease, and enfeebled by a chronic insufficiency of nourishment, the population, certainly amounting to not more than $4\frac{1}{2}$ millions, is exceptionally backward. Its productive output is very small, and the climate is too trying for a white population to form permanent settlements here. The French (about 2,500 in all) only supply a number of organizers and directors and they are chiefly to be found in the coast district.

There are no colonists in the interior. Not knowing how otherwise to develop the country, the government entrusted this task to a number of commercial companies (1893-1910). The result was a lamentable failure, and at times scandalous abuses. These companies were abolished, but things did not go better. Shamefully neglected by the home government, French Equatorial Africa had an execrably bad reputation in France. It was regarded as 'a region of defalcation, robbery and extortion, sickness and death'. No one thought of taking any active interest in it. In 1911 the abandonment of a large territory of the colony to form the 'German Cameroons' seemed like a death sentence.

The victory of 1918 repaid it for this loss, restoring four-fifths of the Cameroons (conquered mostly by French troops). But what followed was hardly encouraging. The construction of the 'Congo-Ocean' railway, undertaken without any serious preparation, and directed with criminal carelessness, cost the lives of thousands of negroes, and caused the flight of whole tribes. This is one of the saddest pages in the history of French colonization. But at last, at the moment when a tremendous disaster seemed to be impending, a recovery began. Governor Antonetti, a really capable chief, took in hand the affairs of French Equatorial Africa, and in the last seven years many things seem to have changed for the better.

Something has been done to protect the health of the population (especially against the terrible 'sleeping sickness') and thus promote its increase and the produce of its labour. Education has been taken in hand, and for some years the progress of the missions has been remarkable. There are further plans for increasing the material possessions of the native population, hence the efforts to organize agriculture, especially the rubber- and oil-producing cultures, sisal and cotton plantations, and to improve the herds of the Chad region, and find some inoculation against the ravages of the tsetse-fly. There has been prospecting for minerals, and a survey of the water power of the colony. Here, too, the solution of the problem of internal communications is essential to the development of the resources of the country. A beginning has been made in the work of clear-

ing away the obstacles in the lower course of the chief rivers, and making their banks secure; several thousands of miles of roads have been made, with the result of less use of portage by gangs of carriers; and finally the construction of the Congo-Ocean railway (from the main navigable stream above the rapids and falls to the sea) has been completed. It links Brazzaville, the capital of the colony, with the new port of Pointe Noire, which is likely to be the outlet for the trade of all central Africa. France is working hard to make it the Dakar of the Congo region.

One may sum up the situation by saying that almost everything has still to be done in French Equatorial Africa. It will suffer for some time to come through the unpardonable neglect with which it was treated for so many years by the mother country. But one can now forecast a better future, for a considerable amount of French capital is now beginning to be invested in the colony—'better late than never'.

V. FRANCE ON THE SOMALI COAST

France holds a very unimportant position in east Africa. The prospect of the completion of the Suez Canal turned the attention of Napoleon III to the necessity of having an outpost at the mouth of the Red Sea. He made the assassination of a French consular official by Somali brigands in 1862 the occasion for securing the purchase of the harbour and roadstead of Obok from the Sultan of Tadjura. For some years France seemed careless about making any use of it—but the conquest of Tonkin made it advisable to have a port of call on the route by the canal to Indo-China, so attention was given to this Red Sea port. Obok gained very little from this temporary local activity, for a French agent realized that there was a much more favourable position, at the head of the Gulf of Tadjura, and bought a tract of land there in the name of his government. In the midst of the bush country on the shore, a huddle of native huts was replaced by the little town of Djibouti with an excellent sheltered harbour.

French Somaliland is a small colony that so far has no

history. The home country takes very little interest in it. Its agriculture is on a small scale, and there is not much activity in the way of cattle raising. Its only value arises from its position on the great sea route from Europe to the Far East, and the fact that it has become a gateway for Abyssinia. The railway line from Djibouti to Addis Ababa, constructed by French capital and engineering, has given the port a considerable business activity, but it can hardly hope to be the outlet of all the trade of Ethiopia. Most of the business of the port is simply dealing with what passes through it, and this will be the situation as long as there are so few French residents or traders in the little colony, where almost everything has yet to be done.

VI. FRANCE IN MADAGASCAR

The base of French operations in the Indian Ocean was for a long time the island group of the Mascarenhas to the east of Madagascar, which Labourdonnais developed into a prosperous colony in the eighteenth century. But after the fall of Napoleon I France was only able to retain one of the islands—Île Bourbon, now known as Réunion. It is a remarkable fact that this old tropical colony is in the fullest original sense of the word a new home of people from the mother country. Of its 187,000 inhabitants, 130,000 are French. But its wealth, which is entirely derived from agricultural products, has very seriously declined. It is difficult to obtain good outlets for its produce, its sugar, its quinine, and even of its vanilla, though it has all but a monopoly of this last. So its trade has considerably decreased during the last eighty years.

Madagascar has thus become the vitally important possession of France in the Indian Ocean, and it was in Madagascar that the colonial enterprise of France had its beginning in this part of the world. Two facts, almost unparalleled in French colonial history, are prominent features in the record of this colony: (1) though repeatedly occupied only to be abandoned, the great island always had an attraction for the French; their repeated failures did not make them shrink from fresh efforts, and at last they triumphed; (2) England, though extremely

hostile to any French occupation of Madagascar, ended by agreeing to it.

As early as 1642 a French expedition had founded Fort Dauphin on the west coast of the island, and Louis XIV took an interest in the colonization of Madagascar. But lack of money, of good management, and also of colonial experience, and the obstacles of the climate and the hostility of the natives led to the failure of the undertaking and the abandonment of Madagascar. For nearly a hundred and fifty years France thought no more about it, but only of its colony in the Mascarenhas islands, then in the full tide of success. At the beginning of the reign of Louis XVI, a Polish adventurer, Benyowski, made an attempt on his own initiative to create a French kingdom in Madagascar. He failed and came to a miserable end. The ambitious schemes of Napoleon I in the Indian Ocean gave, so far as Madagascar was concerned, only insignificant results—the foundation of a very small settlement at Tamatave. But the Treaties of 1815 omitted any cancellation of French historical claims on Madagascar, and despite the bitter hostility of Sir Robert Farquhar, the governor of Mauritius, she was able to keep them in existence.

Nevertheless, as the result of the extremely timid attitude of Louis Philippe in his relations with England, these claims might well have become all but mere ideals, if the savagery of the natives had not forced the French to retaliate, and but for the initiative of a few individuals establishing important French enterprises in Madagascar. Besides this the governor of the Île Bourbon established some useful outposts close up to the great island, by occupying Mayotte in the Comoro Islands (in the wide strait between Madagascar and the African mainland), and the island of Nossi Bé on the north-west coast. But it was only under the Second Empire that the real enterprise which gave Madagascar to France began—an effort often ill directed but none the less pursued with unfailing tenacity.

Some French men of business, who had gained immense influence at the Hova court, obtained from King Radama an agreement, known as the 'Lambert Charter', which created

something very like a French protectorate in Madagascar. The violent opposition of the British Government and of the English Protestant missionaries encouraged the 'old Hova' party to attempt a palace revolution against this foreign intervention. Radama was assassinated and his death ended the agreement set forth in the 'Lambert Charter'. But the charter had provided a precedent for French action which was not forgotten.

So despite the hostility of the English—consuls, missionaries, and traders—and the Francophobia of the Hovas, some energetic individuals—such as the explorer Grandidier—in the face of all difficulties maintained the French claims on the island. Jules Ferry's government supported them, and a naval blockade of Madagascar compelled the Hovas to recognize the French protectorate (1885). Le Myre de Vilers, a capable resident-general, tried by pacific methods to secure the realization of this agreement, but it was mere loss of time. The Hovas, determined to get rid of any French tutelage, made war preparations on such a scale that a rupture followed in 1894.

Queen Ranavalona and her prime minister had thus risked an armed conflict in the fixed persuasion that they would have the support of England. London was fairly tired of Madagascar, and almost reconciled to seeing the French established as masters of the island, so it gave the Hovas only a vague moral support. They were very near being saved by the French having to deal with 'General Fever'. For the expedition of 1895, very poorly organized and equipped, almost ended in failure, not in face of the resistance of the Hovas (who did not inflict a loss of more than about a hundred killed and wounded on their opponents) but on account of the difficult character of the country and still more its unhealthy climate. Some 2,500 of the French died of fever. When a lamentable disaster seemed imminent, General Duchesne got together all the men who were still fit for active service, made a bold dash for the Hova capital, and stormed Tananarivo on the 30th September 1895. The queen realized that her power had collapsed and accepted the French protectorate.

But this submission, like its predecessor, was only a subterfuge. The Hova government showed such ill will to France

that the island had to be annexed. But a widespread revolt nearly swept away the French dominion (1896). The situation was saved by General Gallieni. Appointed governor-general and acting at once with stern severity he sent four chiefs and members of the Hova government to face a firing party, proclaimed the deposition of the queen, and sent her into exile in Algeria. This came as a stunning blow to the natives, and thus spared much effusion of blood. He quickly restored peace and order in the island, and then, showing that he was an able organizer as well as a soldier, this great leader—of whom Marshal Lyautey has always proudly described himself as a pupil—abolished slavery and forced labour and at the same time prepared the development of the island's trade. When he retired in 1908 order reigned throughout the country; the work of the geographical exploration of Madagascar, and the investigation of its geology, botany, and available water-power had already made good progress. It was considered possible to revert to a system of civil government. The successors of General Gallieni have done their best to imitate their famous predecessor.

There is no large number of French in Madagascar—only 22,200, and there are not more than 2,500 Europeans of other nationalities, including 1,600 English. Here too the real colonists, those who devote themselves to agriculture, are few in number. Most of the French are soldiers, officials—or, like the other Europeans, business men and directors of factories. Madagascar is too far from the mother country, and in France its climate has a bad reputation, and finally France has too few colonists to send across the sea.

So one cannot hope that the contact with this handful of white folk—however energetic they may be—will be enough to transform Madagascar. Here once more the development of the colony must depend on the native element. The island is under-populated, notwithstanding the high birth-rate of its races. There are hardly 15 inhabitants to the square mile. This is the result of the number of prevalent maladies, chronic under-defective alimentation, and the far too widespread abuse of alcoholic drinks. Altogether this lack of a numerous popula-

tion is a terrible handicap on the economic development of the island. France, which has here adopted a policy of co-operation with the native races, and organized a native system of administration under the control of the colonial government, could not neglect the problem of providing labour for the colony. Hardly having made much success in the attempt to attract Hindus, Chinese, or even Africans to the island, it has practically forbidden any emigration from it. It has tried various systems of grants in kind to supplement pay, and an attractive propaganda of bonuses on voluntary labour engagements. It has decided that half of the young Malagassies are to fulfil their duty of military service by being employed as pioneers on the public works instead of drilling in barracks. Finally, in some special cases, and when no other resource could be found, it has reluctantly and temporarily introduced forced labour on public works.

But above all it has endeavoured to increase the numbers of the population, and improve its working capacity. It has displayed great activity in its sanitary policy. It has done extensive work in the draining of the marshes, organized on an average a medical centre for every 5,600 inhabitants, and opened a series of district hospitals and educated a number of native doctors, and it has decided to establish in each chief town or village of a district a special dispensary to deal with locally endemic diseases, malaria, tuberculosis, leprosy, &c., by treatment and by instruction in preventive hygiene.

Besides all this Gallieni gave a notable impulse to native education, which has made marked progress. In the primary schools, both public and those under private direction, there are now nearly 200,000 pupils. The object in view is not to turn out a crowd of half-educated 'savants', but to train good workers and skilled hands for the field and the farm.

A completely new system of communications has been created. In 1895 there was not a paved road, and no public building except the royal palace. Madagascar has now more than three thousand miles of roads fit for motor traffic.

On the eastern coast of the island the Pangalanes Canal has

been constructed, which spares the coasting craft the dangers of a difficult piece of navigation on the open sea. Some railway lines have been laid down, the most notable being that from the east coast to the central plateau. What is still backward is the equipment of the ports.

Serious efforts have been made to develop the products of the island. The veterinary service of the colony is endeavouring to improve the breeds of cattle, the chief riches of the country. Native agriculture depends chiefly on rice and manioc. To these France has added the growing of vanilla, cocoa, coffee, and spices, and has made interesting trials of cotton growing. The irrigation service has been very helpful to the rice-growing districts. The Agricultural Service has made many experiments with a view to sparing the natives and the colonists loss through ill-directed methods; it has organized a system of loans to the farmers; dealt with the attacks of locust swarms and worked at the reorganization of the forests, which had been wasted and ruined by the natives. Finally, methodical prospecting (still far from complete) has revealed a great variety of mineral resources, though so far only graphite and mica have been worked to any extent, and the only existing industries are those depending on agriculture. Nevertheless, until the recent world crisis, the commerce of the island had made steady progress.

But Madagascar has not had the advantage of much favourable notice in the French press, and the time is still far off when it can hope to be a French possession that can vie with British South Africa. However, the island possesses a wide range of resources, and has a safe future if its development by France is carried on with method and patience.

To sum up the colonial situation, France holds a very great position in Africa, second only to that of England. This vast dominion, with all its varied features, is the centre of the French colonial empire of to-day, and its trade represents an important part of the national wealth. Yet it is only in the beginning of the development of this wealth, and the mother country could derive much more important profit from it; if there were more colonists, more available capital, and a more vigorous colonial

policy supported by a better informed and more enthusiastic public opinion in the home land there might be far better results. But for this there must be an end of the policy of niggardly economies, a ruinous method which is followed everywhere except in Morocco. French activities in Africa have been, and still are, of unequal value, though the methods followed are throughout much the same. Everywhere France, instead of boldly asserting the superiority of an imperial race over the natives, has preferred to adopt the policy of association with them, and instead of the Gospel of Christ (in which the French government takes no interest, and of which any knowledge is diffused only through the individual efforts of the missionaries) prides itself on bringing them the gospel of the Rights of Man, and with it that of material prosperity. Are these political ideas the best for Africa? We cannot discuss the question here. Are these pretensions justified by results? It is difficult to reply. But assuredly French colonization has its admirable features from many points of view. Thanks to it, an enormous extent of Africa has been awakened to modern life, both materially and intellectually. But, as in all European colonies, there have been many abuses. The opening up of new lines of communication has assisted the diffusion of local diseases almost as much as it has aided the struggle against them; the natives have often been exploited; and the white man's part in developing these countries has received little or no adequate reward. It is a still graver fact that here as elsewhere the contact of two totally different civilizations, and the adaptation of the negro to the life and ideas that France brings before him, has not been carried into effect without some painful results. But serious as such drawbacks may be, ought they lead us to overlook the fact that French colonization has been for Africa a source of peace, security, and industry? Only the future can give an answer. At the moment the historian realizes only that colonial expansion in various parts of the world is perhaps the leading feature in the record of modern Europe, and in this respect, France—especially in Africa—has played worthily its part as a great European Power.

VII. THE MISSIONARIES IN FRENCH AFRICA

The survey of our subject would be very incomplete if we left out of account another aspect of French penetration in Africa—the work of the Christian missionaries. It is a fact that it has had only in exceptional cases the support of the French government. In North Africa the Monarchy of July did not venture on any attempt at making converts. Its chief consideration was to avoid irritating the Moslems, and the Second Empire—which, however, regarded the missionaries as useful agents in extending French influence—was almost as cautious. There was no need of this kind of discretion in the pagan countries of Negro Africa, but it was only under the Third Republic that France carved out a dominion for herself in these regions. But as is well known the Church was almost from the outset regarded with suspicion by the Republican Government, and the Christian missions inevitably suffered from the unbelief of the rulers of France. The strict neutrality which the party in power assumed as its attitude towards them was not likely to assist their efforts. But there was something worse than this—as, for instance, the spectacle of Augagneur, as governor-general of Madagascar, showing a determined opposition to every idea of religion. But happily such cases were rare, for in the colonies Frenchmen had too much need of each other's help to waste their energies in barren friction and quarrels.

France being mainly a Catholic country, the evangelization of the French colonies in Africa has been chiefly the work of Catholic missionaries. Notwithstanding so much decay of faith in the home country money has come in freely, and the workers in the mission field, reinforced if need be by French-speaking Belgians, Swiss, and Canadians, are very numerous. In a word, the work of the missions has never been so prosperous as it is to-day. It is still benefiting by the immense influence exerted upon it by Cardinal Lavigerie. This prelate—one of the most splendid types of the Catholicity of the nineteenth century—displayed a well-directed energy and an enterprising spirit worthy of his piety and virtues.

The special field of operations for the missions which he founded was Moslem Africa, and this precisely because of the extreme difficulty of the task of the missionaries in Mohammedan lands. Though Louis Philippe used to say that 'the Arabs would never be French unless they were converted', the official administration practically barred the effort to win them to the Christian faith. But Lavigerie, when he became archbishop of Algiers in 1866, had no idea that there should be a persistent abandonment to Islam of the Berbers, who are not Arabs, and whose ancestors had been Christians in far off times. Not content only with inspiring a real crusade against slavery and the slave trade among the negroes, he succeeded in obtaining from Napoleon III freedom for the apostolate of Africa. With this in view he founded the Society of the Missionaries of Africa (popularly known as the 'White Fathers') and that of the 'Missionary Sisters of Our Lady of Africa' (the 'White Sisters'). But with all this he showed the utmost prudence in the policy he commended to his helpers: 'Do not urge any one to become a Christian, for this is not yet the time for making converts—it is the time for winning hearts. All that you do beyond this will only ruin the work, but when the favourable moment comes everything will easily fall into your hands, like ripe fruit falling from the branch.' He insisted in the first place on charitable works—care for the sick, teaching for the children. A fearful epidemic of cholera and then the terrible famine of 1867 gave him the opportunity for the practical action of his ideas. No one did more than he accomplished for alleviating the sufferings of the natives, and the hundreds of orphans whom he rescued gave him converts to Catholicism. They were settled in villages specially founded for them, and these settlements are now like real bits of France in northern Africa, and the best of proofs that only the conversion of the natives will give a solution of the Algerian problem. 'This is the only attempt at assimilation that has been a success', said the Governor-General De Gueydon. Outside these villages the majority of the natives who have been baptized are in the missions of the White Fathers in Kabylia. They number nearly a thousand. The Fathers are

waiting patiently for the hour of an abundant harvest, which humanly speaking is not likely to come for a long time.

In Tunisia it is much the same. The apostolate of the missions has to face terrible difficulties. However, even if actual conversions are still rare, the devoted charity of the White Fathers has won for them the real goodwill of the native population. We have lately seen the Bey and the princes of his family giving their friendly assistance in organizing the International Eucharistic Congress of Carthage, and it has been possible to restore in the same place its ancient historical archiepiscopate.

In Morocco the Moslem position is an exceedingly strong one. However, since the French occupation, in addition to the Vicariate Apostolic of Tangier in the Spanish zone, the Vicariate of Rabat has been established in the French protectorate. But, in accordance with Cardinal Lavigerie's original instructions, the action of the missionaries on the natives is still only indirect. So far there are only some individual conversions, and these are few in number.

As for the Sahara, Cardinal Lavigerie had hardly received ecclesiastical jurisdiction over this region when the Jesuits asked to be given the honour of bringing the Gospel to it. In the borderlands of Southern Algeria they have partly overcome the hostility of the natives, without, however, as yet bringing them to baptism. In the heart of the great desert, the heroic hermit, Charles de Foucauld, in his solitary life has shown the Touaregs what (to use their expression) a 'great Christian marabout can be'. But the seed he has thus sown is not yet sprouting into a harvest.

In the Africa of the negro races fetishism is usually much less difficult to deal with than Mohammedanism. But in French West Africa the latter has made great progress, and the French conquest has to a marked extent excited Moslem fanaticism—a terrible obstacle to the efforts of the missionaries. Nevertheless, there have been so far some notable results. For in French West Africa the native Catholics now number close on 120,000. In Senegal there has been only some slight success, but in the

Ivory Coast colony there are more than 33,000 converts, in French Togoland 38,000, and in Dahomey, 30,000. Everywhere the missionaries are caring for the sick and the suffering and opening schools, and the formation of a native clergy has already begun to give most valuable assistance to them.

Still more remarkable are the successes of the *Pères du St. Esprit* and the *Pères du Sacré Cœur* in French Equatorial Africa and the Cameroons. This progress has been secured in spite of the fact that the climate is a particularly trying one; the scattered character of the population makes it very difficult to reach them; and the introduction of European civilization under the aspect of the most cynically materialistic pursuit of gain is not calculated to improve native morals. Nevertheless, the missionaries undertook their task with cheerful courage. At the outset they were under the direction of Mgr. Augouard, who was one of the most energetic supporters of De Brazza. The harvest came soon. In French Equatorial Africa there are now more than 112,000 Catholics, and in the French Cameroons—where before 1919 the German missionaries had done splendid work—there are more than 180,000. Only that there are now many native priests, and the natives as catechists assist in the instruction of their fellow countrymen, the missionaries would be absolutely overwhelmed by their task. To quote the words of the French administrator of this region: 'There is no reason why we should not believe that in fifty or a hundred years from the present time all the country to the south of the 10th degree of North Latitude will have become Christian.'

In Madagascar the Jesuits and the *Pères du Saint-Esprit* have to face the position already held by Protestantism in the island. However, the native Catholics now number nearly 440,000, and this number is continually increasing. Here, too, many Catholic schools have been established and a native clergy is being formed.

There are not a million Protestants in France—in 1919 they numbered less than 700,000. Their efforts in the mission field cannot therefore be as widely organized as those of their Catholic fellow Christians. Nevertheless, their work is far from

being inconsiderable and, of the eight spheres of action to which the Paris Société des Missions Évangéliques sends its missionaries, six are in Africa. These are:

1. *Senegal*, a mission founded as long ago as 1861. The ambitious hopes of its early years have not yet been realized.

2. *Gaboon*, founded in 1892. The work of the mission has had to contend with the serious difficulties already noted in describing the Catholic missions. But for some years there has been marked progress of Protestantism. There are less than 15,000 adherents with among them some notable negro preachers.

3. *The Cameroons*. In 1919, all the German Protestant missionaries having been sent back to Germany, they were replaced by French Protestants. There are now at least 65,000 Protestant natives in the Cameroons, and there is a tendency to an increase of conversions.

4. *Madagascar*. Here the task had been energetically taken in hand by English missionaries. After 1896 French Protestant missionaries united their efforts with those of their British colleagues. At the present time the majority of the schools are those of the 'evangelical' missions. A native Protestant organization has been founded, which supports a number of missionary preachers. Of all the French colonies Madagascar is that in which Protestantism has the largest number of adherents.

The fifth mission of the Paris society is that of the *Upper Zambezi*, founded by the most celebrated of the French Protestant missionaries, Francis Caillard. The sixth is that of *Basutoland*, where the French Protestant mission dates from 1833; nowhere else have these missions secured more successful results. But as these two missions are outside the French possessions we can only refer to them here.

For the same reason we can only make a brief allusion to the numerous French Catholic missions in Liberia, on the Gold Coast, in Nigeria, Rhodesia, in Natal, and in Abyssinia, and above all those of Uganda, where their success has been marvellous. The converts had to endure a ferocious persecution at the hands of King Mwanga in the early times of the mission,

but now out of a little over three millions of natives 270,000 have already been received into the Catholic Church.

The native populations owe innumerable material benefits to the missionaries. Directly or indirectly these have saved many hundred thousand lives and dealt with millions of cases of illness; where they have been successful they have given the negroes the ideals of peaceful industry; they have roused their minds to intelligent curiosity and sought to satisfy it. On the moral aspects of life they have been almost alone in carrying on the good fight against the pernicious tendencies and malevolent instincts of the tribes. They, and they only, have brought a remedy for the spiritual and religious misery of the natives, especially of the pagan races; besides this, when there have been abuses of a power to the detriment of these poor people no one has been more courageous in denouncing them than the missionaries have been.

But France also has derived immense advantages from their labours. None better than the missionaries has understood the mentality of the natives and gained their confidence. They see in these teachers not a rapacious tyrant but a protector, so the missionaries have won for their country the warm friendship of the people among whom they do their work. They have been the first Europeans to penetrate into many districts of Africa. They know the country and its people better than any one else, and they have often been able to give helpful information to officers, business men, and colonists, and above all to those charged with the administration. They have considerably assisted the finances of the colonies by undertaking a great part of the education of the children and the treatment of the sick. Finally, they have often rendered great services to science. For instance, no one has done more for the archaeology of Carthage and Tunisia than Père Delattre, one of the White Fathers; no one has more thoroughly investigated the climate of Madagascar than the Jesuit Father, Père Poisson, and it was by the Protestant evangelists Arbousset and Casalis that the Lesuto, the Caledon River, and the Montaux Sources were explored.

So it is that all clear-sighted representatives of the colonial administration tell how very pleased they are at finding their heavy task facilitated by the co-operation of the missions. Thus we find Bruel, the chief of the colonial administration of French Equatorial Africa, writing in 1929, 'The influence of conversions on the mentality and social life of the natives is already considerable;' and in 1913 a veteran of Africa, General Baratier, 'If we are to reform the ideals and beliefs of the native why not make use of a religion which is ready to our hands? No unprejudiced man can fail to reverence the devoted work of the missionaries.'

This testimony of an African officer of long experience, this homage of an unbeliever, are worth bearing in mind. The priests and monks, the pastors, and the nuns and deaconesses with their courage more wonderful than even that of the men, have assuredly been among the best colonizers that France has ever sent to Africa.

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ITALY IN AFRICA

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ITALY IN AFRICA

ITALY IN EAST AFRICA

IN 1857 the Government of the Kingdom of Sardinia, anticipating the influence that the opening of the Suez Canal would have on the development of Africa, thought to conclude a treaty with some of the most powerful of the Abyssinian princes. In this matter the minister turned for advice and guidance to Monsignor Massaia, Vicar-Apostolic of the Gallas, whose zeal prompted him to abandon a life of ease and comfort for the privations and dangers of the Ethiopian missions. But this attempt proved premature, because of the deplorable conditions then prevailing in Ethiopia, the tremendous tasks confronting the government of Turin, and the still prevalently continental tendency of the Piedmontese policy, a tendency that asserted itself a few years later when the opportunity for a decisive political action in Tunis was neglected.

In 1858 Monsignor Massaia, replying to the government from Lagamara Genoma, said he 'considered this co-operation which had been attempted without success for three centuries an honourable cause', adding: 'I should indeed be happy if Sardinia which for some time past has been assuming a glorious political position among the European powers, could succeed in obtaining the rank of other nations who actively participate in the Church of Christ, as for instance France, Austria, and we may add, England.'

The Degiasmacc-Negussié, the ruler of the district extending from Samhar near Massowah to the neighbourhood of Gondar, made definite proposals, declaring himself ready to cede a province of his states near the Red Sea in exchange for the dispatch of a few hundred soldiers to assist him in the dispersion of the army of King Theodore.

The offer, which reached Turin after the fall of the Count of Cavour, could not at that moment attain any result, partly on account of the events accompanying the achievement of the unity of Italy. The same negative fate awaited the suggestions

of Father Stella of the Keren Mission, who had hastened to inform Turin of the 'possibility of establishing one of the most flourishing colonies in the spacious province of Hamasen, the richest and most fertile of Abyssinia'. Nor had the negotiations with Portugal any result, though its government seemed for awhile disposed to cede Angola to Italy.

But meanwhile, and more especially after the campaign against Austria in 1866, many proposals and desires were brought forward for the foundation of an oversea settlement. The upholders of this new policy were prompted to action by the increasing proportions of emigration already effected by:

- (1) the constantly increasing effects of the industrial revolution;
- (2) the rapid development of communications by land and sea which, by diminishing the effects of distance, gave surplus labour in Italy the opportunity of making a bid in foreign markets where it was practically certain to find acceptance on advantageous conditions.

In 1869 there were 119,806 emigrants, and this number rapidly increased during the following years. The desirability of safeguarding so numerous and fertile a contingent of the national power from the uncertainties of foreign labour and the danger of denationalization, by offering them a corner of the globe under Italian sovereignty, became imperative. Despite the lack of all definite action towards this aim, it persisted as a vague aspiration, never entirely forgotten. At the same time there was the necessity of contact with wide zones capable of furnishing the raw materials in which the mother country was so notably deficient, and simultaneously offering an opening free from foreign competition for the national industries.

These attempts were rendered more difficult by the rapid and flourishing development of the overseas and industrial commerce of other states.

At the period of the achievement of Italian unity the commercial fleet was approaching a crisis that was to prove long

and serious. The large amounts of capital invested in seafaring enterprise had been mainly devoted to sailing ships. Recent improvements in steamships had made them serious competitors and led to a difficult crisis in the chartering of sailing craft. Foremost in the countless suggestions proposed to improve the situation was that of the acquisition of oversea colonies.

After the first phase of the revolt against the foreigner, many young energies were tending towards another field of action. Africa, the hitherto neglected continent, from which explorers returned with a nimbus of popularity and whose hour had now struck, seemed to offer them the desired opportunity.

In 1866 the Chamber of Commerce of Genoa, seconding desires already formulated elsewhere, urged the desirability that 'Italy, too, should acquire possession of some port, in which she might find assistance and justice from her compatriots, offering her a country where the Italian flag was, or was likely to become a frequent factor'. A similar desire was expressed by the 'Lombard Institute of Sciences, Letters and Arts'.

A great event, the opening of the Suez Canal, gave an incentive and an initiative direction to these numerous vague and fluctuating aspirations. This turned attention to East Africa, already in the foreground on account of the campaign conducted by England against King Theodore.

On the 15th November 1869 Professor Giuseppe Sapeto purchased the territory between Mount Ganga and Cape Lumak for the Rubattino Society from the brothers Hassan and Ibrahim ben Ahmad, sultans of Assab. In virtue of a second contract this purchase was extended to include the island of Om-el-Bakar, Ras-er-raml, the group of the Darmarchie, and the whole coast between Ras Lumak and Ras Sintyar, with a small hinterland. Sapeto believed that Assab might develop into a good emporium for commercial traffic between Europe and the plateaux of Ethiopia, to the general advantage of commerce—a view which was shared by many others. But it was many years before the transaction gave any practical results, beyond the establishment of a coaling station for the Rubattino Steamship Company.

The enterprise of Assab had been the work of private individuals who, in conformity with general principles of public law, when arranging the purchase regarded it as a step to the sovereignty of the Italian Government. But Egypt, supported by the British and the Ottoman Governments, protested against the Italian venture at Assab being developed into a territorial organization, and it was not until the revolt of Arabi in Egypt diverted attention from minor issues, that, in 1882, Italy by an Act of the Parliament in Rome declared Assab an Italian colony and a local administration for the new territory was formed.

Meanwhile the idea of establishing relations between Italy and Abyssinia was resumed by Menelik, who in 1872 sent Aba-Michael as his emissary to Rome. In response, the Italian Government in 1876 sent a mission organized by the Geographical Society. Marchese Orazio Antinori, favourably known on account of previous voyages, was proposed to head it. The expedition, after having visited the king of Shoa, had to move south to explore the country of the Gallas and to study the orography and hydrography of the districts between the valley of the Nile and the Indian Ocean, traversing hitherto unexplored paths off the beaten track.

Through the intermediary of Monsignor Massaia, the Station of Letmarafia, suitable for the collection of geological specimens and for a resting station, was ceded to the Geographical Society. Menelik's object in thus favouring the new arrivals was to have at his disposal the supply of arms and munitions that he had dreamed of for so many years and which would give him the means of asserting his power with regard to the king of Ethiopia. Assab would be a useful base for the realization of this programme, which the Italian Government erroneously judged to be in harmony with its own aims.

Treaties of friendship and commerce concluded between Mohammed Anfari, sultan of Aussa and chief of the Danakil, and the Italian representative, gave the right of way between Aussa and the kingdom of Shoa to all Italian caravans travelling to and from the sea. The friendship between Italy and

Shoa was enforced by further treaties and Menelik, who assumed the attitude of a rival of King Johannes, was guaranteed valid support.

Meanwhile the lightning successes of Mahdism forced Egypt to evacuate the Sudan. London at first believed it possible to rely on Abyssinian support. On this understanding a treaty of friendship was concluded at Adowa on the 3rd June 1884, signed by the Negus Johannes, by Sir William Hewett, Rear-Admiral Commander-in-Chief of the English Squadron in the East Indies, and by Mason Bey, Governor of Massowah. In Article III of this treaty the Negus 'engages to facilitate the withdrawal of the troops by his Highness the Khedive from Kassala, Amedib, and Sanhib through Ethiopia to Massowah'.

As a result of the increasing successes of the Mahdi, who by the sole presence of his hordes annulled the work of civilization laboriously accomplished in the Sudan, Anglo-Italian interests were merged. Rome was thus encouraged to extend the hitherto limited base of her activities in the Red Sea.

It was decided to undertake the Massowah expedition. The expeditionary force landed there on the 5th February 1885, just as the news of the fate of Khartoum and Gordon's end became known. One of the aims of this expedition was frustrated at the outset by the epilogue of the Sudan drama. The dawn of a period of doubts and contradictory measures appeared inevitable.

The news of the Italian activities aroused the violent resentment of the Negus, who had always kept an eye on Massowah. He regarded the inevitable Italian occupation of that territory constituting the radius of activity and the supply zone for Massowah as a menace. Above all, the occupation of Wa called forth the indignation of Ras Alula, a chief held in high consideration by the Negus. At Dogali, on the 26th January 1887, Ras Alula, despite vigorous resistance, surprised and overwhelmed a detachment of infantry accompanying a food-supply column to Saati.

Sir Gerald Portal was entrusted with an English proposal of mediation made to avoid further hostilities. But the only

result he could report on his return was that the Negus had reassembled all his troops.

The advance guards of the contending forces were in contact without taking action from November 1887 until the end of March 1888. The Negus was obliged to start an attack on another front, against the Mahdists who had invaded western Ethiopia, and, after having taken all the Christians prisoners, had devastated the whole region. King Johannes with his whole army descended on Metemek against the Dervishes, but fell mortally wounded on the 10th March 1889. The camp was taken by assault and the Abyssinians put to flight.

The ensuing uncertain situation of Abyssinia, a backward and feudal state, where in the absence of a leader there might be many aspirants to the throne, encouraged Italy in the illusion that she might crown her activities by occupying Keren and Asmara while continuing to give assistance to Menelik, king of Shoa, who, in possession of the arms and munitions obtained from the Italians, was regarded as a supreme monarch by most of the chiefs. In this capacity he signed a treaty at Ucciali on the 2nd May 1889 in which, after having traced the limits of the sovereign power of each party (Article 3) and established that the slave trade should be opposed by the new Emperor 'with all the means at his disposal so that no slave caravan should be allowed to traverse Ethiopia', it was asserted in Article 17 that the Negus consented to avail himself of the mediation of the Italian Government for the negotiation of all affairs regarding other powers or governments. The apple of discord was Article 19, which provided that as the treaty was drawn up in the Italian and Amharic languages the double text implied parity of rights. Menelik, indeed, lost no time in getting in touch with the European Powers. To Italy's remonstrances he replied that the Amharic text gave him the right but not the obligation to avail himself of the Italian diplomatic and consular service for foreign relationships. An unpleasant episode ensued, which resulted in the withdrawal of the Italian representative (11 Feb. 1891). Italy's prerogative was recognized by the Powers.

England in the protocols of Rome defined the respective spheres of influence in East Africa, 24 March, 15 April 1891, and 5 May 1894. The importance of these agreements will be better apparent when it is recalled that, after having taken a decisive step with the accomplishment of her political expansion in East Africa, the attention of Italy was now directed towards Somaliland.

The Sultans of Obbia and Migiurtini requested and obtained the protection of Italy in 1889. The London Convention, signed the 3rd August 1889 by the Italian representative and the Director of the Imperial British East Africa Company, undertook to transfer to the Italian Government the territory ceded by the Sultan of Zanzibar, Kisimayo, and north of the mouth of the Juba, Brava, Merca, Mogadiscio, Warsceik. These territories were ceded to Italy on the 18th November 1889 by an act of transference which was also signed in London.

With regard to Ethiopia the situation, although embarrassing, did not necessarily imply war as the only alternative. The difficulties were aggravated by the activities of foreign agents who, while making the necessary provisions for the completion of his armaments, incited the Negus to commence hostilities.

After all the Abyssinian forces had been marshalled, the campaign which ended in the unexpected epilogue of Adowa (1 March 1896) was initiated in 1895. Confronting 100,000 Abyssinians, 14,500 Italians, commanded by General Baratieri, tried to move forward and failed, notwithstanding their great courage, because their forces were divided. Two hundred and sixty-eight officers, including two generals, and 4,700 Italian soldiers fell. The Abyssinians left 7,000 dead and 10,000 wounded on the field.

The Italian plan for expansion in East Africa was now paralysed, notwithstanding the fact that the Abyssinian forces withdrew immediately after the Battle of Adowa, and that General Baldissera, who succeeded General Barattieri in command, managed to relieve Adigrat and obtained new noteworthy successes. He also defeated the Dervishes, who, provoked by

the Abyssinians, had attempted a surprise attack on Kassala, held by the Italians since July 1894.

By the Treaty of Addis Ababa, concluded on the 26th October 1896, the Treaty signed at Ucciali on the 2nd May 1889 with its annexed clauses was and remained definitely annulled. By the Italo-Ethiopian convention of the 10th July 1900 the frontier line, Tomat, Todluc, Mareb, Belesa, Muna, was recognized as the boundary between Eritrea and Ethiopia; this frontier was modified in some places by the Anglo-Italo-Ethiopian convention of the 15th May 1902. But Ethiopia was not to remain uninfluenced for long by the Anglo-French agreement, solemnly guaranteed by the Mediterranean pacts of the 8th April 1904.

Italy, having given abundant and manifest signs of a gravitation towards the Entente, could not remain deaf to an invitation which was the origin of the Three Powers Agreement. This was concluded between the three Powers at London on the 13th December 1906 for the purpose of guaranteeing the political and territorial *status quo* in Ethiopia and to define the interests of the single contracting Powers, who by common accord were bound to protect each other in all eventualities.

The heat and extent of the competition actually resulted, therefore, in the preservation of Ethiopian independence.

The colony of Eritrea extends for 119,000 kilometres along the coasts of the Red Sea. Its climate is variable and the differences of temperature considerable; it is rich in fauna, but less in flora. Most of the country consists of wooded or bushy steppes.

The irrigation works of Zula and in the Upper Falcat, as well as those that are now under consideration on the Anseba, and the hydro-electric installation of Belesa, the largest existing in East Africa, are factors which promise well for the reclamation of a now arid, but potentially fertile district.

Notable results have been obtained in tobacco and coffee plantations (Dorfu, Ambatkalla, and Ela-Barred), also with cotton.

Eritrea to-day is an economic unit from the agricultural point of view. A boldly planned railway starts from the sea and, after having traversed 122 km., reaches Asmara, situated about 2,200 m. (6,600 ft.) above sea-level. Another line runs from Asmara to Keren (104 km.) and a third from Keren to Agordat (86 km.). The colony is further provided with a route system of 1,700 km., motor-lorry roads and 'good' caravan routes connecting frontier and seaboard with the centre.

The indigenous populations consist of numerous groups which though anthropologically alike differ greatly from the ethnical, social, and religious viewpoints. Their number has been estimated at 220,000, while the Europeans (Italians, English, Swedes, Greeks, &c.) number 4,500.

There is a variety of religious professions: Mohammedans, some Jews, and, among the Christians, Catholics, Copts, Orthodox, and Protestants. In 1901 the Catholic Mission of Eritrea was raised from the position of a Prefecture to that of an Apostolic Vicariate, in charge of the Capuchins. There are 28,000 Catholics, 58 parishes, 58 minor stations, 86 priests, and 140 sisters of charity.

The Catholic missions have charge of the schools for Europeans at Asmara, Keren, Saganeiti, Addi-Ugri, Addi-Cayeh, Massowah, and Ghinda. The same missions have schools for the natives at Asmara, Keren, Addi-Ugri, Addi-Cayeh, Ghinda, Assab, Actur, Barentu. Generally speaking, it may be said that schools have been opened wherever there is work for a priest, thus giving elementary instruction to some thousands of native children. The fifty Swedish Protestant mission schools also zealously contribute to the work of elementary instruction.

Further, the government art and trade schools provide training for the local industries, rationalize methods of production, and in short provide for all the demands of local economy; such have also been instituted for the natives. The Higher School at Asmara is a government institution. It is a sort of polytechnic that meets the requirements of the Eritrean populations and also takes boarders.

The situation in the colony of Eritrea has been perfectly tranquil for the past thirty years. During nearly half a century of Italian government there have been no signs of discontent. Rulers and the ruled live in complete harmony. The acid test of this was the demonstration of loyalty made by the Eritrean populations during difficult periods of Italian history.

The response of the Eritreans to the call to arms has always been spontaneous and generous. The man-power for sixteen battalions divided among Tripolitania, Cyrenaica, and Somalia is raised in Eritrea. The attachment of the Ascari to their Italian officers has become proverbial.

There is striking contrast between Eritrea and Somalia (Italian Somaliland). Eritrea, which was the origin of the pre-war difficulties and later the cause of war with Ethiopia, has always given proof of immutable affection, while Somaliland, peacefully acquired by diplomatic negotiations, partly on account of its backward populations entirely deprived of civilizing influences until the arrival of the Italians, was somewhat refractory in accepting its fate. The resistance offered by the Somalis to the march of civilization was revealed in the massacre of Lafolè, in which the explorer Antonio Cecchi and his companions fell as victims to the attacking natives.

The Mullah, fleeing from British Somaliland and from the repeated British expeditions, counted on the fanaticism of the populations still nominally under Italian rule when he took refuge in Italian territory.

The direct administration of Somalia, taken over by the State, was a step towards the solution of the problems towards the aggravation of which the incompetent administration of the Benadir Company had contributed.

A succession of military engagements, which took place between 1905 and 1908, became necessary. Partly as a result of the Italo-Ethiopian Convention regulating the border-line between Italian Somaliland and the province of the Ethiopian Empire, the colony in 1908 was at last pacified and assumed a normal aspect.

Somalia measures about 500,000 sq. km. with 3,000 km. of coast-line. It includes the territories of Migiurtini and Obbia, ex-protectorates annexed as the result of military operations between 1925 and 1927; the territory of Nogal, situated between the two former; Benadir, first leased from the Sultan of Zanzibar and since 1905 under Italian suzerainty, and lastly, the territory of the Further Juba, ceded by England to Italy by the Convention of the 15th July 1924.

The climate is regulated by the monsoons. Northern Somalia is watered by two great torrential rivers, the Darror and the Nogal, but the country relies for its irrigation only on the Webi Shebeli and the Juba. The fauna is varied, the flora rich especially in the southern districts, although the Migiurtina supplies almost exclusively India and many other countries with myrrh and incense.

A railway line is under construction and already functions in part, while caravan routes are developing. A grandiose project linking up extreme northern and southern points of the colony by two main roads is almost completed. One of these follows the frontier; the other runs almost parallel to the coast-line. It will, therefore, soon be possible to go by automobile from Kisimaio to Bender Cassim, while Nairobi, chief town of Kenya, is already accessible from Mogadiscio. This new connexion will facilitate exchanges between the various districts, increasing agricultural development, which is already very promising.

Important agricultural establishments are under construction, supplementing those of the Villaggio Duca degli Abruzzi, of Genale, and of Afgoi.

According to statistics furnished by the *Rassegna economica delle Colonie* the indigenous population numbers about 900,000, divided as follows: 525,000 in the Benadir, 275,000 in northern Somalia, and 100,000 in Farther Juba. The nomads of the vast pasture-grounds and shepherd tribes are pure Somalis, while the stable or half-stable agricultural populations are Swahilis, Wagoscia, Rahanuinians, and of other stock on the coasts live Indians, Bagiums, Swahilis, and mixed populations

of bastard races. It has not therefore been possible to accomplish as much in the social and educational fields as in Eritrea. The same applies to missionary work.

For nearly a million inhabitants Somalia, raised to a Vicariate-Apostolic in 1904 under the tutelage of the 'Institute of the Consolata' at Turin, has only three parishes, four secondary stations or chaplaincies, ten European priests, and twenty-five Sisters of Mercy.

Italy's gradually increasing interest in political expansion has had among other consequences that of the intensification of the study of East Africa. The tracing of the course of the Webi Shebeli is due to the work of Baudi di Vesme, Candeo, and of H.R.H. the Duke of the Abruzzi. The name of Hugo Ferandi is closely connected with the history of Lugh; and much blood was shed by volunteers in the cause of science. At Gub Legenda Prince Ruspoli was killed by an elephant in 1893; on the hill of Gobo, Bottego, after having discovered Lake Marguerite and solved the problem of the Omo, fell a victim to an overwhelming force of Abyssinians.

Father Camillo Beccari, S.J., conducted an arduous exploration, not in space but in time, with his illuminating studies on the history of Abyssinia during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, when the Jesuit missions under the Portuguese were in a flourishing condition.

Investigations ably carried out and favoured by fortune, in the archives of the Society of Jesus in Rome, the Scientific Library at Lisbon, the archives of the Propaganda Fide, the National archives of Lisbon, the British Museum, have led to the discovery of a wealth of precious documents regarding the activities of the Catholic Missions in Ethiopia. The subject of Father Beccari's disquisitions is the history of Ethiopia and her relations with Europe during the whole of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The numerous volumes of the *Rerum Aethiopicarum Scriptores*, Rome, 1909, a careful documentation of all the information gathered two centuries ago, are not only a mine of information for the historian but also a complete account of the military and judiciary institutions, the customs

and traditions, indispensable to the orientalist and exceedingly valuable to the student of geography.¹

ITALY IN LYBIA

The Anglo-French declarations, signed the 21st March 1899, as an addition to the Convention of the 14th July 1898, regarding the limitation of the respective spheres of influence in Africa, could not leave Italy indifferent. Since 1878 Tripoli had been regarded as a compensation for a possible arrival of the French in Tunis and, later, as the only zone open to Italian expansion. Since 1899, through the offices of M. Barrère, conversations had been carried on between the French and Italian Governments for the purpose of eliminating the causes of friction which had brought about the estrangement of the two nations.

The desire shared by both sides to bring about an understanding helped matters forward. On the 14th December 1900 France assured Italy that the Convention of the 21st March 1899, excluding the vilayet of Tripoli from the already sanctioned divisions of the sphere of influence for Tripoli, marked a limitation which the French Government had no intention of overstepping. Italy, in return, declared herself willing to accept an eventual modification of the territorial and political status of Morocco. The reciprocal engagements were confirmed on the 1st November 1902.

The backward state of finances which was one of the numerous results of the Turkish administration had impeded the creation of legitimate foreign interests in Lybia. The Bank of Rome, a valuable organization patronized by religious circles, was a promoting influence, and in a few years there were visible signs of an awakening of this hitherto completely neglected region. The Young Turks, accomplishing their revolution, communicated to all the territories still belonging to the Turkish Empire the fervour of their nationalistic sentiments, soon to

¹ Professor de' Luigi's study of Italian developments in East Africa was written in 1931 and thus deals only with the progress of colonization before the disputes that preceded the war with Abyssinia.

be exasperated by Austrian annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Italy, suspected of designs aiming at the possession of Tripoli, soon became a target for the obstructionism of the Turkish agents. In their violent hatred of foreigners and their complete misconception of the period and its problems they gave occasion for repeated and energetic diplomatic protests.

In the third week of September 1911 the agitation provoked in Lybia by emissaries from Constantinople had become a grave menace to all foreigners, who hastily withdrew from the field of their activities, suddenly transformed into a penal zone. Meanwhile threatening possibilities of foreign intervention, likely to complicate the situation still further and to upset the Mediterranean balance, ensued.

The government of Rome was forced to proceed to the military occupation of Tripolitania and Cyrenaica. The forts of Tripoli were bombarded by the Italian squadrons on the 3rd and 4th October. The Turks offered obstinate resistance, reinforced by Arabs. Together they succeeded in obstructing the forward march of the Italians. Skirmishes were frequent in the zone of Tripoli, Bengazi, Derna, and Tobruk.

The Italian progress, and the outbreak of the first Balkan war, which may be considered as an effect of the Italian action against Turkey, already showing signs of exhaustion, induced the government of Constantinople to negotiate a peace treaty with Italy. The negotiations were carried on at Ouchy in October 1912, but unfortunately the treaty gave rise to new difficulties.

Freed from Turkish resistance, Italy hastened to subjugate two provinces. After having occupied the coast-line she turned her attention to the interior; the Italian flag was hoisted at Murzuk and in the extreme western oases of the Fezzan, while in Cyrenaica, despite ambushes and skirmishes aggravated by the fanaticism of the Senussi, Italian occupation gradually asserted itself. But this favourably commenced occupation was interrupted and partly destroyed by the outbreak of the World War. After the War was over Italy vainly hoped that she might secure an era of peace for her African territories

without that demonstration of energy which alone could impress a people accustomed to chaos.

The romanticism of a few Utopians had reawakened among the indigenous populations confused aspirations mixed with hopes of gain.

Absurd and embarrassing concessions were, as may easily be imagined, a new source of rebellion in Tripolitania, which, in contrast to Cyrenaica, was being undermined by the discordant ambitions of her chiefs. The over-conciliatory attitude of Rome therefore made a more energetic policy necessary. This was begun in 1922 and uninterruptedly continued until the complete reconquest of Lybia.

In Cyrenaica the lack of observance of the pacts on the part of the Senussi, whose power had been imprudently exalted, gave back freedom of action to Italy. The Gordian knot of insoluble difficulties was cut by the resumption of a policy of dominion. Gebel was the objective from 1923 to 1926; between 1926 and 1928 the operations assumed the extension of a veritable military campaign and the camps of the Senussi were dispersed. Assuming the government of Lybia, Marshal Badooglio declared he would occupy all and any point of Tripolitania and Cyrenaica, and immediately began to disperse those elements which had assumed an attitude of implacable hostility.

The Oasis of Kufra, the last stronghold of the Senussi, was occupied in January 1931. The area of Tripolitania, including the Fezzan and the region of Syrtica, is about 900,000 sq. km. The southern borders are not yet defined. Part of the territory can be cultivated if the drifting sand can be successfully combated, a process which is now being carried forward. The coast climate is temperate. There are three different zones in the interior—the steppes, the high plateaux, the deserts.

The palm is the most conspicuous specimen of flora; there are over two million trees in the oases. Olives, fruit trees, wild aromatic and medicinal plants abound. The esparto grass is a valuable resource as an article of commerce. The fauna is limited to gazelles, jackals, wolves, hyenas, hares, partridges, and sparrows. Maritime fauna is rich in tunny fish and sponges.

The 150,000 inhabitants consist chiefly of nomad shepherds, barley growers, &c. They are Berbers, Arabs, Sudanese, Fezzanis, and Israelites. The Italians number about 20,000, other Europeans and mixed races 2,700. The Catholic Mission is entrusted to the Capuchin friars, who have a Vicariate Apostolic in Tripolitania and Cyrenaica.

In the whole of Lybia there are 15 parishes, 26 secondary stations and chapels, 26 European priests, 25 auxiliary friars, and 124 Sisters of Charity. Educational facilities include kindergartens in Tripoli and Cyrenaica, separate elementary schools for natives, and indigenous art and trade schools.

Tripoli is the capital and seat of the government. It has a large and sheltered port. The city has 60,000 inhabitants, about two-thirds of whom are indigenous, and besides a rich archaeological patrimony it has numerous electric installations, soap factories and tanneries, bakeries, &c. Misurata is famed for its carpet and matting factories, Homs for the esparto grass trade. Tripolitania has 269 km. of railways. The chief lines are: Tripoli-Zuara, km. 118·2; Tripoli-Tagiura, km. 21·1. An extensive system of roads covers the important districts of Tripoli. Caravans for the Wadai, the Haussa, Nigeria start from Tripoli. A good air service connects the colony with the capital.

Cyrenaica, which with Tripoli forms Lybia, extends for about 550,000 km. to the Egyptian frontier. It has no regular ports, but in Bengazi a large artificial port is being constructed.

Cyrenaica differs orographically from Tripoli because the high plateau rises almost sheer above the sea. The population exceeds 225,000, Berbers and Arab-Berbers of the Mohammedan faith. There are also prosperous groups of Israelites, Egyptian Greeks, and Maltese. The Europeans, prevalently Italians, are about 10,000 in number.

Bengazi, the seat of the government, has 30,400 inhabitants, about 6,900 of whom are Italians. The predominating element consists of Arabs, Arab-Berbers, and Jews. Few are the Greeks and Maltese, very few the Egyptians and negroes of the Wadai. Among minor centres are Cyrene, Tolmeta, Derna, Tobruk.

The railway lines Bengazi-Regima-el Abiar-Barce extend for 108 km. and Bengazi-Soluch for km. 54.

Rapidity and security of communications were considered indispensable factors in the solution of the problem of Cyrenaica. Between 1913 and 1919 only 236 km. of road had been made, while in 1930 268 were completed and in 1933 another 504 will be open to the public.

Everything indicates that the progress will be still more accelerated. The works of peaceful penetration are being methodically developed. Hotels, banks, agricultural and commercial organizations are rising in Bengazi. Experiments in tree and corn growing are being carried out, also acclimatation experiments and audacious and genial attempts at afforestation, while water is being actively looked for in zones suitable for intensive cultivation.

All the legislation is founded on the principle of creating a new agricultural economy in a country that until a few years ago was socially and economically immature.

BELGIUM IN AFRICA

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BELGIUM IN AFRICA

THE colonial expansion of Belgium is due in a large measure to the bold initiative of her sovereigns.

From the beginning of his reign, Leopold I encouraged various attempts at founding commercial institutions and Belgian colonies, principally in New Zealand, Guatemala, and Brazil, in order to cope with pauperism which was devastating Belgium and find for his young country commercial outlets.

Leopold II, keenly interested in colonial enterprise even while still heir-apparent, had studied divers projects of concessions in China and in the Pacific Ocean. He had thought of plans for securing a footing in the Philippines, the New Hebrides, or the Fiji and Solomon Islands. No disappointments could discourage this ardent advocate of colonial projects who, as he wrote to his minister Beernaert in 1889, 'had been for thirteen years, as Senator, and twenty-four years, as constitutional Head of the State, seeking an outlet for Belgium's surplus in men, material, and ideas'.

Until the second half of the nineteenth century central Africa was practically unknown. The geographical configuration of the country, coasts without harbours, river lines interrupted by falls and rapids, and pathless forests, presented innumerable difficulties, as did the hostility of the inhabitants and the endless dangers and difficulties of transport depending on caravans of native porters.

As the result of reports on the exploration of equatorial Africa, Leopold II became interested in central Africa. Geographical knowledge was very limited concerning that part of Africa which constitutes to-day the Belgian Congo. In 1875 the travellers Schweinfurth and Miani had explored in the north the valleys of the Ubangi and the Uele; in the east Livingstone had explored the region of Lakes Nyassa and Tanganyika, and had got as far as the Lualaba, in Nyangwe. In the south Portuguese travellers had crossed the valley of the Lomami and the Lunda. In the west the Portuguese navigator Diego Cao had reached the first cataracts in the estuary of the Congo river.

In 1816 Captain James Kingston Tuckey, in command of an expedition dispatched by the British Admiralty, had succeeded in pushing upstream, on the Congo, for over 175 miles into the heart of the country. This expedition lost him in four months eighteen of his fifty-six followers. As a result of this check no new scientific mission dared to venture into the Congo for over half a century.

Christianity had penetrated into the Lower Congo region at the end of the fifteenth century. During the reign of King John II of Portugal Franciscan missionaries, in the wake of Diego Cao's expedition, had introduced it. Frequent revolts and the decline of Portuguese influence at the end of the eighteenth century caused it to disappear.

The cries of horror uttered by African travellers at the tragic spectacle of slave-traffic—men being sold by men—found an echo in Europe. The south of the present Belgian Congo Colony, especially Maniama, the banks of the Lualaba, and the western region of Tanganyika, were laid waste by the incursions and raids of Mussulmans and half-breeds.

In his book *Five Years in the Congo* Stanley relates that the first time he descended the Congo river there was a country around the Stanley Falls as large as Ireland, and with a population of a million inhabitants. When he came back there a few years afterwards he found the country deserted and laid waste. Eyewitnesses had told him that of the million inhabitants only five thousand had escaped. Less than seventy-five years ago the sinister balance-sheet of trading in blacks, in the territory which has now become the Belgian Congo, counted annually more than 400,000 victims.¹

¹ Until Stanley's first exploration of the course of the Congo the Arab slavers and ivory dealers of Zanzibar, who supplied him with his gangs of native porters, had never penetrated westward beyond the immediate neighbourhood of Lake Tanganyika. Their headmen were well acquainted with all the tracks in the region between the Indian Ocean and the lake, and knew also something of the country west of it as far as the headwaters of the Lualaba (which Stanley had rightly identified with the upper course of the Congo). The great central forest was for them a region of mystery and a barrier to their raids. They had never attempted to penetrate into it, and had no idea that beyond it there was a vast country with the villages of tribes that could supply plenty of human cattle and a

From 1876 on, scientific interest and humanitarianism inspired crusades to go forward to discover, pacify, and civilize central Africa.

Three dates stand out as landmarks in the history of these territories which have become the Belgian Congo: 1876—1885—1908.

Geographical Congress, 1876, and International African Association.

On the 12th September 1876 Leopold II made the first move by bringing together, in his palace in Brussels, geographers and explorers of the highest standing in Europe. As the outcome of this congress, at which celebrated explorers such as Cameron, Nachtigal, Grant, Roelfs, Schweinfurth, and Duveyrier were present, he founded the International African Association (l'Association Internationale Africaine, A.I.A.).

In his opening speech Leopold II specified the aims which the new organization put before it. 'The subject which brings us together to-day', he said, 'is one which deserves, in the first instance, the attention of all friends of humanity—the opening up to civilization of the only part of our globe which it has not yet reached, the piercing through the darkness which envelops whole populations—that is, I venture to say, a crusade worthy of this century of progress.'

The International African Association intended to concentrate its efforts on exploring the regions grouped, in the east and west, between the Indian and Atlantic Oceans, in the north and south, between the frontiers of Egypt, of the Sudan, and the basin of the Zambesi. It would send missions to establish scientific and hospice stations to serve as bases of operation for them. The first expeditions were to be sent by the eastern

certain amount of tusks for the ivory market of Zanzibar. The Arab headmen of Stanley's expedition brought back to their masters news of the river route to this new field for 'good business'. The slave-hunters took immediate advantage of this new opening for their horrible trade. In the following years well-armed parties were busy in the Congo lands, penetrating quickly to Stanley Falls, and striking out right and left from the river line. It was easy for these bandits to raid village after village, burning the huts, collecting a crowd of prisoners, loading many of them with tusks and other booty, and marching them back to the east coast, killing off those who broke down under illness or the hardships of the journey.

route: Zanzibar, Bagamoyo, Tabora (Kazeh), and Lake Tanganyika.

The new association consisted of an International Commission presided over by Leopold II, an Executive Council, and National Councils. The seat of the I.A.A. was set up in Brussels.

The Belgian Committee showed great activity and between 1877 and 1885 sent out five expeditions. These formed their caravans at Zanzibar. Their objective was to reach Lake Tanganyika. Many were the members of these expeditions who died on the way, undermined by fevers, worn out by fatigue, or massacred by bands of natives or pillaging soldiers in the pay of slave-drivers.

The success they secured was due principally to the admirable energy of Belgian officers, among whom special mention must be made of Cambier, Crespel, Popelin, Ramaeckers, Storms, Becker, and so many others who took part in establishing the two hospice stations on the banks of Lake Tanganyika: Karema (1879) and Mpala (1882).

Meanwhile Stanley's marvellous 'drive' had taken place. Stanley had set out from the coast of the Indian Ocean at Bagamoyo, on the 17th November 1874, and after many strange vicissitudes in a journey of thirty-three months' duration he had reached the Atlantic Ocean at Boma, on the 9th August 1877. This was the most famous and valuable exploration of Equatorial Africa. King Leopold II took a deep interest in Stanley's journey. He saw that, for the future, the western route should be followed, that the splendid Congo river which traversed it should be utilized, and the great rich forests be worked. 'No geographer', writes Stanley, 'paid more attention to my letters published by the *Daily Telegraph*, to my book, to my speeches on Africa, than did Leopold II.'

On Stanley's return to Marseilles, in January 1878, the king invited him to Brussels and asked him to pursue his explorations in Africa under his auspices. When the explorer had thoroughly convinced himself that England did not then want any further colonial acquisitions in central Africa, and that she had left his proposals unanswered, he accepted Leopold II's offer.

As in other parts of Africa, when European States were engaged in the partition of the whole continent it was assumed that, under international law, exploration and discovery implied a right of conquest and settlement; so it was held that the immense region along the Lualaba-Congo river was a property without an owner.

M. Charles De Lannoy, Professor of the History of the Formation of the Colonial Empires at the Colonial University, writes:

Numerous communities lived there, sometimes they were scattered in small, isolated villages in the central and southern regions, or as sometimes happened in the north and east, they were grouped into more or less important States of feudal formation. Not one of them, however, was in relation with any civilized countries or recognized as a State according to International Law. They were countries ready to be colonized and were at the disposal of that Power which could master them.¹

Leopold II intended that Belgium should be that Power.

The Committee of Upper-Congo Studies and International Association of the Congo, 1878-83.

On the 28th November 1878 Leopold II founded, under the presidency of the Secretary of the I.A.A., the Committee of

¹ This convenient interpretation of international law may certainly be open to a serious objection. One of the great founders of modern international law, the Spanish Dominican Vittoria, writing in the time of the first Spanish conquests in America, insisted that in newly explored regions the rights of the native possessors were very serious realities, and that the most the new-comers from Europe could claim was the right to open peaceful trade, and under fair agreements with the native chiefs and rulers obtain, by negotiation, trading-stations and facilities. The enterprise of Leopold II in Africa was no doubt favoured by the fact that in Europe and America it was popularly regarded by many as not a mere empire-making and business adventure, but to a large extent a crusade for the protection of the natives against the murderous slave-hunting raids of the Zanzibar Arabs. It must also be noted that at the outset of his work for the formation of the new Congo State Stanley obtained from several chiefs about Vivi their signatures or marks to a treaty accepting the Belgian king as their overlord and protector. One may have some doubts as to the value of treaties like these, which were being very summarily negotiated and signed in many parts of Africa. The native chief and the white explorer often 'negotiated' through an uneducated interpreter who explained to the chief a document he could not read. Some trifling gifts and the presence of an escort carrying repeating rifles were silent arguments, persuading the negro or Arab chief to set his mark to the treaty.

Upper-Congo Studies, a shareholding company with capital of a million francs, with a view to taking possession of the Upper River.

In 1883 the Committee of Upper-Congo Studies took the name of 'International Association of the Congo'. The flag was that of the I.A.A. and of the Committee of Upper-Congo Studies—blue with a golden star in the centre.

Stanley set out again for Africa in 1879. He went up the Congo to the first cataracts, founded there the first station of exploration, Vivi, which in 1885 was to become the first capital of the Congo Free State. He then followed the right bank of the river and established, by dint of superhuman efforts, a caravan route. He founded in 1881 (opposite Brazzaville, which De Brazza had acquired for France) the important station of Léopoldville, situated on the left bank of the great reach which was navigable for 1,053 miles (Léopoldville to Stanleyville).

A little steamer, which had to be brought on the men's backs across the caravan route, *l'En-Avant*, was launched on the river, and several posts were established between the Pool and Stanley Falls.

Stanley was back in Belgium in 1882. Here he stressed the necessity of linking up by a railway Matadi, a navigation terminus in the estuary of the Congo, with Léopoldville where the river became again navigable. He insisted that proper political treaties with the native chiefs, for the handing over of their authority to the committee, should be drawn up. This was the method which had been followed by De Brazza for the benefit of the French Government.

Stanley set out again in 1883. Several Belgian officers helped Stanley, explored the country, organized some forty posts, and in 1884 more than five hundred chiefs accepted the authority of Leopold II.

It is to be noted that the king acted in his own name and not as Sovereign of Belgium and exercised an undivided power in the new colony. All he required in order to establish a State was recognition by the Powers.

A fever of occupation now took hold of the principal govern-

ments consequent on the results achieved by Leopold II. Portugal had been losing interest in the mouth of the Congo river and was confining her activity to the forced recruiting of black workers along the banks. She concluded a treaty with England in February 1884, which recognized her historical rights on the coast between 5 and 18 degrees south latitude. The mouth of the Congo lies between these degrees. France, taking advantage of Brazza's explorations, laid claim to the two banks of the river at Léopoldville.

Leopold II, by his successful diplomacy, won two victories: he secured the co-operation of France, by giving her a pre-emptive right, in the event of his enterprise being defeated, and later on he got the British government to denounce the Anglo-Portuguese Treaty which was paralysing the commercial freedom of the whole Congo basin.

The Berlin Congress, 1884-5.

On the 22nd April 1884 the United States recognized the International Association of the Congo as a friendly government. Soon afterwards Prince Bismarck, in agreement with France, proposed that an International Conference should assemble in Berlin to determine the most favourable conditions for the development of commerce and civilization in certain regions in Africa.

Delegates from fourteen Powers assembled for this conference, which sat from the 15th November 1884 to the 26th February 1885. Baron Lambert and the great diplomat Banning represented Belgium. On the 23rd February 1885 Belgium recognized the Congo State, and on the 26th February Colonel Strauch, who represented the International Association of the Congo, declared his adherence to the resolution of the conference. Thus did the Congo Free State come into being.

The part which Queen Victoria's Government has taken in recognizing the Association's flag as the flag of a friendly government [said Sir Edward Malet, Great Britain's representative] authorizes me to express the satisfaction with which we regard the constitution of this new State, due to the initiative of His Majesty

the King of the Belgians. For many long years, King Leopold II, dominated by a purely philanthropic idea, has spared nothing, neither personal efforts nor pecuniary sacrifices, towards what might contribute to the realization of his goal. Yet the world in general regarded his efforts almost with indifference. Here and there His Majesty aroused sympathy but it was, to a certain extent, a sympathy of condolence rather than of encouragement. The enterprise was believed to be beyond his power, it was believed to be too vast to succeed. To-day we see that the King was right, and that the idea which he has pursued was not utopian. He has realized it, not without difficulties, but these very difficulties have made its success all the more striking. We pay His Majesty the homage of recognizing all the obstacles he has overcome, and most cordially we salute the newly-born State and express our sincere desire that it may flourish and grow under his aegis.

When Bismarck had in his turn saluted the new State the delegates signed the Berlin Act which sanctioned the agreed basin of the Congo:

1. Freedom for commerce in the agreed basin of the Congo and its affluents.
2. Freedom for navigation on the Congo. (This was stated to be an application of the principles laid down by the Congress of Vienna as to freedom of navigation on navigable rivers that marked the frontiers of more than one State or flowed through several States—principles applied to various rivers in Europe and America, notably the Danube, with some modifications later at the Congress of Paris (1856), at Berlin in 1878, and at conferences in London in 1871 and 1883.)
3. Neutrality of the aforesaid territories in case of war.
4. Suppression of the slave trade.
5. Freedom of worship—special protection for the natives, with the obligation of improving their moral and material condition.

In less than ten years, by extraordinary work and diplomacy in Europe, sacrifices and heroism in the Congo, the association changed what had been just a programme—ideas, theoretical conceptions—into a living reality, into a colonial domain of

more than a million and a quarter square miles, stretching from the sources of the Nile to the basin of the Zambesi, and from the shores of the Atlantic to the Great Rift of central Africa.

Congo Free State, 1885.

Leopold II was authorized by the Belgian Parliament to become Sovereign of the Congo State, to which he gave the denomination of *État Indépendant du Congo* (Congo Free State), on the 30th April 1885. The Union between Belgium and the Congo was, however, strictly personal.

On the 1st August 1885 Leopold II notified the change of the association into the Free State. He announced that he was the sovereign, and that the new State would be, for all time, neutral. This neutrality was again notified on the 18th December 1895. The Constitution of the Free State was proclaimed at Vivi on the 1st July 1885, by Sir Francis de Winton, its first administrator.

Organization. The new State constituted an absolute monarchy; all powers emanated from the king. Laws and royal orders were known under the names of decrees of the sovereign king.

The new State was constituted as follows: the central government was divided into three departments—foreign affairs and justice, finance, home affairs; local government comprised a governor-general, to direct administrative and military services, assisted by a vice-governor-general, a state inspector, and administrative directors. The State was divided into fourteen districts, zones, and sectors.

A court of appeal was set up at Boma, a lower court at Banana, and district courts in the principal towns of the districts. The natives were free to take their civil disputes before their chief or before a European tribunal. The European tribunals were competent, in dealing with repressive methods, to judge the natives, but they could send them back to the jurisdiction of their native chiefs.

The army, or public force, was composed of natives staffed by European officers and non-commissioned officers.

The boundaries of the Free State as originally outlined left

Portugal access to the Congo below the rapids. The French held the north bank to Stanley Pool and then to the confluence of its great tributary the Ubanghi, which here became the boundary of the Free State on the north-west and north. The eastern frontier gave the Congo State the west shores of Lake Tanganyika, Germany then holding its east shore. The extreme south bay of the lake was in the territory of the British South Africa Company. The frontier between the Company's territory and the Free State then ran westward to Lake Moeri and then followed southward the course of the Luapula river. This southward extension gave the Free State the rich mining region of Katanga.

Twelve years after the starting of his work Leopold II had founded, in the very heart of Africa, a colonial State organized on European lines. Such a feat could have been achieved, in the ordinary course, only at the cost of much labour and bloodshed.

The principal activity of the new State was shown in its efforts against slave traffic, and towards the pacification of the country.

Exploration and Occupation.

Belgian officers explored, occupied, and pacified the districts of Bangala, Ubangi, Welle, Kasai, Lulua, Kwango, and Katanga. Grenfell, an English missionary, explored the centre of the present province of the Equator, and a German, Wissmann, explored the Sankuru. The north-east part, especially Aruwimi, Ituri, Ruwenzori, Lakes Albert and Edward, were explored by Stanley, in his celebrated expedition to the relief of Emin Pasha, who had been isolated by a Madhist rising on the Upper Nile and the mutiny of his native troops (1887-9).

Exploration and Occupation of Katanga. Obligated by the Berlin Act to occupy the territory effectively, Leopold II learned, with much misgiving, in 1889, that an expedition was equipped in South Africa by Cecil Rhodes to explore Rhodesia and Tanganyika, in view of their mining possibilities. The copper mines of Katanga might be claimed by Rhodes if he could conclude a treaty with M'siri, chief of Katanga. In 1890 the Congo Free State organized a fourfold expedition. At this very time

the Congo Society for Commerce and Industry had a mission under the direction of Alexandre Delcommune, on the Lomami. The king concluded an arrangement to take this expedition into his service, and he equipped also three other expeditions. All these expeditions had for a mission to hoist the Congo flag on the extreme southern frontier and to treat with M'siri.

In 1891 the old chief, in the course of an interview, adopted a menacing attitude towards Commandant Bodson of the Second Expedition. Bodson fired his revolver and shot him dead. He fell, riddled with bullets. M'siri's lieutenants submitted on the spot.

The different expeditions underwent terrible hardships from famine and enemy onslaughts. They reconnoitred the whole region of Kasai and Katanga and explored the territories where the Lualaba rises.

The king founded the Katanga Company in 1891, to improve Katanga.¹ He conceded one-third of the vacant lands and the Katanga mines to it, the other two-thirds remaining in the possession of the State. The State and the Katanga Company, by the Convention of the 19th June 1900, founded a body called the Special Committee of Katanga to which they confided the management of all the lands and mines of Katanga, of an area of some 45,000,000 hectares. The Special Committee of Katanga not only undertook the working of its own domain but looked after public administration as well, up to 1910; since then the government has taken on again the administration of the country. The governor of the province of Katanga is at the same time representative of the Special Committee of Katanga, and it is he who directs the committee's services in Africa. The Katanga Company does not work its property directly. It confines itself to the role of initiator and exercises its authority in two main directions: land and mines.

Struggle against Slave Traffic.

The hostility of the Arab slave traders, who were settled in the Upper Congo, retarded the peaceful expansion of the young State and even threatened its very existence.

¹ Katanga proved to be a country exceptionally rich in copper mines.

There was a recrudescence of slave traffic in central Africa and, even if British ships barred the way to negro boats, the Arab dhows succeeded, under cover of night, in getting away from Zanzibar or Bagamoyo and disembarking their human cargo on the coast of Asia.

The struggle against slave traffic continued. The venerable Cardinal Lavigerie preached throughout the whole of Europe an anti-slave crusade, and on England's initiative a conference against slave traffic brought seventeen Powers together in Brussels on the 18th November 1889. The General Act, signed in 1891, studied the ways and means to be taken for the suppression of slave traffic in centres where it existed, and founded a permanent centre of information. In order to provide resources, on Leopold II's proposal, it allowed the states in the basin of the Congo to collect an entry tax of 10 per cent. on imported goods.

Among the native traders of Zanzibar the most influential and actively organized of the Arab penetration into the Congo region was Hamed-ben-Mohammed-ben-Juna, known generally amongst Europeans by his nickname of Tippoo Tib. Slave-dealing had long been a leading feature of his business, and incidentally he helped more than one of the European explorers in organizing their caravans. He realized the possibility of extending his operations to a vast region that offered immense opportunities for his evil enterprises, when Stanley explored the course of the Congo through the forest lands, hitherto a trackless barrier to the westward advance of the Arab slave-raiders. Tippoo Tib had made considerable progress in this new enterprise, and established Arab posts along the river, while the first steps were being taken by Leopold II to found the new Congo State. At the outset the Belgian king was anxious to avoid, as far as possible, an armed conflict with the Arabs, for he had as yet neither troops nor financial resources for a campaign against them. Stanley, as his representative, attempted to meet the situation by making Tippoo Tib his ally, and in 1887 he installed the Arab leader as Vali (Governor) of the Stanley Falls district, at Stanleyville, after obtaining from him

an undertaking that he would defend the authority of the new Congo State and oppose the slave traffic.

The veteran slave-dealer played a double part, and kept in touch with his agents on the Upper Congo, until on the eve of the inevitable conflict between the new-comers and the Arab leaders he left Léopoldville and made his way to Zanzibar, leaving his nephew Rashid to act as his representative in the districts still dominated by the slave-traders.

In the north the Belgians had established fortified posts on the Arumiwi, and in the centre, in the great bend of the Congo, on its tributary rivers the Lomami and the Suniru. These advances had led to some minor engagements with Arab bands, and in the central forests with negro cannibal tribes, as well as with the slavers. On the western shore of Lake Tanganyika the post of Albertville had been established, cutting one of the chief lines of communication of the Arabs with Zanzibar, and a useful base of action against the slavers.¹ This sporadic warfare had been in progress for two years when, in 1892, Leopold II decided to organize systematic operations against the Arabs. An able Belgian officer, Colonel Francis Dhanis, was sent out to the Congo to take the chief command.

Numbers were on the side of the Arabs, but their operations were lacking in any effective combination and initiative. Their defence broke down before the good leadership and vigorous offensive of the Belgian leaders, who besides their European troops were now able to bring native levies into the field. On the Lomami and the Upper Congo the columns of Lothaire, Ponthier, and Chaltin scored a series of successes with some hard fighting. Dhanis fought his way southwards along the Sunkuru river, and then directed a converging movement against the chief Arab stronghold at Nyangwe. Its capture finally broke the power of the slavers. By the end of January

¹ Exceptionally effective work was done at Albertville by a Belgian officer, Captain Jacques. He had served as a volunteer in the Papal Zouaves until the regiment was disbanded after the Italian seizure of Rome in 1870. He entered the service of the Congo State in the spirit of a Crusader, to combat the slavers and assist the natives. With a view to winning their confidence he married a native convert, the daughter of a local chief.

1894 all resistance had ceased. The chief leaders of the Arabs had been killed, except the Emir of Ujiji, who escaped across Lake Tanganyika to his home in German East Africa, and Tippoo Tib's nephew, Rashid, who was taken prisoner. Numbers of the minor leaders and the Arab rank and file were refugees in German territory. Dhanis was rewarded for his success with the rank of Baron and next year was appointed vice-governor of the Congo Free State.

By having organized under very difficult conditions the struggle against the slavers, and driven out of central Africa these traffickers in human flesh, Leopold II proved himself one of the great benefactors of humanity. 'It is only fair to remember', said Lord Curzon in the English Parliament, 'that the Congo State has done a great work, and that by their administration the cruel raids of Arab slave-dealers have ceased to exist over many thousands of square miles' (2nd April 1897).

This heroic campaign had splendid results. They were: the suppression of slave traffic in the colony's territory, the complete overthrow of Arab influence, the exploration of the country between the Sankuru and Tanganyika, the expansion of the new State's influence in Maniama, and the effective occupation of the territory between Lakes Moero and Kivu.

Struggle against the Mahdists—Mutiny of Free State Troops.

Having defeated and driven out the Arab slave-traders and established the authority of the Free State up to its eastern frontier, the Belgians found themselves in contact with the remnant of the Mahdist power in the Upper Nile lands, and this contact meant some troubles. After the fall of Khartoum and the death of Gordon in January 1885, the Mahdist revolt had extended to the Lado district, along the Upper Nile between the swamps of the Bahr-el-Ghazal and the Great Lakes. Its governor, Emin Pasha (a German explorer in the Egyptian service),¹ found himself cut off from the outer world, and in the face of native tribal risings and a revolt of his troops

¹ He was an M.D. of Berlin, Eduard Schnitzer, who took the Turkish name of Emin while in the service of the Sultan's government. In 1875, while he was on a visit to Egypt, Gordon invited him to be one of his staff in the Sudan.

he abandoned the province in 1888 and a Mahdist emir took over the government at Lado.

In 1891 the Mahdists began raiding into the north of the Free State and farther south into the region of the Welle river. One of the best of the Belgian leaders, Captain Van Kerchoven, drove them out of the Welle district, won the friendship of the local native chiefs, founded several advanced posts in the Lado region, and eventually reached the Nile at Wadelai. Another Belgian expedition passed the northern frontier of the Free State and established itself on the borders of the Bahr-el-Ghazal region but, as the result of a protest from France, withdrew to the frontier.

Early in 1894 the British Government concluded an agreement with Leopold II by which the Lado district was temporarily assigned to the Belgians. It was hoped in England that before long an Anglo-Egyptian advance up the Nile would break the Mahdist power and, while the Belgian push towards the Upper Nile was regarded as a useful factor in the situation, for it forced the Khalifa of Omdurman to divert some of his best fighting men to Lado, it was considered undesirable that the district should be permanently added to the Free State territory, for this would make it impossible to link up the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan with Uganda and the Great Lakes.¹

The Anglo-Egyptian advance began in 1896 with Kitchener's reconquest of the Dongola province. By the autumn of that year his gunboat flotilla controlled the Nile as far as Korti, and preparations were in progress for an advance on Berber next year. When the advance on Dongola began Baron Dhanis judged that the time had come for driving the Mahdists out of the Lado district. A complicated situation was now developing in north-eastern Africa. While the Belgian vanguard under Chaltin was winning its first successes in the direction of Lado, and Kitchener, with the Anglo-Egyptian army, was reconquering Dongola, a column under the command of Colonel Marchand was making a slow and toilsome advance from the French

¹ The 'lease' of the 'Lado enclave' lasted till 1910, when the Free State Government handed over the territory to British East Africa.

Congo towards the Bahr-el-Ghazal. Marchand had with him a few French officers and sergeants and some hundreds of Senegalese riflemen. He hoped to reach the Nile above Khartoum while the Mahdist Khalifa was still holding his own against Kitchener. Another French officer, Captain Bonchamps, went to Abyssinia, and tried to persuade the Negus Menelek to join hands with Marchand on the Upper Nile. Menelek had at his disposal the army that had routed the Italians at Adowa in 1896. At first he paid little attention to the French suggestions, for he had concluded a friendly agreement with Kitchener's envoys in the winter of 1896-7, but he hoped to have some share of the Mahdist territory on the Blue Nile and on the east bank of the main river. Later, when the British took over Kassala from the Italians, he seemed for a time to be contemplating co-operation with Marchand. He massed a considerable force on the Blue Nile and allowed raiders to penetrate into the borders of British East Africa.

The Congo State campaign against the Mahdists opened well. Dhanis had sent an advanced column under Chaltin to march on Lado. On the 18th February 1897 Chaltin reached the Nile and stormed Reggaf. Dhanis with the main force, largely composed of native troops, was moving up from his base at Stanleyville to join Chaltin in an attack on the Mahdist capital, which was held by a considerable force of riflemen and spearmen with some Krupp guns. Dhanis's force included a large contingent of recently recruited natives of the Batetela tribes. As he moved eastward he made the unpleasant discovery that some of these recently 'civilized' fighting men were indulging in cannibalism. He arrested several native officers—petty chiefs of the Batetelas who had at least tolerated and tried to conceal this horrible relapse into one of the worst forms of savagery. Some of the culprits were executed by sentence of court-martial. The result was first insubordination and then open mutiny of the Batetela soldiers, in which several Belgian officers lost their lives. The mutiny spread to recruits of other tribes, and the revolted troops were joined by insurgents from the villages. For months Dhanis was occupied in the suppression of a rising

which spread through the northern territory and the eastern borders of the state.

Meanwhile Chaltin's force was isolated, short of supplies, and in deadly peril. At Reggaf in the early hours of the 4th July 1897 there was a narrow escape from utter disaster. Night attacks were very seldom made by the Mahdists, for the Arab thinks of the dark hours as haunted by ghosts and demons. It was on a dark night at 1 a.m. that a Mahdist force from Lado, under the Emir Adam Bishara, surprised the Belgian outposts, and broke through the thorn entanglement that surrounded the local post. The attack was repulsed only after hand-to-hand fighting in the dark, with the loss of several officers and men killed and wounded, nearly all with spear-thrusts.

It was not till the autumn of 1898 that Dhanis was able to report that the revolt of the mutineers and their native allies had been trampled out (though for months after there were local troubles in the north of the Free State). The autumn of 1898 was an anxious time. As Kitchener, with the Anglo-Egyptian army and his gunboats closed upon Khartoum, there were fears that instead of making a determined defence the Khalifa might retreat southwards with a yet unbroken army and invade the Free State. The suppression of the revolt had come just in time not only to enable Dhanis to reinforce Chaltin and deal with the Lado Mahdists, but also to send reliable forces to the northern frontier posts of the state. The decisive victory of the Anglo-Egyptian army in the great battle of Omdurman broke up the Khalifa's fighting power. It put an end to any idea of Menelek intervening to help the French push to the Nile, and after a dangerous crisis that might have meant war in Europe and Asia, with France and Russia allied against England, Marchand's occupation of Fashoda ended in his withdrawal, in the capacity of an explorer, no longer an empire-maker, on the Nile.

By virtue of a convention, signed with England, on the 9th May 1906, Leopold II was to hold the enclave of Lado for the duration of his reign and the Free State definitely received a

band of territory bordering upon Lake Albert, with the port of Mahagi and the right to connect by a railway its frontier with the Nile.

Missionary and Social Work.

The Treaty of Berlin guaranteed free exercise of creeds in the agreed basin of the Congo and equality of treatment for all missionaries, without any restrictions other than such as would be necessary for the maintenance of safety and order.

Missions. The missions of Boma and Banana on the Lower Congo had been under the patronage of the Portuguese Government from 1876 until in 1888, by an agreement between the Holy See and the Free State, this patronage came to an end, the Belgian Fathers of the missionary congregation of Scheut-lez-Bruxelles having taken over the direction of these missions in 1887. They now minister to the vast and difficult region of Northern Katanga.

Cardinal Lavigerie took a leading part in providing missionaries for the territories of the Congo Free State. 'By opening up the routes of the African Equator to explorers and merchants', said the cardinal, 'the Geographical Conference of Brussels in 1876 opened them to the Gospel and, even though the Conference has not sought it, that will be its abiding glory.'

The Archbishop of Algiers, then Apostolic Delegate of the Sahara and of the Soudan, had founded in 1868 the Society of African Missionaries, known as 'The White Fathers'. Their aim was to convert the Mohammedans in northern and central Africa. An Apostolic Prefecture had been set up at Lake Tanganyika and at Lake Victoria and Lake Albert. The first caravan of White Fathers arrived at Bagamoyo in June 1879 and founded the first mission in the mandated territories of Urundi at Rumonge.

When in July 1880, after many difficulties, the second caravan reached Rumonge, in one year eight White Fathers had succumbed to illness between the coast of the Indian Ocean and Lake Tanganyika. That same year a caravan of fathers had

been pillaged. The missionaries had to seek refuge at Karema (on Lake Tanganyika) which thus, for the first time, fulfilled its role of hospitaller station.

The White Fathers founded their first mission in the Congo State on the 28th November 1880, at Mubwebwa, on the west of Lake Tanganyika, north of the fourth parallel and at the altitude of the present post of Baraka.

The Free State invited the aid of several missionary Orders. It favoured the missions by granting them civil status which enabled them to acquire property in land and buildings for their work; it exempted them from most of the taxes and made grants-in-aid of their hygienic, educational, and missionary activities. By a decree of the 3rd June 1906 they were enabled to obtain authorization to act as civil registrars of the marriages of natives whose religious union they had celebrated.

The greater part of the Congo basin is under the care of the missionaries of the Scheut Congregation, their missions being grouped in the Apostolic Vicariate of the Belgian Congo and the Prefecture of Upper Kasai. The White Fathers are the Missionaries of the Apostolic Vicariate of the Upper Congo and the Apostolic Prefecture of Lake Albert.

The Premonstratensians of Tongerlo supply the missionaries for the Prefecture of the Welle river, and the Jesuits, who established their first mission station at Stanley Pool, are in charge of the Apostolic Prefecture of Kwango.

The Missions of the Stanley Falls Prefecture are under the care of the Trappists and the Redemptorist Fathers. The French Congregation of the Sacred Heart, the Trappists, the English Redemptorists, and the Fathers of Mill Hill have missions in the Vicariate of the Belgian Congo.

In 1908, on the eve of the annexation, the Congo Free State had 600 Catholic mission posts, 58,000 catechumens, 41,000 Christians, 343 missionaries, nuns, and brothers. The Protestant missionaries had 77 establishments, mostly organized by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (S.P.G.) and the Church Missionary Society (C.M.S.).

The General Secretaries of the Free State, in their Report

to the king, dated the 22nd May 1907, paid this homage to the Catholic missionaries:

The Government could not overstate the important part played by Catholic missionaries in the task of civilizing [the Congo]. The Government, considering their help as indispensable for the regeneration of the Black race, and by reason of their priceless participation in teaching, favours the development of their missions by conceding to them lands, granting them subsidies, and helping them in their material installation.

Education. There has been a remarkable development of the schools founded in connexion with the missions, especially since 1900. Some are free, being under no obligation to the state, others are subsidized and so are controlled, to a certain degree, as for example the refuges where forsaken children, orphans, or those freed following the dispersal of slave convoys are received. The course in primary education lasts for two years. The state has organized agricultural education and a school for civil servants and transport officials.

Scientific Institutions. Leopold II founded at Brussels the Museum of Tervueren, in which important ethnographical, zoological, and mineralogical collections were brought together and exhibited. He had a magnificent scientific publication brought out, *Annals of the Congo Museum*.

Hygiene. The Free State has devoted considerable attention to organizing medical and hygienic services with the aid of the missions and the Red Cross. Sanitary stations and hospitals have been built. Special efforts have been made against sleeping sickness. In 1899 a research laboratory was founded at Léopoldville; and a scientific mission, led by Drs. Dulton and Todd from the Liverpool School of Tropical Medicine, was sent out to the Congo. Moreover, the king offered a prize of 200,000 francs for the discovery of a cure for this scourge. A School of Tropical Medicine has been founded at Brussels to complete the scientific training of doctors in tropical medicine and hygiene.

Internal communications. In a state having only one water-way to the ocean (a narrow neck through which all the riches of the

hinterland had to pass), and whose rivers were interrupted by falls and rapids, the question of ways of transport was of prime importance.

The caravan route, nearly 200 miles long, which Stanley had made from Vivi to Léopoldville was rough and difficult. Conveyance was both a danger for the native and a big obstacle to commercial expansion. Stanley had written that, without a railway to connect Léopoldville with the sea, the Congo was not worth a penny. La Compagnie du Congo pour le Commerce et l'Industrie (the Congo Company for Commerce and Industry), which had been set up in 1887, had studied the draught and La Compagnie du Chemin de Fer du Congo (Congo Railway Company), which had been set up that year, started the construction in 1890. There were obstacles on all sides—climatic conditions; the crossing of the Crystal Range; scarcity of manual labour; stoppages in the recruitment and work of Chinese labourers, prohibitions from England and France against recruiting workers from their colonies; indifference of public opinion in Belgium and, above all, lack of financial aid—yet, in spite of these obstacles, a single-line railway was laid over 400 kilometres and opened on the 1st July 1898. The original estimate stated the cost of the line at 25 million francs. The cost was 60 millions.

Four years later in 1902, on the king's initiative, La Compagnie des Chemins de Fer des Grands Lacs (the Great Lakes Railway Company) was formed to connect the river Congo at Stanleyville with Lake Albert, and thence with the Nile, and Kabalo on the Lualaba with Lake Tanganyika. By a convention in 1903 the company was directed to provide navigation on Lake Tanganyika and the navigable reaches of the Lualaba, and to connect up those reaches where rapids or other obstacles interrupted navigation. The scheme promised a railway system of 1,072 miles from Stanleyville to Lake Tanganyika and to the railway terminus of Katanga. In 1902 Leopold II promoted the scheme of the Katanga railway, to connect the Free State's frontier and Northern Rhodesia with Elizabethville and Bukama, the terminus to which the Lualaba was navigable;

in 1906 he promoted La Cie du Chemin de Fer du Bas-Congo au Katanga (the Lower-Congo and Katanga Railway Co.) to connect Katanga with the Atlantic without going through South Africa.

In 1898 the construction of Le Chemin de Fer du Mayumba, (Mayumba Railway), a single line, with terminus at Tshela, near the Angola frontier, was sanctioned by decree.

Many steamers were launched on the Congo river to increase the state flotilla, and already by 1896 a regular passenger service was established connecting Belgium with the Congo—Antwerp to Banana.

The whole policy pursued by the Free State in its lines of communications aimed at securing that the greatest quantity of produce should go by national lines to the port of Antwerp. When geographical conditions favoured foreign ports, such as Lobito Bay, in Angola, the greatest possible number of advantages should be obtained from the societies and States on which they depended.

Financial Questions.

Difficulties began to be felt from 1890. The king had involved the greater part of his fortune and was absolutely obliged to repay bankers' loans. The Brussels Conference authorized the collection of a tax of 10 per cent. on all imported products. Belgium gave a loan of 25 millions. These funds were not enough. To attract capital, Leopold II inaugurated the 'great concessions' régime. By a decree of the 1st July 1885, the Free State had declared itself owner of all vacant lands and forests and, as it was the custom to regard as vacant all that was not actually cultivated or worked by the natives, this decree made the state master of the greater part of the land of the Congo. Private companies formed under government concessions secured immense domains, which they were unable to develop, and so this policy made vast regions of no avail. They eventually turned over part of their property to the state. Non-granted lands became state property. The king decided, in 1891, to modify his policy by reserving for himself the exploita-

tion of rubber and ivory in domanial lands. This exploitation was worked by the government or by the intermediary of certain societies, in which the State had an interest. Free trade had, henceforth, a very limited field. On the 19th January 1892 Leopold II wrote to his minister, M. Beernaert, who had informed him of the many criticisms which this decree aroused: 'The State must not neglect the means which would enable her to pay her way, or, in other words, to pay the price of the onward march of civilization.' To put the matter more plainly, good business results must be kept in sight.

The opposition obtained some modifications of the decree, and secured the opening up to free trade of new regions, principally in the basin of the Kasai.

This régime brought only a supplement of 2 million francs to the budget, and the deficit, in 1894, reached almost 2,500,000 francs. Belgium gave a new loan, and to ensure the future of the Congo the government introduced in Parliament a Bill for the annexation of the Congo State to Belgium. The king made the utmost efforts to retard this annexation.

On the other hand, the tax in kind, frequently collected by agents of societies, degenerated into forced labour.

Anti-Congolese Campaign.

It is to be observed that Leopold II, in his instructions, recommended the avoidance of violence, that he caused the native armed bands to be disarmed, forbade among the Bangala methods of gathering in rubber, and suppressed the premiums granted to tribes for the production of ivory and rubber. But the method of exploitation made abuses all but inevitable. It would have required a complete change of policy to meet the situation. Leopold II was, however, more and more anxious to find funds for the operations against the Arabs and Mahdists from 1895 to 1900.

A violent press campaign, aided by meetings protesting against Leopold's system, was started in 1900, principally in England, the United States, and Holland. In England the Congo Reform Association published thousands of pamphlets

and organized a campaign of agitation against the Congo Free State.

On the 20th May 1903 the government accepted in the House of Commons a motion demanding that the powers which were signatories to the Berlin Act should examine measures to put an end to the Congo abuses. The debate was resumed in 1904, following on the report of Mr. Casement, the English consul at Boma. The Congo Free State published a memoir in reply to these attacks. It stated that if abuses had been committed they were isolated crimes, such as could be found in all colonies and all countries; that Congolese justice repressed them and saw to the execution of laws protecting the natives.

Many English travellers who had lived in the Congo—Mr. Grey, Dr. Wollaston, Major Cotton, Savage Landor the explorer, Lord Mountmorres—took the side of the Congo Free State and declared that Congolese atrocities had been very much exaggerated.

In America great associations such as the Knights of Columbus, the Catholic Mutual Benefit Association, the Federation of Catholic Societies publicly manifested their indignation at the accusations which, without any proof, were being hurled against Leopold II, and they protested against a campaign which had definitely assumed an attitude hostile to the Catholic missions. The missionaries were accused of exacting forced labour from black children in the missions. It is worthy of note that Presbyterians and Episcopalians officially abstained from taking part in the anti-Congolese campaign in the United States.

The Catholic missionaries published a manifesto which established, beyond question, the baseless and calumnious character of the attacks upon them. No one replied to the challenge that they issued, asking for the smallest proof of the authenticity of a single accusation brought against them.

By a decree of the 23rd July 1904 a commission of investigation, presided over by a Swiss magistrate, was set up to inquire into the abuses which were imputed to the government and Europeans. The investigation took place in the Congo, from

October 1904 to February 1905. The report deplored the continuance of iniquitous dealings, but stressed the quibbling of a great many of the critics, and the obvious exaggeration of others.

The members of the commission, having paid high tribute to the Free State's work, suggested a certain number of reforms, which would eradicate certain defects found in the very organization of the Congo Free State.

The Free State promulgated in 1906 a series of decrees, which modified Congolese administration towards the direction indicated by the Report of the Investigating Commission.

Abuses had been committed. It was unjust to exaggerate or generalize them. The regrettable economic policy from which Leopold II could not free himself was the source of many abuses which were a shadow on this great achievement, for in less than twenty years, and in spite of difficulties which at first sight seemed insuperable, he had secured solid and lasting gains for the peoples of Africa.

Annexation of the Congo by Belgium.

In 1890 Belgium had advanced a sum of 25 millions to the Free State, 5 millions there and then, and 2 millions annually during ten years. Six months after the expiration of this date Belgium had the choice of having this sum repaid or of annexing the Free State.

On the 25th July 1890 during the discussion on this loan, in the Parliament, the leader of the Cabinet, M. Beernaert, Minister of State, read the will of Leopold II, dated the 2nd April 1889, bequeathing the Congo to Belgium.

Desiring [the King wrote] to secure to Our beloved country the results of that work which for long years We have been pursuing in the African continent, with the generous and devoted aid of many Belgians; convinced that We contribute thus to securing for Belgium, if she so wishes, outlets indispensable for her commerce and industry, and the opening-up of new paths for her children's activities, We declare herein that We bequeath and transmit, after Our death, to Belgium, all Our sovereign rights in the Congo Free State, such as they have been recognized by declarations, conventions, and treaties, which have intervened from 1884, between foreign

powers on one side and the International Association of the Congo and Congo Free State on the other, as well as all benefits and gains attached to this sovereignty. Until the Belgian Legislature will have ruled on the acceptance of these my aforementioned provisions, sovereignty will be collectively exercised by the council of three administrators of the Congo Free State and by the Governor-General.

Following fresh financial difficulties in the Free State, a project of annexation was presented by the Belgian Government in 1895, but the king put off the discussion. The commission for investigating the project agreed to defer the annexation and voted a fresh sum of 7 million francs.

When the Belgian Constitution was revised in 1899, the first article of the Constitution was, with a view to the annexation of the Congo, completed as follows: 'The colonies whether over-sea possessions or protectorates which Belgium may acquire are governed by special laws. Belgian troops intended for their defence may be recruited only by voluntary enlistment.'

A fresh debate on the annexation took place in 1908, and on the 20th August of that year the taking over of the Congo was voted. The Colonial Law was promulgated on the 18th October 1908; a supplemental law passed on the 30th November of the same year instituted a Colonial Ministry. On the 15th November 1908 Belgium assumed sovereignty over the territories contained in the Congo Free State, and the Belgian flag was hoisted in all posts in the Congo.

The Cardinal-Archbishop of Malines and the Belgian bishops ordered that a collective letter should be read from the pulpits. This letter enjoined on all the faithful to associate themselves in the cause of the civilization of the Congo natives. A *Te Deum* was sung in all churches in the country on the 1st November 1908.

The Belgian Congo, 1908.

Leopold II, in twenty-three years and with very limited means, had achieved this wonderful feat. He had a land, eighty times as large as Belgium, explored, pacified, and occupied.

Slave traffic no longer existed. Order reigned in the land. The blank expanse, which we knew on our atlas, was soon covered with the names of towns and posts. The Congo had been through the heroic cycle and had arrived at the social and economic development stage, when the Free State became a Belgian colony.

Organization. The judicial situation of the Belgian Congo is as follows: the Congo has a distinct personality from the mother country; it is ruled by particular laws, and Belgium's assets and liabilities remain separate from those of the colony.

Belgians, Congolese registered in the Congo, and foreigners enjoy all civil rights recognized in the legislation of the Belgian Congo. Their personal status is ruled by their national laws, in so far as these do not oppose public order.

Non-registered natives of the Belgian Congo enjoy civil rights granted them by the laws of the colony, and by their customs, in so far as these are not opposed to law or public order. Non-registered natives of neighbouring countries are treated similarly.

The reforms, which King Albert when heir-apparent and M. Renkin, Colonial Prime Minister, had studied in the course of their journeys in the Congo, in 1908 and 1909, respectively, were progressively applied.

Reforms carried out in the Congo by Belgium.

Amongst the numerous reforms decreed in 1910, and effected by the Belgian Government, we may point out:

1. Suppression of State exploitation of domanial lands; the natives being at liberty to gather the free products and to dispose of the crops.
2. Replacing of the tax of forced labour, and of the tax in kind, by a personal tax, payable in money only, and varying from five to twelve francs, according to districts, plus a tax of two francs, per wife, on polygamists.
3. Regulating the natives' work, fixing the conditions for recruiting, the duration of the engagements, safeguarding the pay and guaranteeing the eventual repatriation of workers.

Administrative Divisions. The Congo was divided into four great provinces: Congo-Kasai, Equator, Eastern Province, and Katanga. The provinces were divided into districts and the districts into territories.

Native Policy. The native policy applied to the Belgian Congo is by indirect administration: to lead the black to administer to himself, under the supervision of colonial administration. This native policy is based on the organization and development of chieftaincies. It respects and sanctions native groupings, and administers them through the intermediary of native institutions. Native chieftains and petty chieftains receive governmental investiture and are remunerated. They carry out acts of authority in the administrative, political, and judicial spheres, in conformity with native custom, yet raising it up to a higher civilization.

The native policy followed aims at the realization of a twofold ideal: a humanitarian ideal (moral and material improvement in the life of the natives) and a utilitarian ideal (production of raw materials, sale of manufactured articles, and profit from the capital invested by the mother country). Progress along humanitarian lines has always taken precedence over economic progress.

Magistracy, Army. The magistracy was made independent. The troops, composed exclusively of natives, staffed and commanded by officers and non-commissioned officers of the Belgian army, are recruited voluntarily and by annual levy. The strength of the army was raised to 16,000 recruits officered by 360 Europeans.

The War interrupted the application of these reforms. The Berlin Act had guaranteed the neutrality of the conventional basin of the Congo. From August 1914 Belgium wanted to preserve that neutrality. Germans from the East African colony violated it and forced the colonial troops to take the field.

In the course of the first part of the campaign—from August 1914 to February 1916—Belgian troops defended the colony on a front stretching from the north of Lake Kivu to the south of Lake Tanganyika, and co-operated with France in

the conquest of Cameroon, and with England in dispersing German troops in northern Rhodesia.

At the beginning of 1916 the Belgian army took the offensive. The concentration of the means of action necessary for an army of 15,000 men, placed at 2,500 km. from the Belgian base at the sea, at Matadi, and at 1,400 km. from the English base, at Mobwas, had demanded a long and difficult preparation. General the Baron Tombeur was in command. After many very stiff fights, the two expeditionary brigades conquered 200,000 sq. km. of territory, with a population of 4,000,000 inhabitants and the possession of Tabora, the Germans' war capital, on the 19th September 1916. English columns marched on Tabora and Dar-es-Salam, to the east of the Belgians.

In the course of the second campaign, in 1917 and 1918, English and Belgian pressure drove the last German forces to take refuge in Mozambique.

The Great Powers, which had assembled for the Congress of Versailles in 1919, gave a mandate to Belgium for Ruanda-Urundi, which has an area of 54,172 sq. km. and so is 1.78 times as large as Belgium. Upon ceding part of the Ruanda-Urundi territories to England, an Anglo-Belgian Convention of the 15th March 1921 granted to the Belgian Congo the most favourable tariffs for the transport of merchandise, freedom of transit across the whole of Tanganyika territory, with free ports at both ends of the Kigoma-Dar-es-Salaam route.

Convention of Saint-Germain en Laye, 1919.

On the 10th September Belgium signed the Convention of Saint-Germain en Laye. It replaced the Berlin Treaty which was broken by the War and abrogated the Brussels Act of the 2nd July 1890. This treaty maintained the rule of commercial equality in favour of all under the jurisdiction of the Signatory Powers, and of the States in the membership of the Society of the League of Nations. It gave to each one of the contracting parties the right of his own system of customs, but without the right of instituting a discriminative policy. The convention testified that the territories specified in the 1890 Act were

administered in order, and that the evolution of their inhabitants followed a normal course. Each one of the signatories undertook anew to see after the moral and material improvement of the natives, to ensure the complete suppression of slave traffic, and to prohibit the importation, circulation, sale, and holding of apparatus for distilling alcohol and trading alcohols.

Convention of Saint-Paul de Loanda, 1927.

By the Convention of Saint-Paul de Loanda, signed on the 22nd July 1927, the Portuguese Government gave freedom of transit and equality of treatment to Belgian travellers and merchandise using the Lobito Bay–Angola Railway to the Belgian Congo. In order to facilitate modifications in the Lower Congo Railway (Matadi–Léopoldville) Portugal ceded 3 sq. km. of territory situated beside the river Pozo, in exchange for 3,500 sq. km. of territory near the Luao, in the south-west of the Belgian Congo.

Moral Evolution of the Belgian Congo.

When we come to measure the task achieved after twenty-three years of colonization, we may liken the results obtained by Belgium to a diptych with closely united panels: moral evolution and economic progress.

Our colonial policy had, as its main objective, the raising of the moral and intellectual level of the native and the improvement of his social condition. This policy was defined by King Albert in his Speech from the Throne in 1909: 'To a people with a true sense of justice a colonizing mission is, above all, a mission of high civilization. By accepting it loyally, a small country proves itself great, and when Belgium undertakes to apply a programme worthy of herself in the Congo, no one has the right to doubt her word.'

By 1885, that is in less than forty years—and what are forty years in the life of a colony?—Belgians had come into contact with the most backward races of central Africa.

Hygiene. The government fought against the nefarious influence of sorcerers and fetish worshippers. It carried on an

intense campaign against sleeping sickness, infantile mortality, and the too great mortality resulting principally from physical deficiency and under-nourishment.

In 1930 the official medical organization embraced 273 doctors, 120 sanitary agents, and about 500 native infirmarians. In the sanitary service are included, as well as laboratories, central hospitals and dispensaries for Europeans and natives, and infirmaries directed by native assistants under the guidance of doctors and missionaries in the principal towns of the districts and in the leading chieftaincies. Medical missions range those regions where maladies are particularly prevalent. A hospital-ship on the Congo secures the evacuation of the sick.

Private initiative co-operates very actively in medical aid. Certain great colonial societies have organized special prophylactic missions; they all engage doctors and medical assistants and have built hospitals and lazarettos. The Congo Red Cross has set up three centres of medical aid. One of these centres, in the eastern province, is for lepers.

In the Catholic and Protestant missions natives in thousands are attended to most carefully every day.

The 'Aide Médicale aux Missions' (Medical Aid for the Missions), which recruits the medical staff for service in the Catholic Missions and provides them with the necessary stores, is worthy of special mention. Worthy of special mention also is 'La Fondation Médicale Universitaire-Fomulac' (The University Medical Society Fomulac), founded by the Catholic University Association to help the missions. It has organized a hospital with a laboratory attached, at Kisantu, near the Jesuits' Mission and has decided on organizing a similar foundation at Kivu. It has established a school for native medical assistants and founded a university at Kisantu in which native doctors may qualify.

Expenses inscribed in the colonial budget, added to those incurred by private initiative, come on an average to more than a hundred millions a year. In 1920 the budget for public hygiene in the Belgian Congo Colony was 4 million francs; in 1925, 25 millions, and in 1930, 96 millions.

The rate of mortality had gone down to 11.09 per cent. amongst Europeans, and 12.18 per cent. amongst natives by 1929.

Education. There are free schools, subsidized and official, in which teaching is done by missionaries, Christian Brothers, Marist Fathers, the Brothers of Charity, and nuns. One hundred and eighty thousand natives receive instruction annually in the schools. These schools are primary, secondary, professional, domestic economy and normal, for adults and medical assistants. There are also several seminaries for Catholic missions.

The wonderful development of professional education is worthy of special note. These professional schools can compare with the finest schools of the kind in Europe. The results obtained from the native soldiers, formed in them, are highly satisfactory. The schools for native officials and non-commissioned officers have given excellent results. The soldiers are trained as infirmarians, carpenters, smiths, armourers, motor-drivers, mechanics or chauffeurs, and workers for the railways, and are taught the art of cultivating the soil. The budget for official and subsidized instruction in 1931 reached 23,879,000 francs.

Labour and Regulations of Work. Belgium has taken a great interest in the labour problem, which is of vital importance to the Belgian Congo. As the Congo is an 'occupied' rather than a 'settled' colony, the native population must provide labour. Most colonials hold that there is a tendency in the Belgian colony towards depopulation. This tendency they attribute to the prevalence of epidemics and sleeping sickness, to the falling birth-rate, to the rising infantile mortality, and to the growing immorality in many centres where the natives live in great numbers. Widespread polygamy tends also towards a diminishing birth-rate.

The limitation of recruiting and the examination of ways and means for the rational division and best employment of native workers are amongst the most significant measures taken for the purpose of regulating labour.

The object of a decree in 1922, concerning contract work, was to prevent and suppress abuses that might arise in connexion with recruiting workers in the fulfilment and execution of a contract for work.

Various decrees guarantee good hygienic conditions and safety for the workers, regulate work in dangerous or unhealthy buildings, and provide for the inspection of industry.

Missions. In 1930 the Holy See nominated an Apostolic Delegate for the Belgian Congo. He resides in Léopoldville.

Several congregations of missionaries and nuns have come, in addition to those that had undertaken the work of evangelization, under the régime of the Congo Free State.

According to the latest statistics of 1930, there are in the Belgian Congo and mandated territories 4,803 Catholic mission posts. Of these 186 are served by 860 missionaries and 558 nuns, belonging to 49 congregations. The first monastery has been founded in Katanga by the Benedictine Fathers.

The Congo is divided into 11 vicariates and 10 prefectures, and possesses 680,000 Christians and half a million catechumens, in all about 11 per cent. of the native Congo population.

Protestant Missions. There are about 25 Protestant missions in the Congo, comprising 250 missionaries. The most important missions are: American Presbyterian Congo Missions, the Baptist Missionary Society (English), the Congo Balolo Mission (English), the Congo Inland Mission (American), the Christian and Missionary Alliance (American).

The Protestant missions introduce the blacks to the precepts of religion and at the same time give primary and professional education. They have important medical foundations (hospitals, dispensaries, schools for native infirmarians). Protestants have 200,000 adherents, about 2.1 per cent. of the population.

Social Work. As well as religious apostleship, teaching, and hygiene, Catholic missionaries have created a wonderful *ensemble* of functions connected with education, recreation, saving, relief, and mutual benefits. There are in the missions 25 troops of native scouts, gymnastic, and sports societies, brass

bands, savings banks, mutual benefit societies, 'patronages', 'L'Œuvre du Vêtement Congolais' (the Congolese Clothing Society), the Dowry Society, the Drop of Milk Society, orphanages, hospices.

The missions seek to convert the natives, but they also follow an indirect apostleship in economic and social action, which is in germ in them as the flower and fruit are in the seed sown on fertile ground.

Missionaries brought to the Congo valuable collaboration in the domain of science, ethnography, linguistics, agriculture, and tropical medicine, over and above the prodigious pile of saving, relief, and mutual benefit associations.

Missionaries are the most valuable, influential, and disinterested collaborators in the work of colonization.

Economic Evolution.

Economic evolution in the Belgian Congo has been extraordinary. Rubber and ivory constituted the most important output under the Congo Free State. Since the annexation, they have been succeeded by the gathering of the palmetto yield and the industry therefrom, by the crop of copal, and the cultivation of cotton and coffee; the following figures show the progress of some products:

	1920	1929
Palmettos	39,457 tons	75,000 tons
Palm-oil	7,624 „	30,000 „
Cotton	174 „	9,600 „
Copal	13,249 „	17,000 „
Coffee	113½ „	836 „
Cacao	335½ „	1,100 „
Ivory	336 „	207 „

New products are being added every year, such as kapok, sisal, earth-nuts, and sugar.

The Belgian Congo, especially Katanga, contains great mineral wealth. As far as exploiting this wealth goes, realizations have far outstripped all hopes: no African colony has so rapidly or substantially risen in value.

The Congo occupies the first place in the world for radium production—Katanga (production 26 grammes in 1927, 42

grammes in 1928, 60 grammes in 1929); the second place for copper production (2,500 tons in 1912, 43,500 tons in 1922, 130,000 tons in 1929, 136,000 tons in 1930); the third place for diamond production—Congo-Kasai (200 carats in 1913, 34,000 in 1923, 1,800,000 carats in 1930).

The gold-mines of Kilo-Moto, in the north-east of the colony, produced between 1905, when they were first worked, and 1930 52,326 kilograms of gold. The annual production is about 5,500 kg. The working of tin and oil, and of cobalt in Katanga, has gone ahead rapidly. The Colonial Government collects a proportion of the profits through Concessionary Mining Societies.

The value of imports into the Congo increased from 1,624 millions in 1928 to 2,206 millions in 1929, and the value of exports increased, during the same period, from 1,227 millions to 1,444 millions.

In 1929 Belgium furnished 209,000 tons of imports for 963,000,000 francs and purchased exports to the tune of 817,000,000 francs.

Even though the Congo is now in the throes of the world-crisis, like all other countries and colonies, Belgium has full confidence in her colonial domain.

The number of industrial and commercial institutions was about 6,600 in 1930. Besides a great many factories of all kinds—oil works, repair-workshops, rice-plantations, breweries, lime-kilns, saw-mills, &c.—the important factories of the Union Minière du Haut-Katanga, for the treatment of copper, cobalt, and tin, are worthy of special note, as are also the factories of the Société Forestière et Minière for the treatment of diamonds; the Goldmines' Society of Kilo-Moto, the Belgian Congo Oil Works, and the Texaf Spinning Mills at Léopoldville.

All the important societies have greatly helped towards social action by setting up schools, protection societies for black children, and hospitals. Measures have been undertaken to reduce labour as far as possible, by installing the very best machinery and by the material improvement of the workers' way of living.

Besides Le Comité Spécial du Katanga (the Special Katanga Committee) founded by Leopold II, which of late years has established a forestry service, a geographical and geological service, and set up a model farm where colonists spend a probationary term, the government founded, in 1928, Le Comité National du Kivu (the National Kivu Committee). This committee has for function to develop a healthy and very vast region, situated far on the north, south, and west of Lake Kivu. Its purpose is to develop it in the interests of agricultural colonization, whether European or native, and it must look after the material comforts and moral and intellectual improvement of the people there.

The problem of developing the Congo is, however, not so much a problem of production as of transport. Raw materials and products of exchange must be able to be brought to the coast in sufficient quantities and, above all, in marketable condition. There are large numbers of steamers on the 10,000 miles of navigable waters. Important companies such as L'Unatra, on the river Congo and its tributaries, with a flotilla of 79 units with an aggregate tonnage of 45,000, and the Compagnie des Chemins de Fer du Congo Supérieur aux Grands Lacs Africains (The Upper Congo to the Great African Lakes Railway Co.), with its 15 boats of from 100 to 300 tons, guarantee regular services and connexions.

The water-ways are supplemented by about 9,800 miles of roads—a tangible symbol of peace, as it was with the Romans of old—and by 2,200 miles of working railways.

The Congo holds the highest place in Africa for regular lines of aviation. The Belgium-Congo connexion is by Antwerp-Brussels-Léopoldville. There are many weekly services between the principal towns of the Congo, in connexion with the steamship lines of La Cie Belge Maritime du Congo et Lloyd Royal (The Belgian Maritime Co. of the Congo and Royal Lloyd), whose boats link Antwerp with Matadi, via Lobito, in twenty days.

The Congo in 1912 had a chain of twelve wireless posts, and in 1922 twenty-two posts, three of which—Léopoldville, Eliza-

bethville, and Stanleyville—guarantee reception from the home country. Léopoldville and Elizabethville send out official news from the Congo to Belgium. There are 3,365 miles of telegraph lines in the colony.

If, a few short years ago, the physical consolidation of the Congo seemed but an empty dream, the conquering steamer, railroad, motor, and flying machine have changed that dream into an irrefutable reality. Industrial science has to-day set distances at naught; to-morrow still further progress will be realized.

There were in the Belgian Congo 25,679 Europeans in 1930. Of these 17,676 were Belgians, that is 68·81 per cent.

Since the War public opinion has become more and more interested in the development of the Congo, and amongst Catholics the missionary movement has been followed up and sustained with great fervour.

In concluding this sketch of Belgian penetration into Africa which is, of necessity, incomplete, we shall quote Sir Herbert Samuel's testimony. This testimony was read before the Belgian Chamber of Representatives on the 26th February 1929 by M. Jaspar, the Prime Minister. Sir Herbert Samuel, who in the English Parliament had been an adversary of Leopold II's policy, stated:

A quarter of a century has passed. The transfer has long since been accomplished. Because of the part that I played at that period, I would fain, to-day, venture to offer my respectful congratulations for the complete change that has been wrought and the brilliant results that have been obtained.

The Congo Colony is now considered as having a foremost place among enlightened and progressive colonial administrations.

GERMANY'S RELATIONS WITH AFRICA

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Vienna

GERMANY'S RELATIONS WITH AFRICA

GERMANY's relations with Africa in the latest colonial epoch have their origin not in the policy of the Empire but in the initiative of a few German merchants and explorers. Only very slowly since the middle of the eighties of the last century the policy of the Empire began to be interested in colonies and also in Africa. Only in 1884 did Germany become a colonial power after the other European nations had secured their portion of the Dark Continent. Very slowly the German nation began to get interested in Africa. Even a man like Prince Bismarck for a long time held far aloof from colonial ideals. Once there was a rumour in Berlin that the prince intended to undertake a trip to Africa in order to give expression to the German colonial interest; and he said laughingly in the Reichstag: 'I will go to Africa for some riding on the camel which has invented this news.'

The relations of Germany to Africa reach much farther back. In 1680 the Great Elector of Brandenburg, urged by the Dutch Admiral Benjamin Raule, sent two ships to the Gold Coast, where his soldiers concluded treaties for the acquisition of territory with the chiefs. In 1682 an African Company was founded with the intention of giving an economical support to the colonial enterprises. On the occasion of the second Brandenburg expedition (1682) her flag was hoisted on the Monte Mantro, and a fortress, 'Gross-Friedrichsburg', was founded. In 1684 the Arguin Isles, and in 1685 the Isle of San Thomé were added to these possessions. Within two years an important colonial venture had developed. With the death of the Great Elector the enterprise begun so boldly perished, and its possessions came into the hands of Holland and France.

So practically the relations hardly begun were dissolved, and only now and then in the following two hundred years did Africa come timidly within the horizon of Germany. Without any colonial intentions, only moved by commercial considerations, Frederick the Great founded the Ostindische Handelsgesellschaft (East Indian Commercial Company),

which naturally extended also to Africa. Many other plans appeared in the course of history, but they remained merely plans and ideas.

In order to understand the German unconsciousness of the peoples and ideals outside their country, we must consider their economic and political conditions. Germany formed a dis-united disconnected conglomeration of States and cities each desiring neither to let the other have anything nor take anything from them. Therefore the country always remained behind in comparison with what other nations were able to accomplish economically. All the elementary conditions were missing which are necessary for completing a uniform national undertaking such as the formation of international and colonial relations.

This was changed when in 1871 the small States came to an end, and a united Germany could participate in the competition of nations beyond the oceans. During the nineteenth century more than six million Germans had left their country and had gone overseas. Of course the interest of the people had to be awakened. Also their parliamentary representatives were rather apathetic with regard to any colonial ideas. Even in 1880 the Reichstag refused the first colonial Bill. Public opinion had to be guided, its outlook over the frontier of their own country widened, and a 'majority of national will' had to be created.

Since the sixties of the last century the Rheinische Protestantische Missionsgesellschaft (Rhenish Protestant Missionary Society) of Barmen had developed a fruitful activity in the Bay of Angra-Pequena (South-West Africa). Hanseatic merchants, especially the commercial house F. A. F. Lüderitz of Bremen, acquired in 1883 territory at this spot. Now Bismarck considered the time to have arrived to give expression to the German colonial interest, and in a wire to the German consul in Cape-town he asked him to notify the English colonial authorities that the settlements of Mr. Lüderitz were under German protection. This wire of the 24th April 1884 is the first official act of the new German colonial policy and colonial history. This

date is the birthday of the German colonial empire. The frontiers of the territory named German South-West Africa were fixed in agreement with England (1884) and Portugal (1886).

Since the seventies German merchants had formed active connexions with the natives for commerce on the Guinea coast, and had signed treaties with the chiefs. Nearly two hundred years after the foundation of Gross-Friedrichsburg, in 1884, within the immediate neighbourhood of this historical place, a strip of coast 50 km. long and extending inland from 560 to 225 km. was occupied. This was the colony of Togo. In the Cameroons the conditions were similar. A few months after the declaration of the possession of Togo, the Cameroons also became German territory.

In East Africa, in the territory of the Sultan of Zanzibar, German trade had begun already rather early. In 1874 the Sultan himself had made an advance to Germany to take his territory under German protection. Bismarck then refused. But in 1885 the Deutsche Ostafrikanische Gesellschaft (German East African Company) received an imperial safe-conduct for their territories. When in 1886 the Arab revolution broke out, Germany and England were brothers side by side in the fight for the highest ideals, Germany, like England, taking a clear position against the dreadful slave-trade. With the colonial occupation of German East Africa the German colonial empire in Africa had been completed, and direct openings for the German export trade had been created. It was a territory of 2,687,990 sq. km. with 14 million inhabitants.

The Great War has eliminated Germany as a colonial Power, and therefore also cut off a great part of German cultural influence. History will speak the final judgement as to how far the changes on the African map have been in the interest of the black continent. Like all the other colonial Powers, Germany also has regarded the economic factor as the most important and decisive in her colonial politics. Like every other colonial Power, Germany has made colonial policy with a view to a market for her industrial products, to obtain territories for

German emigrants, bases for her navy and her trade, and to be able to acquire cheaply and independently from foreign countries raw materials for her immensely developing industries. These are egoistic aims. But besides these the uplifting of the natives was considered as the most important. It will be recognized at once that in the first years Germany made mistakes, but the often very stormy interpellations in the Reichstag, and some colonial law cases, furnish the irrefutable proof that the German people by no means allowed any suppression or injustice against the black population. The judgement of English colonial experts which was pronounced in the first session of the Royal Colonial Institute on the 13th January 1914 is important, for Viscount Milner, George Foster, Robert Melville, and many others paid their highest respect to the cultural work of the German people in Africa (cf. *United Empire*, February issue, 1914).

The Englishmen pointed out a difference between German colonial methods and their own, the former trying to work out a scientific scheme, while they themselves at once go practically to work for obvious and quick results. Already before the German colonial epoch there had been founded institutes for the scientific exploration of countries overseas, which later on were put at the service of colonial enterprise. Their tendency and the sphere of their work are indicated by their names, so that I have really only to give the following: Zentralverein für Handelsgeographie und Förderung deutscher Interessen im Ausland (Central Society for Commercial Geography and Furtherance of German Interests in Foreign Countries), founded 1878, Deutsche Kolonialgesellschaft (German Colonial Society), which had developed from the Deutscher Kolonialverein (German Colonial Union), which was dedicated in a prominent way to the propagation of colonial knowledge, support of scientific works, especially maintenance of scientific economic stations, and furtherance of research in tropical hygiene, ethnology, and linguistics. The Kolonialwirtschaftliche Komitee (Colonial Economical Committee) in Berlin has rendered great services to all countries by the expert execution of fundamental

pioneer work for the utilization of the treasures of the African soil and its products.

Important investigation work was also done by the state institutes, especially by the Kolonialwirtschaftliche Institut (Colonial Economical Institute), the Botanische Zentralstelle für die Kolonien in Berlin (Botanical Central Office for the Colonies), the Geologische Landesanstalt (Geological Institute), and the Bergakademie (Mining Academy) in Berlin, and others. In the Museum for Ethnology, at the Geological Paleontological, the Geological Petrographical Institutes, and the Zoological Museum, many physicians, missionaries, and officials have had instruction how to observe and collect specimens which generally were sent to those institutes as material for scientific research, and which in this way did precious work towards the knowledge and history of mankind. The African collection of the Ethnological Museum of Berlin has become, for the number of its specimens, as well as for the manner of their scientific presentation, an indispensable link in the chain of similar institutes in Europe. The Ethnological Museum of Leipzig had a great scientific fame long before Germany became one of the colonial Powers.

A glance at the history of African exploration is sufficient to show Germany's large share in it. How many German names are to be found there! Of the earlier explorers I may name here H. Barth, who published as early as 1857 a work of five volumes on travels and explorations in north and central Africa. G. Schweinfurt called the work he published in 1874, in two volumes, *Im Herzen Afrikas* ('In the Heart of Africa'). Later on there was published a work of three volumes on the Sahara and the Sudan. Between the older Africanologists there are to be mentioned, with full authority and weight, E. Holub and Junker. Without being able to give all the names of the younger generation modern African science will never forget the books which Stuhlmann gave us, together with Emin Pasha, on East and Central Africa, Paulitschke and Poch on prehistoric Africa, Meinhof and Westermann on African linguistics, Luschan and Ankermann on African culture, and Frobenius likewise a history

on the latter subject. Every scholar on Africa knows the names of Pechuel, Lösche, Tessmann, Merker, Irle, Weule, Schebesta, Schulien, and Schachzobel. The German special reviews, like *Anthropos*, *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* ('Review of Ethnology'), *Bibliotheca Africana*, prove the scientific interest which German scholars have taken now, as formerly, in the African continent. In the list of African explorations in the nineteenth century there are, among 400 names, more than 100 German.

In the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures German missionaries and scholars work unanimously together with their colleagues of all nations. Not a few difficulties to the German colonial Power were created by juridical native customs. At all the German colonial congresses they were an object of earnest consideration. The State supported with generous subsidies all the investigations concerning the rights of the natives. To-day the result of the diligent work of scholars lies before us in two large volumes of E. Schultze-Ewerth and Leonhard Adam, *Das Eingeborenerecht* ('The Laws of the Natives'), vol. i, *East Africa*, edited in 1929, and in 1930 the second volume on the laws of the natives in Togo, the Cameroons, South-West Africa, and the South Seas. These works are a precious help to the understanding of the soul of the native.

German medicine had led an energetic fight against the sleeping sickness which changed whole strips of country into uninhabited deserts, and in co-operation with the Sleeping Sickness Bureau in London the battle against this scourge of mankind was taken up. At the side of the English scholar Bruce, Dr. Kleiner stands as an equal. After the loss of the German colonies a German expedition under Dr. Kleiner and Dr. Fischer left, with the consent of the British Government, for Rhodesia, to try new medicines there. The fight against the most important contagious illness, the malaria, is insolubly bound up with the name of Robert Koch.

The position of German investigations in tropical hygiene was efficiently demonstrated to all visitors to the Vatican Missionary Exhibition in 1925 in the pavilion for tropical hygiene.

Besides the economical utilization for the mother country,

there were efforts to raise the standard of life among natives and to improve their health conditions. In Togoland the total export of products of the collecting activity of the natives (hunting, fishing, &c.) was augmented from 1,900,000 Mk. in 1905 to 2,200,000 Mk. in 1908. At the same time the exports from the culture of natives were raised from 800,000 Mk. to 2,600,000 Mk. In German East Africa the export from the culture of natives was augmented from 3,500,000 Mk. to 4,600,000 Mk., and that of their collecting activity from 2,300,000 Mk. to 4,600,000 Mk. In the Cameroons the export of products of the collecting activity of natives rose from 8,000,000 Mk. to the double. These figures are a good proof of the economical advance of the native population.

More decisive and deeply rooted was Germany's influence on Africa through the activity of her missionaries. An historian has said of the German missionaries, in the times of the Portuguese and Spanish colonization, that they brought a new source of energy to those colonial Powers. Africa knew German missionaries from the time of its discovery. In 1700 we already find German Jesuits in Angola and in the territory of the Congo; in Ethiopia and Mozambique Father Huonder, S.J., names the German lay-brother Johann Berner in Angola (died 1753), Br. Innozenz Hochstetter, Br. Georg Winterer (died 1751), and Br. Johannes Kuenz in the same place. In Ethiopia Father Franz Storrer gained a great influence at the royal court through his medical knowledge and died in 1662, and in Mozambique the doctor and priest, Father Moritz Thoman, lived till 1760.

The Catholic mission in Togoland was started in 1892 by the Congregation of the Divine Word (Steyl). By 1917 they could count over 22,000 baptized, when the peace treaties put an end to their successful activity. The chief interest of this mission was the instruction of the Togonese, who are so assiduous in learning. In the schools there were at times 8,500 scholars. In 1890 the German Pallottines took over the Cameroons as an Apostolic Prefecture. At the beginning of the Great War

the mission numbered 28,500 Catholics and 17,500 catechumens. New Cameroon, which came to Germany only in 1914, was occupied by the Priests of the Sacred Heart (Sittard). In German South-West Africa the Oblates of the Immaculate Conception administered the northern Prefecture of Undercimbabany and were able to register, in 1914, 14 principal stations, 24 priests, 22 brothers and 19 sisters, 3,035 Catholics and 500 catechumens, which was quite a good success in these sparsely populated districts. In the southern part, Great Namaland, the Oblates of St. Francis of Sales had worked since 1898, and there were nearly 2,000 Catholics at the beginning of the War. East Africa had been divided between three missionary orders. The Missionaries of the Holy Ghost, who had begun already in 1869, coming to Bagamoyo to work in the country, occupied the two Vicariates of Bagamoyo and Kilimanjaro, and had there in August 1914 some 16,500 and 6,000 baptized. The Benedictines of St. Ottilien developed an activity full of blessing in the Vicariate of Dar-es-Salaam and the Prefecture of Lindi. Four vicariates—South Nyassa, Kiwu, Unyanyembe, and Tanganyika—were entrusted to the White Fathers. They numbered altogether 140,000 Catholics and 56,000 catechumens; in nearly 2,000 schools 140,000 scholars were educated.

Besides these missions of the Empire we must not forget those of Austria. In the Sudan the Sons of the Sacred Heart worked with the utmost zeal under the celebrated Bishop Geyer until the development after the War directed them to Lydenburg in the east of the Transvaal. Since 1910 the Missionaries of the Divine Word have worked in Zambesi under the Austrian protectorate, fighting against paganism and authorities hostile to missions.

The missionary work of the Marianhill Missionaries developed calmly and steadily from 1882 till this day. They first came as Trappist Fathers, and since 1909 worked as a missionary society, doing great service. Their missionary works are known throughout the whole of South Africa, especially through their social and economical work and their far-reaching foundations.

With the exception of this mission all the others had a hard

time with the ending of the War. Notwithstanding all the international guarantees they became victims of the war-psychosis. In 1917 the missionaries of Togoland had to leave their flock; the Pallottines of the Cameroons had also to go, the Fathers of Sittard and the Fathers of the Holy Ghost were imprisoned. The same lot befell the German missionaries in East Africa. Missionary stations were destroyed, the Benedictines of St. Ottilien had all to go to the Indian or African prisoners' camps, or they were interned on the spot. Those who came to replace them were quite insufficient in number. The cultural work of the missionaries was bound to undergo a great setback. Out of the flourishing missions in the once German colonies, only the less populated, and those with hardly any prospects in South Africa, have been given back to the German missionaries. Only with great sorrow the banned missionaries remember their beloved work; and no noble-thinking nation will blame Catholic Germany to-day if she thinks with bitterness of the recompense received for her cultural work in the African continent.

After the Great War the chief work of the African missions was transferred to South Africa, but the districts administered by the German missionaries since the end of the War are among the most difficult and unfruitful on the whole earth. First the Benedictines of St. Ottilien, banned from East Africa, went in 1922 to Zululand where they were asked to take charge of the Prefecture of Eshowe in the territory of the Marianhill missionaries. The Pallottine Fathers expelled from the Cameroons came in the same year to South Africa and undertook the administration of the Prefecture of Cape of Good Hope. The Priests of the Sacred Heart expelled from Adamua were entrusted with the Prefecture of Gariep. The Missionaries of the Holy Ghost occupied the Prefecture of Kroonstad, and the Oblates of the Immaculate Conception the Vicariate of Kimberley. The Austrian Servites have worked since 1923 in the Prefecture of Swaziland, and the Sons of the Sacred Heart administer since the same year the Vicariate of Lydenburg.

In the enumeration of the German Catholic missionaries we must not forget the great number of missionary sisters who had

to share the hard lot of the missionaries. But also among many other orders and congregations on the African missionary field we meet German missionaries who had to suffer from the hardships of war: as for instance in North Transvaal the Benedictines, in Angola, Ruanda-Urundi, Uganda, Nyassa, at the Stanley Falls, and the Upper Nile, in Congo and Basutoland, to mention only a few out of the long list.

The latest statistics of the German Catholic missions in Africa give an informative picture:

<i>Missionary district</i>	<i>Figures of population</i>	<i>Priests</i>	<i>Brothers</i>	<i>Sisters</i>	<i>Catholics</i>	<i>Catechumens</i>	<i>Schools</i>	<i>Scholars</i>
Windhoek . .	138,000	28	32	80	6,522	570	5	781
Kimberley . .	825,000	21	49	151	7,385	1,274	30	3,095
Orange River . .	50,800	16	16	21	7,800	300	16	1,025
Great Namaland . .	42,000	14	4	27	5,100		15	607
Central Cape . .	203,845	11	9	62	1,053		8	843
Marianhill . .	1,500,000	62	158	322	57,180		473	10,000
Lydenburg . .	478,000	13	7	3	1,500			
Eshowe . .	350,000	15	14	38	3,953	991	35	1,235
Kroonstad . .	383,405	14	15	40	2,990		10	1,191
Gariep . .	256,000	10	6	82	1,241	327	12	1,558
Total	4,227,050	204	310	828	94,624		604	20,335

A Protestant Mission had begun in Togoland before the Catholic. The Norddeutsche Mission (North-German Mission) of Bremen registered good successes. With great sacrifices and loss of missionaries the Mission of Basle, where many Germans were worshipping, settled among the Dualas of the Cameroons who were so desirous to learn; and there were at the beginning of the Great War 13,100 baptized. The oldest German mission in the whole of Africa is the Rheinische Missionsgesellschaft (Rhenish Missionary Society) in the once German South-West Africa among the Hottentots and the Hereroes. Only this mission had been preserved from the hard consequences of the War. In East Africa the Bethel Mission (Mission of Bethel in Westphalia) began its activity in Dar-es-Salaam and Tanganyika and advanced into the territory of Usambara and Ruanda. The statistics of 1914 show 3,000

Christians. The Fraternity of the Moravians and the Berlin Missionary Society began their activity in 1891 in Konde-Land. The Leipzig Missionary Society have developed a big work since 1893 at Kilimanjaro, where they numbered about 3,660 Christians in 14 principal stations. In the territory of Uha the Missionary Society of Borklum had flourishing missions, as well as the Missionary Society of Neukirchen in Urundi. Besides all these we find the Evangelische Afrikaverein (Evangelical Africa Society) and the Hamburg German Union of the Seventh Day Adventists. Altogether there worked in Africa till the beginning of the Great War 14 missionary societies. The following figures give only a very slight idea of the activity developed by those missionaries:

<i>District</i>	<i>Baptized</i>	<i>Missionaries</i>	<i>Sisters</i>	<i>Schools</i>	<i>Scholars</i>
Togo . . .	7,228	17	3	161	6,628
Cameroons . .	18,909	90	13	418	22,966
South-West Africa .	21,593	50	15	71	3,987
East Africa . .	14,981	188	44	667	35,263
Total	62,651	345	75	1,317	68,864

Like the Catholic missions the Protestant also had to suffer badly during the War and after the conclusion of peace. The missionaries were expelled from Togoland. Only in 1925 the first missionaries were able to return to that part under British rule. The same is to be said of the Cameroons; South-West Africa was spared the loss of its missionaries. The missionaries from Leipzig and Bethel were able to return to East Africa in 1925. In South Africa the Protestant missions are more numerous. In the Cape we find the Rhenish and Berlin Missionary Societies, the Missionary Society of Hermannsburg works in the Transvaal and in Natal, where also the Berlin Missionary society had a successful activity besides its work in the Orange Free State. French Cameroon, French Togo, and the Belgian Congo remained shut to the German Protestant missionary societies. In 1928 the statistics supply the table on page 430, which, however, is partly incomplete.

In comparison with the state, the mission is the greater force

for culture, because it is carried on only with the will to convert the native morally and religiously into a valuable member of human society. That is why, contrary to the state, the missionary work is entirely attached to the personality of the Negro,

<i>Missionary society</i>	<i>Missionaries</i>	<i>Baptized</i>	<i>Schools</i>	<i>Scholars</i>
Basle	16	15,329	..	3,207
Berlin	51	78,335	361	23,432
Rhenish	36	67,907	58	7,814
Leipzig	15	..	..	..
Bethel	10	3,200	85	1,400
Sudan Pioneer Mission	4	..	..	..

whilst in colonial politics he is registered as the most valuable asset in the utilization of the colonies. For this reason the missionaries, both Catholic and Protestant, intervened energetically to secure conditions for the development of personality and the assurance of personal liberty. One of the most important promoting factors in the modern German missionary movement was the anti-slave-trade movement which was inaugurated over the whole of Europe by Cardinal Lavigerie. Physical power had failed in the fight against this festering wound of the black continent. The blockade by the European states in 1888 succeeded only in raising the prices tenfold in the slave markets. It was not sufficient either to declare the black slaves free by law. An education for liberty and freedom had to begin at the same time, and this has been accomplished by the missions alone. The numerous freed slaves who were assigned to the missions by the colonial authorities of East Africa were instructed in the Christian religion by the missionaries and educated for a free life. These Negroes settled their families and founded homes in villages. With 12 to 15 of these families such villages were founded which number to-day from 2,000 to 2,500 inhabitants. It was around such as these that the Missionaries of the Holy Ghost for instance concentrated their missionary work in Bagamoyo; and the other missions worked in a similar manner. The German country always gave a generous hand in the liberation of slaves. The Afrika-Verein Deutscher Katholiken (African Society of German Catholics),

the Verein Katholischer Frauen und Jungfrauen zur Unterstützung der zentralafrikanischen Missionen (Society of Catholic Women and Girls for the support of the Missions of Central Africa), the Petrus Klaver-Sodalität (Sodality of Peter Claver), and last but not least the Society of the Holy Childhood, of which German children until the War were at the head, have contributed many millions for the liberation of slaves.

The Catholic missionaries had recognized from the very beginning that trade in the inner parts of the colonies without slaves would not be possible because there were no other means of transport, but 'that the creation of an extended net of communication through construction of bridges, roads, and railways, and the development of navigation on lakes and streams, would be one of the most efficacious means to restrict slavery and finally to abolish it'. This was the resolution for which as early as 1902 the missionary, Fr. Acker, obtained agreement at the colonial congress in Berlin, and which he described as the most important point in the cultural programme concerning missionary work.

The missionaries considered it their sacred duty to watch over the inalienable rights of the natives, as well as over the development of their personality and higher spiritual capacities and qualities. That is why they intervened for the native when his liberty and the sanctity of his person were injured by violence. They also were not afraid of the state judges, as is proved sufficiently by the famous case of Schmitt-Röhren in Cologne, where certain irregularities of colonial officials in Togoland were judged. Hand in hand with the fight for personal liberty was the battle against polygamy. Not only dogmatical reasons determined this, but also the thought of the future of the people, for polygamy stood for the destruction of family life, impossibility of education in the family, degradation of the women, and retrogression of the population. No governor and no authorities, not even all the denominations of the Protestant missions have dared to enter into the fight against this servitude of women with an outspoken voice. Every year round about 1,500 marriages were recorded by the Catholic

missions, forming primary outposts for the renovation of native society.

The chief point of the programme in the developing of the spiritual capacities of the Negro was the incitement to work. Systematically the mission aimed to awaken in the negro, as far as it was possible at all, the value of earnest methodical work. It aspired to form able and diligent artisans and peasants. That is why the African missions had such a great number of learned and excellent lay-brothers. Nowhere in the large Catholic missionary field had the fathers such an extended help by expert lay-brothers as in the German African colonies. Model farms for the training of natives were connected with each of the 203 missionary stations of German Africa. In East Africa and Togoland each village which asked for a missionary school had first to lay out a plantation in order to employ the natives in doing this work; and at the same time to secure the maintenance for the teacher. In each station there was a workshop for every kind of handicraft, even if sometimes it was only very small. In the principal stations, as in Windhoek, Duala, Jaunde, and especially in Lome, there were real schools for workmen's handicrafts. With special gratefulness the Negroes still remember to-day the educative work of the 700 missionary sisters who taught them cooking, washing, ironing, knitting, sewing, garden- and field-work. Nearly 100,000 negro girls have been trained during the German colonization.

The development of the intellectual faculties was specially obtained through the instruction in the schools. In the German colonies the chief burden of the scholastic institutions was carried by the missions. In Togoland 95 per cent. of all the schools were missionary schools. Also to-day the schools form an essential part of the work of the German missionaries in Africa, evidence of which is shown by the figures of the first table in this article.

The following most beautiful and touching pages of the missionary cultural work have been written by the angel of Charity. There is no missionary station, not even in the farthest interior of Africa, where there is not a pharmacy with the most essential

medicines and bandages for the sick and suffering. In Ruanda there was a missionary station where one and a half years after its foundation the meals for the missionary were cooked poorly on three stones, but all the same this station had a richly outfitted pharmacy. The extension of this work may be made clear to our readers—in order to avoid wearying them with long lists of figures—by the one fact that in the three ecclesiastical districts of the White Fathers in German East Africa in 1912 no less than 365,617 treatments of sick people were registered—that is, more than one thousand a day.

The most important cultural work for the German missionaries consisted in linking the olden and modern times in the minds of the Negroes. The old culture supported by animism and superstition broke down. The modern civilization took from the negroes the old without putting something else in its place. It is touching to listen to the voices of some of those noble-thinking children of nature on the spiritual emptiness of their existence. But the mission brought also, together with the culture, the Christianity on which this culture was founded. Without Christianity the European culture was vague and not understood by the Negroes. That is the high cultural significance of the religious and moral work of the German missionaries.

When the world tempest broke out, some 150,000 baptized and 50,000 catechumens had already been won by the German Catholic missionaries in the colonies of Africa. It was a great work with good results testified by the admiration of their successors. A Belgian bishop wrote after the expulsion of the German missionaries 'that their only crime was their gigantic success'. A Spanish Jesuit wrote: 'It is my greatest desire to see once those men who have created such works in order to kiss their hands gratefully. They have created a work which is an imperishable monument proclaiming to posterity the great deeds of German missionaries.'

Everything that has been written here of the cultural work of Catholic missionaries is to be said too of the self-sacrificing work of the Protestants.

It would be wrong to deny that missionary work is not also

a service to one's own people. Missionary work, however, should be kept free from all politics and all national tendencies. But the learned French historian Georges Goyausays very rightly on this matter concerning service to one's own people: 'With this self-sacrificing work of the missionaries certain secondary results will be obtained which form so to speak the human and earthly recompense for the zeal of the nations in the Divine service.'

Great tasks remain to be solved in Africa. There are questions which are of the utmost importance for European life and its economical development. Germany's relations to Africa, economical, cultural, and religious, have been reduced considerably since the Great War. It would be well for the civilized world if this could be accomplished without loss to Europe and Africa.

PORTUGAL'S CONTACTS WITH AFRICA

By COUNT DE PENHA GARCIA

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CHAPTER I

THE PORTUGUESE NATION (1130-1415)

I. The Foundation of the Kingdom. II. The Struggle against the Moors and Spain. III. King John I. IV. Social Conditions.

I. THE FOUNDATION OF THE KINGDOM

IN the twelfth century Portugal was formed as a state, starting from a county of the kingdom of Leon, granted (1095) to Henry of Burgundy, who married the daughter of Afonso VI.¹ Their son Afonso Henriques gained the country's independence in successful battles against the Spaniards and the Moors.

The Moors still occupied a strong position in the peninsula and against them the young king directed his most strenuous efforts. The crusading spirit was still prevalent in Europe, and the victories of the Portuguese found some echoes abroad. English and foreign crusaders helped in two battles against the Saracens, and in the storming of Lisbon (1147).

II. THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE MOORS AND SPAIN

The Galician wars of Afonso Henriques, his victories over the Spaniards, and the wars of the conquest against the Moors did not end the struggle for independence. His successor, Sancho I, had to sign a truce with the Moors united under their great Almohade Caliph. In the time of Afonso II the Portuguese conquered the district of Alemtejo. Sancho II continued the war against the Saracens, and only in the reign of Afonso III did Portugal attain her present European limits (1263). The conquest of the Algarve, the most southern province of Portugal, marked the end of the warfare with the Moors for the formation of the new kingdom.

Besides the political action of the Portuguese kings, social, ethnographical, and even geographical facts led to the establishment of Portugal as an independent state at this early date.

¹ The new dominion covered only the north of the future kingdom, including the valley of Douro. Beyond this the Moors still held all the country.

III. KING JOHN I

At the end of the fourteenth century Portugal was in great danger of losing her independence. King Ferdinand had died, leaving his only daughter married to the king of Castile, John I. The Salic law was not observed in Portugal and the union with the neighbouring nation seemed close at hand.

This led to a national rising and John I, Master of the Order of Aviz, assumed the title of Defender of the Realm (1383). After resisting the invasion of Portugal and a siege of Lisbon the Portuguese expelled the Spaniards and John was proclaimed King by the Cortes at Coimbra. The Spanish army again invaded Portugal but was completely defeated at Aljubarrota (14 August 1385).

In this battle English archers played an important part in aiding the Portuguese, who were commanded by D. Nuno Alvares Pereira.

For many years the relations between England and Portugal had been very close, commercial agreements having been signed between the two nations, namely the commercial agreements of 1294 and 1353 and the treaty between the duke of Lancaster and D. Fernando (1372). The duke claimed the throne of Castile and sought the aid of the Portuguese monarch.

King John I seeking a foreign alliance as a safeguard against Spanish ambitions renewed the friendship with England, and a treaty of alliance was signed at Windsor, the 9th May 1386. The Anglo-Portuguese alliance was sealed by the marriage of the Portuguese king with Philippa, daughter of John of Gaunt by his first wife Blanche of Lancaster. The alliance with England was several times renewed and has successfully endured the test of time.

IV. SOCIAL CONDITIONS

Portugal had existed as a nation for nearly three centuries and her boundaries were firmly established and she was therefore able to make steady progress in civilization and in consolidating her independence.

The national laws were codified, based on Roman and Canon

Law, common law, and also on special municipal rights ('foraes').

The royal power was not limited only by that of the great nobles, for the king governed with the help of the Cortes, which represented the rights of the nobility, the clergy, and the people. The power of the nobility, who had played an important part in the long struggle for independence, was often weakened by internal disputes.

The clergy, the most learned class of the nation, occupied many important civil positions. The Cistercian monks, the Franciscans, the Dominicans, and other religious orders had established themselves at an early date in Portugal. Not only did these orders contribute to strengthening the religious spirit of the people but also to building up the material prosperity of the nation.

The military orders of Aviz and Santiago, the Knights Hospitallers and the Templars, with the Order of Christ which was founded later, took a prominent part in conquering the land from the Moors. They also were the guardians of the Portuguese territory against the ever-prevailing threat of invasion.

The people devoted themselves to agriculture or fishing. As an old historian judiciously remarks: 'Peasantry and sailors are the two solid feet of the Nation.' From their ranks came the sailors who were to man the caravels. Commerce gradually developed. Portuguese merchants traded with France, Flanders, and England. Lisbon was becoming the centre of a growing maritime nation. New industries such as salt-works, mining, and weaving had sprung up, and dealings with foreign nations were thus extended.

Learning had spread from the monasteries, and in 1290 the first university was founded by King Diniz (Denis). During this reign the Portuguese language became the official language instead of Latin. There was a notable literary development, especially in the poetical compositions of the troubadours. The progress of the fine arts was marked by the increasing demand for the beautiful work of the goldsmiths and the illuminators, and Portuguese architects and craftsmen produced such splendid

buildings as the Cathedral of Coimbra and the royal Abbey of Batalha.

Such was briefly the condition of Portugal in the reign of King John I. Political conditions, military achievements, religious action, and economic progress combined to produce a vigorous nation. Beside the nobility, the clergy, and the people, a prosperous and active middle class was appearing, full of energy and enterprise. These four elements made possible the Portuguese expansion, which was to assume from its very beginning the character of a *National Enterprise*.

CHAPTER II

THE FIRST CONTACTS WITH AFRICA (1415-1500)

I. The War of Ceuta. II. Prince Henry the Navigator. III. King John II. IV. The Congo Protectorate. V. The Papacy and the Discoveries. VI. Vasco da Gama and the Southern Route to India.

I. THE WAR OF CEUTA

THE south coast of Portugal was particularly open to the evil attacks of the pirates, whose head-quarters were at Ceuta. From this port they made frequent descents on the Algarve. The Portuguese nobility were eager for a punitive expedition to the Moorish coast. The crusading spirit was still strong in the entire nation, and war against the Mohammedan was popular.

Ceuta was besieged by the Portuguese and was stormed on the 2nd August 1415. The first contact with Africa was of a military and religious nature. The Portuguese could not, however, enter into direct contact with the natives, who were under the rule of the conquering race, the Moors. Nevertheless, notwithstanding an ill-fated expedition to Tangiers, they succeeded in maintaining important positions and captured Alcazar es Seghir (1458), Anafe, Tangiers, and Arzila (1471) in the reign of Afonso V. The ruins of several Portuguese fortresses which still exist in Morocco show that an effort was made to enlarge and strengthen the occupation.

The Portuguese made various attempts to colonize the Moorish territories that they had conquered. They even established in Morocco organizations on the model of those existing in the motherland, as for instance the 'Misericordias'. Trade relations were established with the interior and even commercial agreements were made on different occasions.

The coming of the Cherif dynasties, the greatly enlarged area of the Portuguese activities, and financial and economic difficulties led to the loss of the conquests in Morocco and stayed the expected sequence of this first contact with Africa, the creation of the new Portuguese provinces across the sea.

II. PRINCE HENRY THE NAVIGATOR

Even before these occurrences the first voyages of discovery were made along the African coast. Prince Henry, duke of Vizeu and Grand Master of the Order of Christ, third son of King John I 'the Great', was an ardent student, possessed of a resolute and noble disposition.

Surrounded by learned men, mathematicians, and geographers, he began to study systematically the art of navigation. His castle of Sagres near Cape St. Vincent became an academy for investigating all the lore of the sea, training young seamen in the science of their profession, and elaborating definite plans for exploration along the Atlantic coasts of Africa. He collected maps and charts and astronomical instruments, obtained information from the Arab schools of Africa itself, and met, or was in correspondence with, European experts. Though at the outset his efforts were devoted to organizing voyages of exploration that gradually pushed farther and farther south, he had undoubtedly formed a project for finding a new way by the ocean to the Indies, and opening trade not only with the African coasts but ultimately with the Far East, and at the same time opening new ways for the extension of the missions in many lands.

Thus a plan scientifically studied and conducted by the masterly genius of Prince Henry was gradually built up. We can be almost sure that these ideas were not unknown to the Pope and won the official approval of the Church.

These new ventures met with some resistance. It was argued that the nation could not afford men and expense to supply the sea expeditions. Opposition was speedily overcome when the first ships laden with goods returned to the Portuguese harbours.

The first conquests in Africa had given no profit to the Portuguese. Morocco had proved to be a very expensive undertaking. But a quite different result was about to be achieved. In 1419 and 1420 the Madeira Islands and Porto Santo had been discovered, and about 1432 the Azores were explored by the Portuguese.

In 1434 Gil Eanes rounded Cape Bojador. The first vessels bringing gold returned to Portugal in 1443, and thus gave to the material part of the discoveries an alluring aspect. Lagos in 1444 started the first commercial African Company, and so traders and shipowners began to encourage Prince Henry's projects. Along the African coast the explorations continued. Tristão da Cunha reached Rio de Ouro in 1446, and in 1453 Sousa and Goas discovered Guinea.

In 1455 Cadamosto and Vicente Dias landed in the Senegal, and the Cape de Verde Islands were discovered in 1460 by Diogo Gomes and Antonio Noli. Prince Henry died in 1460, but following his intelligent initiative the discoveries were continued and the arts of navigation and naval construction greatly improved. But his dream had been to find the maritime way to India. This heirloom passed on to King John II.

There was solid progress under this influence of Prince Henry. The researches of his school laid for Portugal the foundation of a practical code of nautical science. The instructions set forth in the officially issued *Regolamento do Astrolabio* (1485) show how the Portuguese navigators were enabled to calculate fairly correctly their position from observations of the sun and stars. The charts provided for them were improved by geographers such as João de Lisboa and Pedro Nunez. Later in the voyage to India João de Castro made useful researches on the correction of compass variation by astronomical observations.

III. KING JOHN II

Succeeding his father Afonso V, who had endeavoured to consolidate the Portuguese positions in Morocco, John II gave a decided impulse to the maritime enterprise of his kingdom. The traffic in gold, begun by Prince Henry, assumed important developments. The Portuguese came into closer contact with the natives along the Mina coast.

John II, an able statesman and politician, firmly established the royal power. He maintained a close alliance with England and avoided war with Castile. By the Treaty of Tordesillas the king obtained from that country a formal recognition of the

Portuguese rights of discovery and an agreement as to limits between the spheres of influence of the two powers.

The work of discovery progressed. Fernando Pó was reached in 1472 and the first permanent fortress on the western coast, the Fort of Mina, was built on the Gold Coast in 1482. Diogo Cão discovered the Zaire (Congo) and reached Lobito Bay. Bartolomeo Diaz succeeded in doubling the Cape of Good Hope and reached the eastern coast (1485). At the same time additional knowledge was gained by travels by land. Thus Pero de Eбора and Gonçalo Ennes reached Timbuctoo. Afonso Paiva and Pero de Covilhã visited Egypt, India, and Abyssinia. Portuguese ships with the Corte Real, João Fernandes, and others sailed beyond the Azores, and in 1500 Cabral reached the coast of Brazil. King John II was preparing with indefatigable energy the discovery of the maritime route to India. During his reign the exploration of the South African coast reached the Great Fish River.

IV. THE CONGO PROTECTORATE

The voyage of Diogo Cão in 1482 led to the discovery of the Congo and of the Angola Coast. He was well received by the native ruler. The navigator brought natives back with him and left Portuguese settlers on the land. In 1485 Diogo Cão returned to the Congo and explored the great river up to the cataracts. An embassy of the sons of African chiefs came to Portugal. Following these events, Rui de Sousa in 1491 arrived in the Congo with an expedition of missionaries, soldiers, and workmen. Thus began a kind of protectorate in these regions. The native king became a Christian. A church was built at San Salvador, and later a son of the native chief became titular Bishop of Utica. The relations between the Congo and Portugal were continued and the Congo chiefs considered themselves Portuguese tributaries.

V. THE PAPACY AND THE DISCOVERIES

The special attention of the Holy See to the Portuguese discoveries clearly indicates the importance attached by Rome

to these enterprises. Thus we find Nicolas V, after the fall of Constantinople, encouraging Prince Henry by the famous Bull of the 8th January 1454. The Moors were still in Spain, which they only abandoned after the capture of Granada in 1492. The interest of Rome was always very keen in following the episodes of the great struggle against the Moors. It is possible that the Portuguese discoveries appeared to the Holy See as an unexpected means of overthrowing the greatest enemy of Christendom. At different periods from 1436 to 1488 the Pope issued bulls regarding the Portuguese discoveries, and granted special privileges.

The voyages to Abyssinia in order to establish relations with its rather mysterious native sovereigns were also followed with sympathy by the Holy See. When the voyage of Columbus rendered a division of activities necessary between Spaniards and Portuguese, Pope Alexander VI was the arbitrator, and he marked by meridian lines the spheres of discovery of the two nations, a line subsequently modified by the Treaty of Tordesillas. The progress of the Portuguese explorers opened up new possibilities for the missions. Friars and priests accompanied the explorers.

VI. VASCO DA GAMA AND THE SOUTHERN ROUTE TO INDIA

King Manuel, King John's successor, was to reap the fruits of his predecessors' painstaking efforts.

In July 1497 a small fleet sailed from Lisbon under the command of Vasco da Gama and having rounded the Cape of Good Hope, touched at Quillimane, Mozambique, Mombasa, and Malindi and reached Calicut on the 10th May 1498, after a voyage of nearly eleven months.

In August 1499 Vasco da Gama was back in Lisbon. This voyage completely altered the trade relations between Europe and the East and opened up a new period in history. The contacts with Africa now became more frequent. Vessels bound for India called at the eastern ports of Africa, and the knowledge gained of the exact configuration of the African coast-line was to lead to important discoveries. The direct trade with India,

however, tended greatly to divert the attentions of the Portuguese from intercourse with Africa.

The spice-trade was falling into the hands of the Portuguese and the monopoly which Venice had enjoyed was utterly destroyed. The gateway of the maritime world's trade with the East was open.

CHAPTER III

THE BUILDING OF THE EMPIRE (1500-80)

I. Sea Power II. Conquests in the East. III. Abyssinia. IV. Angola and Mozambique. V. Morocco and Alcazar Kebir. VI. Missionary Action in Africa

I. SEA POWER

IN 1502 the King of Portugal adopted the ambitious title of 'Lord of the Conquest, Navigation, and Commerce of Ethiopia, Persia, and India' and received solemn confirmation by a bull of Pope Alexander VI.

During the sixteenth century the discoveries of the Portuguese increased. After opening the ocean route to India they took possession of Brazil in 1500, thanks to the famous voyage of Pedro Alvares Cabral. They discovered besides numerous islands—St. Helena, Ascension, Tristan da Cunha, and Madagascar.

In the East they reached Malacca, Sumatra, and China; Japan was visited in 1542 and the Portuguese influence greatly extended. In 1520 the first voyage round the world was accomplished. The enterprise was Spanish, but the leader, Fernão de Magalhaes, and the pilots, were all Portuguese.

Trading was a royal monopoly. The establishment of a strong sea-power became necessary. The better construction and superior armament and manning of the Portuguese ships gave to Portugal the mastery of the Eastern seas. The pirates were hunted down, and in these Eastern waters the Portuguese position was strengthened by several naval victories.

II. CONQUESTS IN THE EAST

Francisco de Almeida became first Viceroy of India. On his way out he had occupied Quiloa and Mombasa on the east African coast. Ports were erected and these eastern ports of Africa became harbours of refuge and supply depots for the fleets on their way to India.

Afonso de Albuquerque selected Goa for the capital and

undertook expeditions to extend Portuguese authority. For the first time a complete colonizing and civilizing plan was drafted along very interesting lines in harmony with the local institutions. In succeeding years the Portuguese had to endure very serious attacks during the Viceroyalties of Nuno da Cunha and D. João de Castro.

Goa became the centre of a far-reaching effort to spread the Christian faith in the East. The missionaries, Dominicans and Franciscans, were active. With the arrival of the Jesuits, and especially with that of St. Francis Xavier in 1542, the work of the missions made great progress, the missionaries reaching Japan and China and even crossing the Himalaya into Tibet, preaching the Gospel in the most remote regions of the world. In Brazil also their civilizing work was prominent. In the East, Goa became the seat of a Catholic bishopric in 1539, and later of the Indian Patriarchate.

For many years the annual fleet from Lisbon to the Indies conveyed, at the cost of the Crown, bands of missionaries for the East. In return for these services the Holy See conferred on the Portuguese kings a special protectorate and patronage of the Far Eastern missions—the 'Padroado'.¹

The Portuguese activity in the East infused also new life into the African ports which were places of call on the road to India. Thus indirectly the occupation and discovery of the African continent was hastened.

III. ABYSSINIA

Ever since the beginning of the sixteenth century Portugal was in relation with the Abyssinian princes. They were anxious for an alliance against the common foe, Islam. Pero da Covilhã was sent to Abyssinia and remained there for the rest of his life.

¹ When after the disorganization of the Catholic missions during the troubled period of the French Revolution and the long wars that followed, the Holy See began the reorganization of missionary efforts throughout the Catholic world, the Padroado was revised, with sweeping reductions of the privileges granted to the Portuguese kings in the time when they were such generous helpers of the missions in the East. Only some vestiges of the original privileges granted to Portugal remain, but the Archbishops of Goa and Macao still hold the rank of patriarchs and are the chief prelates of the Church in India and China.

Regular contact with that country commenced. The Negus sent ambassadors to King Manuel in 1513 and 1527. Closer relations followed and the influence of the Catholic missionaries spread in the country. The work of the Jesuits was remarkable, and the most important information regarding Abyssinia at that time is to be found in the records of their missions. In 1541 Cristavão da Gama organized an expedition to help the Abyssinians against the King of Zeila and succeeded in preventing the destruction of the Abyssinian power. The contact of the Portuguese with Abyssinia was disturbed by religious quarrels. The reunion of the churches proved to be impossible and the Abyssinian clergy became bitterly hostile to the missionaries and the Portuguese, who remained in the country up to 1633. Many traces of the Portuguese contact may still be seen, as for instance the bridge on the Blue Nile and the citadel of Gondar.

IV. ANGOLA AND MOZAMBIQUE

The missions had met with great success on the Congo and many churches were built. The Portuguese influence spread to Angola, whose king sent ambassadors to Lisbon. In consequence of this action an expedition led by Paulo Dias de Novais arrived on the Cuaza and at Pungo Andongo the capital of the Angola native chief. In 1571 Paulo Dias de Novais is nominated *donatario* and founded Loanda. About this time the Jagga were invading Angola and the Portuguese engaged in successful wars against them. The Portuguese arrived at the Golungo Alto, Lucala, and Quissame (1586). The next year a fort was established at Benguela Velha. Paulo Dias remained in the country up to his death in 1589.

The exploration of the interior continued to make good progress under Barros, who reached Lake Nyassa (1552), and under Duarte Lopes, who claimed the discovery of the sources of the Nile (1572).

Along the eastern coast the Portuguese held Quiloa, Mombasa, Mozambique, and Sofala; Quillimane was occupied and the fort of Lourenço Marques constructed in 1544. In search

of gold several expeditions left for the interior seeking the land of a native ruler, 'the Monomotapa'.¹

The Portuguese had to resist the attacks of several native tribes such as the Zimbos and the Macuas. Other attacks were also now to be expected from foreigners, as the French had appeared off the coast about 1527 and the Dutch in 1595.

Thanks to the discoveries and the conquest of sea-power Portugal in the second half of the sixteenth century had founded a great Empire spread over Africa with a footing in China, India, Sumatra, and Brazil, and had built numerous factories and fortresses and colonized new lands.

V. MOROCCO AND ALCAZAR KEBIR

The Portuguese in Morocco had made some progress, and Azamor was stormed in 1513. Some colonization was made and many Portuguese came over to Morocco and their influence spread as far as the Atlas. Progress was, however, slow, and before long the decline began.

Agadir was captured by the Moors in 1541, Safin and Azamor, Arzila and Alcazar evacuated in 1542 and in 1550. Notwithstanding these losses, however, King Sebastian planned an ambitious expedition to establish firmly Portuguese rule. The expedition met with disaster in the ill-fated battle of Alcazar Kebir (4th of August 1578).

The Morocco enterprise was thus checked. The Portuguese still remained at several stations and the last Portuguese fortress, Mazagan, was evacuated only in 1769 by order of King José. The inhabitants were sent to Brazil to found a new city.

¹ Monomotapa is the name given in the Portuguese records as the name both of the ruler of an African state, and his territory. In his standard work on *The Partition of Africa*, London, 1894, the late Sir George Scott Keltie (for several years the geographical expert of the British Foreign Office) devotes some interesting pages to the Portuguese quest of Monomotapa. He mentions treaties with its ruler, now in the archives of Goa, in one of which he is described as 'Emperor of Monomotapa', and grants the Portuguese gold-mining rights in his dominions. The quest of gold seems to have been abandoned by the Portuguese in South Africa, after the discovery of the rich mines of Brazil.

VI. MISSIONARY ACTION IN AFRICA

The Portuguese discovery and colonization had been accompanied by important missionary efforts.

As early as 1420 a bishopric was founded in Morocco, and later bishoprics were established at Tangier, Safin, Funchal, Cape Verde, Saint Thomas, and Goa. Missionaries went out to Cape Verde in 1466, in 1475 to Guinea, in 1493 to Saint Thomas. During the whole of the sixteenth century the work proceeded in Angola. In 1596 there was already a Bishop of Angola and Congo. In Mozambique the missionary effort started in 1561. In 1586 there were numerous churches and a flourishing Christian community.

Many martyrs paid a heavy price for this valiant effort, as for instance Gonçalo da Silveira and André Fernando when they reached the land of the Monomotapa in Mozambique. All along the African coast we can find proofs of this missionary work.

The Jesuits played an important part in these developments. They were in Angola with Paulo Dias de Novais and in Ethiopia with João Barreto.

This missionary effort was not only successful in spreading the Christian faith and morals, but also in gaining a better general knowledge of the Continent by interesting and valuable scientific researches.

The foundation of schools, charitable institutions, and hospitals bettered the position of the natives. During two centuries the Portuguese had gained a very intimate contact with Africa. The work of discovery, the intercourse with the natives, the introduction of new plantations, and the success of missionary effort were opening the road to greater knowledge of the African Continent. Only in modern times, with the powerful help of science, could the task be carried out more successfully.

CHAPTER IV
THE EVENTS OF TWO AND A HALF
CENTURIES (1580-1832)

I The Defence of the Colonies. II. The Portuguese Explorers III Colonization and Slavery. IV. Pombal and the Colonies.

I. THE DEFENCE OF THE COLONIES

THE disaster of Alcazar Kebir in Morocco, where King Sebastian was slain, had terrible consequences for Portugal. The king having left no heir, Philip of Spain claimed the Portuguese throne and after a short struggle succeeded in conquering the country. In this way the destinies of the two nations were united and Portugal became involved in Spanish politics and wars.

The Portuguese colonies were raided by the enemies of Spain—French, Dutch, and English. Not only were the Portuguese attacked in the East, but also on the African coast. During the reign of Elizabeth the English destroyed Fort Arguin in 1595, and Cape Verde was plundered several times. Successive blows were dealt against their possessions, but the Portuguese succeeded in retaining many important positions. A notable feature of this resistance is afforded by the co-operation of the natives in defence of the Portuguese rights, as was the case in Brazil and also in Angola. Salvador Correia de Sá e Benevides landed an expedition in Angola, where Loanda had been occupied by the Dutch, and with the help of the natives freed the colony in August 1648.

The French had appeared in 1527 on the coast of Mozambique and returned in 1601, but their vessels were scattered by a storm. The Dutch began fighting the Portuguese on the eastern coast and in 1651 succeeded in establishing themselves at the Cape and the French made in 1655 an attempt at Madagascar. During the sixty years that Portugal endured the Spanish domination many of her possessions were lost, and lost for ever was that sea-power that had been conquered by such prolonged efforts and costly sacrifices.

II. THE PORTUGUESE EXPLORERS

Even during these trying times and while the Portuguese power in the East was declining, exploration in Africa was steadily pursued.

The Portuguese had resolutely continued their work of penetrating the African continent, by the journeys of Castelo Branco, Jeronimo Lobo, and others. In Angola San Filipe de Benguela was founded in 1617. Bailundo was reached in 1645. The idea of traversing Africa was already in prospect; Balthasar Rebelo de Aragoão reached Lake Nyassa. Other attempts were made in the same direction in the following years.

The scientific exploration of the African continent had already begun. A Portuguese doctor Aleixo de Abreu described the tropical illnesses prevalent on the continent in 1606. Cristovão de Costa wrote a book on the Indian remedies. Botanists such as Amatus Lusitanus and Garcia de Orta did important work. Father Mariano explored Lake Nyassa in 1642. A scientific expedition was sent to Angola in 1783. In 1798 Dr. Lacerda went as far as the Lunda. The Portuguese, as an agricultural-minded people, were not slow in realizing the possibilities of the African lands.

After the Arabs, they were the introducers of a great number of plants in the African territories. Following the discovery of America many new plants were brought over, such as maize, manioc, and tobacco.

The sugar-cane industry was introduced by D. Henrique into Madeira, Cape Verde, and St. Thomas, and thence spread to the African continent. Sugar was soon produced at a very low price and the same was to happen with tobacco.

III. COLONIZATION AND SLAVERY

The Portuguese possessions in Africa must be considered in relation to the work carried out in Brazil. Angola supplied the hand labour for the Brazilian plantations. For the development of the sugar plantations an ever-increasing number of Negroes were brought over from the African continent. About

1630 some four thousand went over annually. The reason advanced for this import of labour was the alleged low standard of the Brazilian natives in both mental capacity and bodily strength.

A decree was published in Portugal to the effect that no natives should be sold or sent forcibly to work on the colonial plantations. The idea of recruiting labour in the African territory was considered quite natural at that time. Slavery was a social condition widely recognized. The slave-trade had been organized in Africa by the Arabs and the native populations also indulged in it. The Portuguese could easily pay 'a ransom' for these slaves and so obtain labourers for their plantations in Brazil. Slavery was generally accepted and practised on a large scale by English, French, Dutch, and Spaniards alike. At the Council of Goa (1567) regulations had been made to limit slavery. In the laws of Angola (1666) and Cape Verde (1776) we can find ample proof that this method of obtaining labour was not considered profitable there. In 1761 all slaves arriving in Portugal were declared free. From 1836 onwards there was a great movement for the abolition of slavery. By the laws enacted in September 1844, February 1859, April 1865, and by a treaty signed with England in 1842, slavery was abolished.¹ The arrival of the Portuguese on the African territory was certainly profitable to the natives, despite the evils of the forced transportation to Brazil. The native wars were far less frequent, and the establishment of the Portuguese rule prevented much destruction and suffering. The colonizing effort was accompanied in fact by a strong Christian propaganda, which rendered the contact between natives and Europeans much less open to criticism than it would otherwise have been.

IV. POMBAL AND THE COLONIES

The Marquis of Pombal after being appointed ambassador to England, having lived in London and abroad for some time, returned to Lisbon and became Prime Minister in 1756. Pom-

¹ Nevertheless for long after forced native labour existed in several African colonies.

bal adopted the policy of forming colonial companies in the Portuguese possessions. In 1765 a company was founded in Mozambique, with little success. In 1725 the Portuguese had succeeded in reconquering Mombasa and Zanzibar and thus controlled most of the east coast. However, they could not maintain their position. Mozambique had already developed sufficiently to be separated from the Indian administration in 1755.

Freedom of trade was declared and some progress made, especially under the governor Balthasar Pereira do Lago. The Portuguese possessions had suffered greatly through the attacks of pirates. The sugar-trade in St. Thomas suffered, and the same happened at Cape Verde, where the plantations on the coast were frequently abandoned. In Angola the Portuguese occupied Encoje 1759 and founded Novo Redondo 1769. About 1785 they penetrated to the south of this colony. Some notable progress is also made in the time of governor Sousa Coutinho, especially in colonization.

In the closing years of the eighteenth century and the first decades of the nineteenth revolutions and wars in Europe, and the resultant troubles of the motherland, hindered any progress in the Portuguese colonies in Africa. The temporary disorganization of their Catholic missions all but ended, for long years, their useful activities among the natives and their educational work in the colonies. The revolution of Brazil was a heavy blow to colonial trade. But a fresh period of activity was to begin for Portugal as a consequence of the renewed interest of the European Powers in the African continent.

CHAPTER V

THE COLONIAL REVIVAL (1832-1932)

I. The Colonial Revival II. Portuguese Africa. III. The Characteristics of the Portuguese Expansion in Africa

I. THE COLONIAL REVIVAL

A NEW period now began to open out for Portuguese expansion in Africa. Some mine prospecting was taking place in Angola at the beginning of the century, and about 1826 the sugar-cane was introduced in the Bengo. Under the minister Sá da Bandeira increased interest began to be taken in colonial matters. Various new settlements were established on the two coasts. In 1844 the ports of Angola were opened to international trade, and the first bank was established there in 1865.

Different explorers led the way to a more complete knowledge of the African possessions. Men such as Rodrigues Graça, Alves Francina, Brochado, Silva Porto, Capelo, Ivens, and Serpa Pinto did great work. The African continent was crossed and a more scientific research was undertaken; foreigners were even engaged for the work, such as Dr. Wolwitsch, L. Madgyar, and others.

The first discussions, however, arose regarding possession of certain African territories. In 1870 an arbitration was agreed with England regarding Bolama; in 1875 another regarding Lourenço Marques Bay, favourable decisions being granted in both cases to Portugal. Delimitation treaties had already been signed with Holland.

Military expeditions to pacify the troublesome tribes, especially the warrior tribes in Mozambique, were undertaken with varied success.

At this time the Brussels Conference had been called and the first steps taken for creating the new state of the Congo. This was a direct blow to Portuguese rights in Africa and, as was natural, aroused the national spirit of patriotism.

The Lisbon Geographical Society was founded and began a

very active colonial propaganda in the country. In 1885 the Berlin conferences established new principles regarding the possession of African territory. The rights of discovery were put on one side and only the effective occupation of a territory taken into account. Then there began, often with total disregard of native rights, a general rush of all the Powers to take possession of African territory, no longer deemed useless, but as a prominent factor of economic prosperity. A series of disputes arose between Portugal and other European Powers. Treaties were concluded and Portugal retained a total of 793,980 square miles in Africa. The African territories in possession of Portugal are to-day:

Cape Verde with	1,480 sq. miles
Guinea with	13,940 „
St. Thomas with	360 „
Angola with	484,800 „
Mozambique with	293,400 „

Portugal now set to work with renewed energy.

The fighting tribes in the different colonies were brought under control by several expeditions, the most difficult of which was perhaps the expedition carried out against the *vatuas* on the eastern coast.

The entire territories of Angola and Mozambique were rapidly occupied by military forces. The rule of the despotic native chiefs was ended and a new era opened for the native populations.

At the same time the economic organization and technical development of the colonies made huge strides, allowing a civilizing influence of unprecedented magnitude.

It is considered that the total population of the Portuguese African territories can be estimated at about 9½ million inhabitants.

Among the African territories the island of St. Thomas is the most densely populated with 156 inhabitants to the square mile. Cape Verde follows with 95·8; Guinea with about 35 inhabitants to the square mile; Mozambique has about 11·5, and Angola 7·5.

II. PORTUGUESE AFRICA

A few words concerning each of these Portuguese colonies will give some idea of the present relations with Africa.

Portuguese Guinea. Only seven days by steamer from Lisbon, this colony offers a fertile soil and great agricultural possibilities; 1,755 miles of good roads have opened up the country. The principal ports are Bissau, Bolama, Bubaque, and Cacheu. Telegraphic lines connect the principal centres. The natives are hard working and the trade has risen gradually to already interesting figures. Ground-nuts and palm-nuts are the chief exports. Agricultural concerns on a large scale have certainly here a magnificent field for their activities, but probably the most important feature in future will be native agriculture.

Cape Verde, formed by two groups of islands. They were not inhabited when the Portuguese arrived in 1460-89. The first colonists came from the Algarve and the negro population from Guinea. A mixed population was gradually formed and the islands speedily gained importance as a trading centre.

The raids of the pirates in the sixteenth century hindered however the agricultural development of the colony. The trading balance is not favourable on account of the irregularities of the climate.

The harbour of St. Vincent is of great importance as a coaling port in mid-Atlantic. The natives of Cape Verde have made great progress in recent years and the population can now be considered as perfectly assimilated. In fact education has developed very rapidly and many natives can read and write Portuguese. In addition to many elementary schools and two secondary establishments there is the old seminary of the Island of Saint Nicolau.

Saint Thomas and Principe. The islands show very clearly the results of the enterprising efforts of the Portuguese colonizers.

The sugar-cane industry was first introduced with success into the islands. However, many inhabitants emigrated to Brazil to escape the incessant attacks of the pirates. Coffee was introduced about 1553 and cocoa in modern times. The cocoa plantations have greatly improved since 1885 and the exports

show steady progression, though somewhat hampered in recent years by disease. As a model of European plantations this colony is an interesting example. Assistance to the native labourers has had Portugal's special attention and some good work has been done.

In the islands of Principe, the Portuguese have succeeded in completely extinguishing sleeping sickness and greatly improved the hygienic conditions of the two islands.

Angola. The territory of this colony covers 484,400 square miles and offers a great variety of economic possibilities.

Since 1850 Portuguese efforts in Angola have been continuous and the problem of opening up the country to modern civilization has been carried out with great determination despite all obstacles and even periods of political unrest in the mother country.

In 1877 came the opening of the first telegraph service. In 1929 wireless and cables united Angola to the rest of the world. There are 5,790 miles of telegraph lines, and 19 wireless stations dot the country.

The year 1888 marked the opening of the first section of the Ambacca railway, 1929 the completion of the Benguela railway, 1,347 km. through Angola, thanks to splendid co-operation of British and Portuguese energies. Besides this railway the Loanda, Mossamedes, and Amboim railways already extend to 625 miles. Loanda and Lobito are the chief ports; 14,522 miles of modern roads are open to traffic and over 2,000 motor-cars and lorries have already replaced the old portage.

Despite the World War, production has risen very rapidly. There were no maize exports in 1910; in 1928 they totalled 63,210 tons, and in 1930 71,249 tons.

The exports of coffee rise from 6,000 tons in 1910 to 11,838 tons in 1930. Other agricultural products such as palm-kernels, palm-oil, beans, wax, and cotton are developing steadily. Cattle-breeding and fisheries occupy many of the people.

The sugar plantations supply a progressive industry, and other industrial activities are continually opening up, such as oil and soap mills, beer, matches, tobacco, &c.

Angola also exported in 1930 318,634 carats of diamonds.

The trade movement has increased in importance and now amounts to nearly 6 million pounds.

The agricultural features of Angola's progress have not laid such a heavy strain on the natives as that of a sudden and intensive industrial development.

Native agriculture and cattle-breeding have government assistance. The problem of improving the conditions of the natives has been dealt with by a highly competent medical staff. Education is spreading. Besides the missionary schools, two government secondary establishments and a great number of elementary and professional schools are making good progress.

Mozambique. On the eastern side of the African continent Mozambique presents another example of modern colonization.

Consisting of a narrow strip of 293,400 square miles and with a native population of 3,500,000, the technical organization of the colony shows interesting progress.

Nine hundred and eighty-five miles of railways and 11,187 miles of roads with 22,452 miles of telegraphic lines are available for traffic.

The harbour of Lourenço Marques, from which starts the railway to the Transvaal, has attained a high technical standard. The wharf, coal-loading plants, electric cranes, refrigerating installations, &c., give a very modern aspect to this big and active port.

Beira is another fast-developing town with an excellent port, the starting-point of two international railways.

The assistance to the natives is conducted on modern lines. The medical organization is doing much good work. Native education is cared for in over 250 elementary schools and in many trade schools and also in the missions. The Agricultural and Veterinary Departments of Mozambique pay special attention to the native welfare.

The agricultural value of the country is increasing yearly, the trade movement averaging $5\frac{1}{2}$ millions. Sugar, maize, copra,

sisal, cotton, tobacco, oil-seeds, mangrove bark, and fruits form the gross of the exports. The agricultural industries are the most important, that of sugar having an output of 70,000 tons.

Local industries such as tobacco, cement, oil, flour, breweries, &c., are steadily increasing in importance.

The total trade of the Portuguese colonies amounted to nearly 20 million pounds in 1928. The British Empire maintains steady intercourse with Portugal and her colonies.

The area of Portugal is 35,490 sq. miles in the motherland and that of the Colonies 802,952 sq. miles. The population is nearly 7 millions on the continent and $9\frac{1}{2}$ millions overseas. With Brazil and the Portuguese communities in foreign countries the Portuguese-speaking population of the world is nearly 60 millions.

III. THE CHARACTERISTICS OF THE PORTUGUESE EXPANSION

IN AFRICA

More than five centuries have passed since Portugal for the first time came in contact with Africa. One predominant idea guided her in her relations with the huge African continent, and that was to civilize the natives and thus bring them under the aegis of the Portuguese Empire.

The missionary efforts that marked the Portuguese relations with Africa hindered the progress of Portugal in Morocco and Abyssinia, but proved of real value as regards the native African populations.

Christian principles rendered more friendly the meeting between the discoverers of new lands and the natives. The idea of equality before God greatly influenced the native legislation and explains the character of the Portuguese laws in this matter. The action of the Catholic missionaries had a marked influence in the development of Portugal's expansion in Africa.

Recently the Portuguese have conducted their colonial policy on modern lines but are still guided by some of the principles of the past.

More especially has the medical, economic, and moral assistance to the natives made great progress. The problem of protecting the native labourers has been carefully studied and special laws have been drafted and codified.

By Portuguese law the colonies are considered as part of the Empire. Each native as soon as he can show himself sufficiently civilized can enjoy full rights of citizenship like any other Portuguese citizen. The colonial Act of 1930 summarizes the rules of the modern Portuguese colonial policy. Portuguese Africa is developing steadily as compared with the progress of other African territories.

In the present Portuguese action is an important factor of civilization and improvement in Europe's contact with Africa.

HOLLAND IN AFRICA

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HOLLAND IN AFRICA

I

IN the history of the contact of modern Europe with Africa the direct part played by Holland was early both in origin and conclusion. In 1652 the Dutch East India Company founded on the shores of Table Bay the first permanent European settlement in South Africa. In 1806 the Cape Colony, which had grown out of that settlement, was captured for the second time by England who, at the conclusion of the Napoleonic Wars in 1815, retained permanent possession. Holland's direct contact with Africa then ceased, for attempts to establish other settlements, for example on the shores of Delagoa Bay and in Natal, had had no success.

But although Holland's contact with Africa was comparatively brief and terminated thus early, its interest is not simply historical save in the sense that all history is, as Croce maintains, contemporary history. That contact raised in a most pointed and vital form the question of the character of Western civilization by bringing into existence a state in which people of European origin, tradition, and culture were called upon to live side by side with Africans of primitive culture, in climatic conditions suitable to effort by, and the effective survival and increase of, both races. Within the limits of the Union of South Africa, which is the form into which that first settlement has developed, are comprised one and a half million Europeans and five and a half million natives of Bantu origin. Neither race knows or desires any other home, nor does the native population exhibit that tendency to wither away in contact with a higher civilization which, in other places and at other times, has provided a rough-and-ready solution of the problems raised by the contact of two widely differing civilizations. But although Dutch settlement in South Africa raised this question it did not provide a final answer. The basis of mutual accommodation between these two races within the limits of one state is still a matter of contention on which the last word has not

yet been said. The issue is debated in terms of two concepts of Western civilization. According to one of these, that civilization is something exclusive which cannot survive if it attempts to share its heritage with races of simpler culture. This view finds expression in a policy designed to establish the permanent inferiority of the native to the European. According to the other conception, Western civilization is something comprehensive, which cannot survive unless it does share its heritage. The logical policy issuing from this view is to encourage the native increasingly to take his share in the life of the State, and hence to work towards the inclusion in a common citizenship of all members of the State, irrespective of colour. In the ultimate decision between these rival conceptions Holland, it is true, will play no direct part; but she will play a part of prime importance indirectly, through her descendants, who are the older and larger section of the European population, and whose interests were established, and whose character with its prejudices and predilections was formed, in that first century and a half of the country's life when Holland stood behind the Dutch East India Company.

Apart from this share in a present living problem, however, Holland's contact with Africa has, in the history of Europe's contact with non-European peoples, something of the character of an episode complete in itself. This is due to the circumstances which twice faced South Africa with the necessity of finding, within the limits of one state, a *modus vivendi* for a comparatively small European population and a comparatively large native population of much lower culture but with exceptional forces of survival and adaptation. The Bantu, whose five and a half millions are the great problem of the Union of South Africa to-day, had no part in the old Cape Colony of Dutch days. First seriously encountered¹ in the latter half of the eighteenth century when the colony had spread itself eastward as far as the Fish river, in the later days of Dutch rule they formed only a problem in frontier defence, which they were to remain for a

¹ The existence of the Bantu was known earlier to the colonists from travellers, hunters, and illicit cattle dealers

considerable time after the conclusion of that rule. To the Dutch, the native was the Bushman or the Hottentot, rivals for the land from which the European was to oust both. Of these, the Bushmen were the earliest arrivals.¹ They were a relic of the Stone Age, a diminutive race which lived by hunting; to them agricultural and pastoral pursuits were alike foreign, and their social organization had not progressed beyond the family group. Although fairly numerous when the Dutch arrived, they were, like the aborigines of America and Australia, destined not to survive contact with a culture so much more complex than their own. Whether that was inevitable or not is now a matter of fruitless speculation. The fact is that, finding their hunting-grounds permanently invaded by a race which killed the game on which they mainly subsisted, took possession of their springs and claimed exclusive rights over lands where they had been wont to roam freely, the Bushmen strove to make life unbearable for the new-comers by stealing their cattle, and on occasions killing their servants, in the hope of inducing them to return whence they came. These attempts excited the enmity of the European colonists, to whom the Bushman's complete disregard for the sacred rights of private property and the resistance which he offered to any suggestion of exchanging his old free life for service with the farmers marked him out as something strange and inhuman. There sprang up between the two races, therefore, a feud in which the odds were all against the Bushman and the issue never in doubt. The colonist soon came to regard the Bushmen as in no way different from the wild beasts which preyed upon his cattle, and he shot them down with as little compunction. In the event of extensive depredations, organized bands of farmers went out to slaughter those whom they could not capture and to bring back such captives as they succeeded in taking to make of them unwilling and unsatisfactory servants, on a basis of indefinite indenture. In the circumstances, although the Bushmen did not cease to trouble the colony until

¹ For the origin and history of the Bushmen vide Stow, *The Native Races of South Africa*.

the end of the eighteenth century, when their last strongholds were penetrated, their ultimate extinction was inevitable. To-day only scattered individuals, few of them of pure blood, remain to bear living witness to the race of primitive artists whose paintings decorate the walls of mountain caves all over South Africa. But if they did not survive to become a problem in accommodation, their passing left its mark on the character of the South African Boer and thence on South African history, both in the evolution of the Commando system, whereby the farmers took their defence into their own hands with the sanction of a government which could not itself protect its subjects, and in a certain contempt for human life in its more primitive forms which was to have its effect on the course and character of subsequent race contacts in South Africa.

The Hottentot, a later arrival than the Bushman in South Africa, was derived from a similar stock. He had, however, attained both a greater stature and a higher level of culture. He was already a pastoralist and lived in clans under tribal captains. A wanderer by habit and of necessity in a country of long droughts, he could oppose to European advance none of that definite attachment to the land which was to be the cause of so much trouble with the agricultural Bantu in later days. Without fixed abode, and with a loose tribal organization in which the powers of the chief were limited, he offered no effective resistance to an expansion which steadily dispossessed him. In the process of dispossession, however, he evidenced powers of survival and of adaptability as great as the powers of resistance which had characterized the Bushman. In numbers which, with the inclusion of half-breeds and other 'free persons of colour',¹ were almost as disproportionate in the later eighteenth century as those of the Bantu to-day,² he came within the limits of a state which had grown up round him on his own territory, and he exacted an unpremeditated vengeance for the dispossession he had suffered by the problem which he thus presented.

¹ Emancipated slaves.

² Approximately three to one. Vide W. M. Macmillan, *Cape Colour Question*, pp. 141-2, and *Bantu, Boer, and Briton*, p. 2.

In the process whereby the Hottentot was brought within the limits of a European State which supplanted him on his own land, the origin and functions of that new state were factors of the first importance. The establishment of the first European settlement in South Africa was the work, not of a nation but of a trading company, the Dutch East India Company. It was an experiment in trade, not in empire. To the end of Dutch rule in South Africa, with the exception of the brief period between 1803 and 1806, the colony was governed by a system which exalted the commercial interests of the company and subordinated the needs and well-being of the inhabitants to considerations of profit and loss. The Council of Policy consisted solely of company's servants under the chairmanship of the governor. It was liable at any time to become a Board Council by the inclusion of officers of company's ships in the harbours whose only claim to participate in the deliberations of the highest legislative body in the colony was their knowledge of the affairs of the company; and the governor himself was called upon to yield his chairmanship to any official of higher standing in the company's service whose stay in the settlement might chance to coincide with a meeting of the council. In its policy making, the council itself was subject, not to the States General of the Netherlands, but to the company's head-quarters in Batavia and thence to the Chamber of Seventeen, the company's central board of directors in Amsterdam. It is true that the burghers acquired a considerable share in the administrative work of government. They early secured representation in the High Court of Justice when cases involving burghers were at issue. New bodies such as the Orphan Chamber and the Matrimonial Court were generally constituted of burghers and officials in equal proportion; and when the extension of the colony gave rise to the need for some machinery of local government, it became customary to associate, as unpaid officers, six Heemraden chosen from among the leading burghers of the district with a government-appointed and government-paid Landdrost, to perform administrative functions such as the upkeep of roads, care of the water supply, investigation of

applications for land, and also to exercise civil jurisdiction in minor cases, subject to appeal to the High Court of Justice. But the very extent of these administrative duties tended only to accentuate the absence of a share in the general work of policy-making.

It is but just, however, to remember that the Dutch East India Company which founded the settlement had no intention of establishing a colony. The intention was merely to maintain a small post on the shores of Table Bay, with the object of providing fresh food for the company's ships on the long journey to and from the Indies and thus increase the efficiency of the service by reducing the ravages of scurvy. The directors believed that this object could be achieved, partly by the work of a handful of the company's servants, and partly by cattle trading with the natives which would provide a meat supply. The instructions given to Jan van Riebeeck, the officer entrusted with the founding of the settlement, were framed on this assumption. He was to take up enough land to make a garden, to take possession of the water supply, to build a hospital and a fort, and to keep on friendly terms with the natives, so that they would be encouraged to bring their cattle to trade.

Colonization was thus no part of the original plan. Colonization involves territorial expansion, which inevitably means expensive administrative machinery, and the company was endeavouring to find avenues of economy, not of expenditure. Van Riebeeck was specially enjoined to keep down the costs of the settlement and, if possible, to show a profit. Within five years, however, the settlement had failed of its purpose both in respect of the amount produced by official farming and cattle trading, and the cost involved, and the directors themselves took the decision which was to transform the trading-post into a colony. This decision to hand over the business of production to free burghers was put into operation in 1657, when grants of land were made to nine servants of the company who expressed their willingness to take their discharge and to remain at the Cape as farmers. But the innovation was a change in method rather than a change in objective. It was not antici-

pated that the colony, any more than the trading-post, would develop independently of its founders; it was expected that its growth would automatically cease when the needs of the company were satisfied, and its failure to do so was a constant source of disappointment to the company, inasmuch as any outlay, such as administrative machinery involved, became an increasing burden as the company's fortunes declined.

Yet the company itself was responsible for the expansion which it did not desire. From the beginning, the relations between it and its subjects were both economically and politically unsound. Imbued with a belief in the principle of commercial monopoly, it feared to give to its burghers a freedom which might deprive it of any avenue of commercial development. The burghers were therefore forced to give to the company a first claim to their produce at prices fixed by the company; while the right conceded to them to sell to foreign ships in the harbours any surplus remaining after the satisfaction of the company's wants was limited by the company's retention of a preliminary monopoly of that market extending over three days. Import and export trade were exclusively in the hands of the company, as was all trade with the natives. There was thus left to the burghers only the very limited internal market, but before even that could acquire any appreciable dimensions it was also subjected to the monopolist principle. The practice of selling the monopoly of the retail trade in staple commodities like meat and wine was early inaugurated, and with minor modifications it remained in operation to the end of the company's rule.

With a market thus artificially controlled at every point, it is scarcely surprising that supply very soon outran demand.¹ The inevitable result of this situation was poverty and discontent, and the burghers came more and more to see in the government an enemy rather than a friend. The population remained small since its circumstances offered little attraction

¹ For a brief but illuminating analysis of the effects of 'commercial government' on the colony at the Cape, vide the *Memorandum of Commissioner De Mist*, Van Riebeeck Society's Publications (V R.S.), No. 3.

to prospective colonists, whose numbers were in any case limited in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; nor did the company assist immigration except for one brief period at the end of the seventeenth century. Nevertheless, the burghers early developed a tendency to scatter, occasioned by the desire to get as far as possible from a control which they disliked and distrusted.

The tendency to scatter was assisted and encouraged by the greater attractions of cattle-raising than of agriculture. Meat could command a more stable and more extensive market, while cattle had the advantage, in a country of difficult and undeveloped communications, of being able to carry themselves to market. But in a country of frequent droughts, and of limitless land which induced no effort to supply the deficiencies of nature, cattle-raising came to mean frequent movement in search of pasture; and the cattle-farmer developed into the trek-Boer who, owning at least two farms, one for winter and one for summer grazing, was yet ever ready to abandon them in the hope of finding something better.¹ The conditions of land tenure in the colony offered encouragement rather than opposition to these wandering habits. The *lening plaats* or loan place of approximately 3,000 morgen² in extent for which no rent was charged and which might be changed every year was originally instituted to encourage the farmers to take up cattle-raising when supply of cattle from the natives proved increasingly uncertain, but it gave no sense of fixity. By the time the company realized its dangers and endeavoured to counteract them, first by an annual tax of 12 Rixdollars, raised in 1732 to 24 Rixdollars, together with the offer of adjoining land for agricultural purposes on a fifteen years' lease at a low rental,³ the mental and physical habits of the trek-Boer had already been too definitely established to be thus easily transformed. Early

¹ Vide L. Fouché, *Evolutie van die Trek-Boer*, *passim*.

² A morgen is a little over 2 acres and is the unit of measurement commonly used in South Africa.

³ For criticism of the system of land tenure in operation in the early eighteenth century and its effects, vide the *Report of Governor-General Van Imhoff*, 1743, V.R.S., No. 1, pp. 136-7.

accustomed to dispense with the luxuries of civilization which the organized state alone could provide, prepared gladly to sacrifice those luxuries for the joys of the chase and the freedom of the veld, more at home in his wagon than under a permanent roof, he moved with his family and his herds farther and farther away from a civilization which meant to him merely vexatious exactions. His line of advance was eastward and upward across the steep range of mountains which forms the first barrier between the coastal belt and the high plateau constituting the essential South Africa.¹ This advance led him away from the limited area of the south-west corner of the continent, where regular winter rains and perennial streams provide satisfactory agricultural conditions, to the higher and drier levels where agriculture is extremely precarious and indeed, without extensive artificial aids,² practically impossible, so that everything conspired against a settled existence. And if the outward trek was difficult, the turning back was more difficult, since it was opposed not only by natural barriers but also by the psychological barriers which the company's sacrifice of its subjects' interests had raised.

In these circumstances, then, from the offspring of the Sea Beggars who in their day had laid the foundation of the United Netherlands trade, South Africa moulded a nation to which the deck and the counting-house alike were alien, a race no less hardy than its progenitors, but essentially landmen, who, bred in a solitude which seemed invaded if even the smoke from a neighbour's chimney rose above the horizon, developed an individualism that was destined, by its antagonism to external discipline and control, to raise serious difficulties in later stages of the nation's history.

The expansion of the colony, undertaken in a spirit of antagonism to the company's government, was promoted in opposition to the company's explicit injunctions. The colonists,

¹ For the endurance involved in this and other treks, see Louis Trigardt's *Dagboek*, edited by Gustav Preller, and Louis Trigardt's *Trek*, by Fuller, V.R.S., No. 13.

² J. H. Wellington, 'Land Utilization in South Africa', *Geographical Review*, vol. xxii, No. 2, pp. 205-24.

however, proved stronger than the company, and in the end the company followed where it could not recall, though too late to direct and control the expansion, and too late in the course of its own fortunes to be able to do more than provide a formal sanction for a development it could not check, a sanction in return for which it did not scruple to impose the taxes exacted where its services were more effective.¹ At the end of the eighteenth century the small population had strung itself out over the great area between the Cape in the west and the Fish river in the east, a distance taking some two hundred hours to travel by ox wagon. There were then, outside of Capetown, only three administrative centres. Of these, Stellenbosch dated from 1681; but Swellendam received its Board of Landdrosts and Heemraden only in 1745, and Graaf Reinet was not similarly endowed until 1786. When this last board was established, the Council of Policy made it clear that in neither of these eastern districts could it give any effective assistance in the work of administration or in the still more urgent work of policing the frontiers, where Kaffirs and Bushmen were rendering life unsettled and insecure for the European farmers.²

Despite the ineffectiveness of the government, the colonists sought its recognition, for the extension of the state to which they were indifferent, if not actually opposed, was the essential condition of the extension of the Church which they did desire. But their dislike and distrust of the former was increased rather than diminished by this one source of dependence on it and the price exacted for it; so much so that, when the English first attacked the colony in 1795, the two frontier districts were in

¹ In 1770 the Landdrosts and Heemraden of Stellenbosch and Swellendam had been constituted a commission to investigate the advisability of extending the frontier to take in the district known as Bruinjes Hoogte. They reported 'as the country thereabouts is a more profitable tract and rich in grass, it is to be apprehended that the occupiers of those farms (within the existing boundary) would avail themselves of the opportunity to take their trek farms there—from which the Honourable Company would not derive any the less income; but if as has been said, farms were given out as far as the so-named Hoogte, the Honourable Company would then receive the stipulated loan-rent and thus at the same time, a fixed boundary would be agreed upon on this side'.

² Geyer, *Das wirtschaftliche System*, pp. 23 ff., quoted by Walker, *History of South Africa*, p. 121

open revolt against the company, and only the success of that attack stayed the spread of the revolt to Stellenbosch and even to the Cape itself.

The chief features, then, of the development of the Cape under the rule of the Dutch East India Company were its haphazard character and over-rapid expansion, the absence of any specific policy other than a policy of limitation, and the weakness of administrative control. All these features inevitably had their effect upon the character and the course of those contacts between black and white which the settlement and the expansion of the colony created.

II

To the founders of the settlement at the Cape, the relationship of black and white presented no problem. It was as simple as the proposed settlement itself, which, necessitating no assumption of sovereign rights save in respect of a small area of land just sufficient for a trading-station and presumably not immediately occupied by anybody, specifically avoided administrative responsibilities. The native of South Africa who pastured his cattle on the neighbouring lands was outside the sphere of the company's jurisdiction, and it was assumed that he would remain so. All that was desired of him was that he should be willing to barter his cattle to the company. In order that he might be encouraged to do so, it was urged that he should not be annoyed by interference, and that any misdemeanours of his should be overlooked. Aggressions against him by Europeans, even when provoked, were to be severely punished, lest he take offence or fright and depart with his cattle.¹

In the eyes of the company no revision of this policy was necessitated by the recognition of the free burghers, which was not regarded as the beginnings of an expansion destined either to bring the native within the limits of the settlement or definitely to expel him from his own lands. But it did involve an increase in possible points of contact and of conflict, while it

¹ Moodie, *The Record*, p. 11, quoted Du Plessis, *History of Christian Missions in South Africa*, p. 22; Leibbrandt, *Précis of the Cape Archives, Letters received 1649-1662*, part i, p. 228.

also created a possible source of competition with the company for the native trade, a matter of greater importance. In order then to meet these dangers the company forbade the burghers to trade with the natives or to harbour them in their houses or employ them as servants.¹ Indeed, when the question of labour arose in the first year of the colony as distinct from the trading-post, the burghers protesting that they could not sell their produce at the prices fixed by the company considering the cost of labour, the company preferred to import slaves rather than allow the employment of the Hottentots, either on a free or on an unfree basis.²

In brief, the policy of the company in respect of the native was a policy of complete political and territorial exclusion, founded on the company's intention of occupying only that small area of land which it regarded as necessary for the fulfilment of the objects of the settlement. Within the limits of the settlement, the native was to be a foreigner coming only to trade with the company and then return to his own country; and beyond these limits the European was forbidden to go without express authority from the government. The essence of the situation as it presented itself to the company is revealed in the suggestion made by a visiting commissioner of the company, to which serious consideration was given, that a canal should be dug across the isthmus which joined the Cape Peninsula to the continent. Van Riebeeck opposed the suggestion, yet in 1659 he had a strong stockade built around his settlement to separate it from barbarous Africa beyond. This precaution originated in a quarrel with the neighbouring Hottentot tribes which has been dignified with the name of the First Hottentot War. The quarrel arose from the gradual realization³ by the Hottentot that not only had the European come

¹ 24 October 1658, 13 March 1660. Placaaten. Cape Archives. Vide M. L. Hodgson, 'The Hottentots—A Study in Labour and Administration', *Proceedings of the South African Association for the Advancement of Science*, 1924.

² Labour before the introduction of the slaves was European labour hired from the company. The company continued to provide a certain amount of such labour even after the introduction of the slaves. Vide Mentzel, *Description of the Cape*, V.R.S., No. 6, p. 58, and *Report of Van Imhoff*, op. cit., p. 137.

³ D. Moodie, *The Record*, pp. 57–8, 186.

to stay, but that this meant his own permanent exclusion from an area which was already beginning to extend; and both the war and the stockade were attempts to make him accept this unpalatable truth. In 1672 another visiting commissioner went through the formality of buying from one of the Hottentot chiefs the lands already in European occupation, nominally for £1,600, actually for goods to the value of £9 12s. 9d.¹

The very first years of the settlement's existence gave signs to the discerning eye that, in so far as its relations with the natives were concerned, the settlement was as little likely to conform to the pattern proposed by the company in Europe or by its officials in South Africa as in other respects. Apart altogether from the tendency towards expansion, there were several reasons which doomed the policy of isolation to failure. From the beginning, the company encouraged the Hottentots to come to the fort with their cattle, and in the days before slave labour it was itself in the habit of employing those who were willing to be used on such menial tasks as they could be induced to perform. Thus, in spite of the policy of keeping the two races apart, they early grew accustomed to each other's proximity, and soon, despite the introduction of slaves, tended to drift into a state of mutual dependence. Even in the days when the settlement was fairly prosperous, that is so long as it remained small,² in two specific cases slave labour was expensive, not always procurable, even on hire from the company, and not wholly satisfactory; that was in the cases of seasonal labour on the farms and cattle herding. In both of these cases Hottentot labour offered particular advantages; it tended in any case to be spasmodic, and seasonal labour suited the Hottentot where regular employment did not;³ while cattle herding in the peculiar conditions of the country was as familiar to the Hottentot as it was strange to the slave. The Hottentot on his side was more and more willing to seek employment from the European as his own resources dwindled and his needs increased in variety if

¹ Ibid., pp. 205, 317, quoted Walker, op. cit., p. 48.

² De Mist's *Memorandum*, p. 48.

³ Vide Adam Tas's *Diary*, edited by L. Fouché, pp. 65, 71.

not in quantity. The brandy and tobacco with which the company tempted him to sell his cattle soon became necessities which kept him in touch with the settlement, while the impoverishment which followed upon the unconsidered sale of his cattle to satisfy his immediate desires left him in many cases with no alternative to labour in the service of the farmers as a means of maintaining even his meagre existence.

This tendency towards a mutual dependence in spite of the company's policy encountered no real check either from the European administration in the colony or from the tribal system of the Hottentots. From the beginning, the European administration was marked by a readiness to accommodate its general principles to the needs of the immediate situation. As early as 1677, even while the *placaaten* against the employment of natives by Europeans were still fresh in the statute book, the council is found issuing an injunction against the payment of money to Hottentots by the farmers, on the ground that, ignorant of the value of money, they demanded too much and thus too easily acquired the means of satisfying their wants, to the detriment of the cattle trade.¹ The tribal system, for its part, early began to disintegrate under the new influences to which it was subjected, of which not the least were diseases hitherto unknown. In 1687 the Cape was swept by a fever epidemic which, while it exacted a heavy toll of the small European population, in some instances so decimated the tribes in the immediate vicinity of the settlement as to destroy their tribal organization, and thus encouraged the drift towards the settlement.

Finally, even while the company explicitly aimed at territorial and economic separation of black and whites, it did itself encourage one line of contact which was certain to render its policy in this respect a dead letter. Neither the company nor its servants in the first days of the settlement showed any colour prejudice and, in the absence of European women, marriages between Hottentots and Europeans were not only countenanced but encouraged. There was only one bar to such a marriage,

¹ Theal, *History of South Africa before 1795*, vol. ii, p. 234.

namely, the heathenism of one of the parties. That bar removed, Church and State were alike prepared to confer their blessing, and it is on record that the solemnization of such a union was regarded as an occasion for public rejoicing, due no doubt incidentally to the testimony it offered to the progress of Christianity in heathen Africa.¹

It is scarcely surprising, then, that in view of all these forces operating against the Company's explicit policy there was, even by the end of the seventeenth century, a considerable Hottentot population within the colony, much of it permanent. It consisted of men and women who, having abandoned their tribal organization, or been abandoned by it, sought to pick up a living in the service of the European. Much indeed of that Hottentot population had lost its original race purity. A race mixture had begun which, complicated by the presence of African slaves, and of Malays transported from the company's Eastern possessions,² was to give to the Cape the reputation of presenting a range of shades and varieties of race admixture hardly to be equalled, certainly not to be surpassed, anywhere in the world. By the end of the eighteenth century those varieties were to achieve a certain homogeneity as the Cape Coloured people, but the basis of homogeneity was the Hottentot element, which played its part in every mixture. Indeed, in the eighteenth century and into the nineteenth century, the term 'Bastard Hottentots' was commonly used for mixed breeds until missionary opposition to the offensive term gave rise to the substitution of 'Cape Coloured'.

It might have been expected that this unanticipated development in the character of the settlement would impress itself upon the Administration and induce a revision of the company's policy so as to make it accord more nearly with facts. The recognition which it received was surprisingly small. Indeed, the company merely isolated one aspect of the situation and burked the main issue of defining the status of such natives as had come within the State. It endeavoured to keep the peace

¹ Du Plessis, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

² The company used the Cape as a penal settlement for its Eastern possessions.

between the two races without attempting to regulate the conditions of their contact.

From the beginning, the idea of allowing the native to go unpunished for offences against Europeans had proved unsound in theory and almost impossible to administer in practice. With primitive disregard for those rights of private property so sacred in western society, the Hottentot in his visits to the fort with his cattle collected whatever caught his fancy, unless careful watch was kept. No ill results following, his pilfering propensities increased, to the immediate loss and general insecurity of the inhabitants of the settlement, whose irritation was not lessened by an inability to obtain redress from a government desiring peace with the native at any price. Unpunished petty offences were, however, inevitably followed by more serious offences such as murder, and the directors were forced to take notice. Van Riebeeck went so far as to recommend to them the possibility of solving both the administrative difficulty and the problem of labour by seizing the Hottentots' cattle and enslaving the Hottentots themselves. This was too drastic a change of policy for them. The limit of their concession was that Hottentots guilty of more serious offences against Europeans might be punished by banishment or, in the case of murder, by death, and it was urged that, even in such cases, the tribal authorities should be induced to inflict the punishment, as all Hottentots were still assumed to belong to a free and independent nation.¹

The resulting situation was anomalous, but not, at the end of the century, so complicated as it was later to become. In spite of the failure of the policy of separation, there was still some foundation for the claim that the Hottentots were a free people outside the jurisdiction of the company. After fifty years' existence the farthest outpost of the colony was not more than 60 miles from De Kaap, as the settlement on the shores of Table Bay had come to be called. From that outpost, as far

¹ Leibbrandt, *Précis of the Cape Archives, Letters despatched from the Cape 1652-1662*, vol. ii, pp. 84 and 86, *Letters received 1649-1662*, part i, p. 228, Captain Daniel Beekman, *A Voyage to Borneo in 1714*, V.R.S., No. 5. p. 117.

east as the Fish river, the Hottentots remained in undisputed possession of the country and therein they could maintain the basis of a separate existence. But the new century witnessed a change. The dispersal of the European population which proceeded apace during the century steadily carried the frontiers of the colony forward. The line of advance was along the first of the series of terraces by which South Africa rises to its great central plateau, until the Fish river and the vanguard of the Bantu immigration were simultaneously encountered; the advance was then deflected northward to the higher and drier regions which it had hitherto avoided.

In this dispersal no further mention is made either of the conquest or of the purchase of territory; yet the expansion of the colony could not take place save at the expense of the Hottentot who had also tended to cling to the first plateau, avoiding both the sandy stretches of the coast belt and the colder and drier Karoo.¹ The natural inability of the Hottentots to offer any resistance to this invasion in view of their own trek habits was, in fact, aggravated by the effects of the small-pox epidemics which swept over South Africa in 1713 and 1755. The first of these epidemics affected the tribes throughout the southern peninsula and even beyond; it wiped out whole tribes and left others so weakened that their organization ceased to function; they became for the most part mere collections of individuals without effectual leadership. The absence of resistance, however, while it disguised the process of dispossession, rendered it all the more complete. By the third quarter of the eighteenth century the lands on which the Hottentots grazed their cattle had, with rare exceptions,² passed into the possession of the Boers with the sanction of the government. In 1778 Governor van Plettenberg made the first comprehensive delineation of the colony since van Riebeeck's day, and the

¹ Vide W. M. Macmillan, *Cape Colour Question*, p. 17.

² Where tribal organization remained, and effective occupation could be claimed, the company did what it could to prevent dispossession. In 1772 Governor van Plettenberg withdrew a grant of land made by him when it came to his notice that the land was occupied by a Hottentot captain and his people. Vide D. Moodie, *The Evidence of the Motives and Objects of the Bushmen Wars*, pp. 10-11.

boundaries which he fixed as including all the land in occupation by the Boers included, in actual fact, all those lands on which it had been assumed the Hottentots would maintain their independent existence.

The Hottentots, however, had not ceased to exist even if their lands had passed into other hands. In fact, despite epidemics, their numbers remained relatively considerable. What then had become of them? In the early days of European expansion a number of tribes had retreated before the white advance, making their way inland to the older homes of their race. These, however, were the exception. In later days, when tribal organization was crumbling under the influence of Western ideas and conditions of life, isolated groups of individuals sought refuge with neighbouring tribes across the frontier. The mass of the people, however, remained to seek their livelihood in dependence on the farmers. In 1769 the Landdrost of Swellendam could report of his district that few, if any, Hottentots continued to reside in the kraals; practically all were to be found in the service of the farmers.¹

This change was a continuation of that which had begun in the seventeenth century. One might have supposed, however, that the increased dependence of the Hottentots would have forced the company to make such adjustments as the facts demanded, both in its conception of, and its policy towards, the State which it had unwillingly produced. Once more it refused to deal comprehensively with the situation. Throughout the eighteenth century the company continued to ignore the facts and to cling to the idea of the freedom and independence of the native people. It is true, it still maintained its responsibility for protecting the Hottentot from European aggression; but, as the necessity for that protection increased, progressive administrative weakness, due partly to the decline of the company, and partly to the premature expansion of the colony, rendered that protection less and less effective. In 1672 a burgher had been sentenced to permanent banishment for the murder of a Hottentot; and in 1673 a woman, accused and

¹ D. Moodie, *op. cit.*, p. 18, note 2.

convicted of the theft of 'two Hottentot cattle which had strayed among her troop', was sentenced 'to stand with an oxhide above her head, and the halter round her neck; to be branded and scourged, with confiscation of all her property, and to be banished for twelve years on Robben Island'.¹ In 1771, a century later, the Landdrost of Swellendam was informed by the governor's secretary that one Hottentot from his district had complained that ten cattle and a number of sheep had been taken from him by a farmer, and another that ten years' wages had been withheld from him by the farmer for whom he had worked. The Landdrost was instructed to investigate the cases, and, if the complaints proved well founded, to see that the cattle were restored and the wages paid.² In 1775 a Field Cornet of the district of Stellenbosch reported to the Landdrost of the district that a Hottentot in the employ of one of the farmers had complained that the farmer had taken away his wife, and asked that she might be restored to him, 'on which I desired Joubert to give that Hottentot up his wife and also to let her leave his service, paying her the cattle or wages she had earned'.³ In neither case is there any mention of punishment for what were serious interferences with the freedom and property of a supposedly free people.

On the other hand, in at least one instance, the company's insistence on the independence of the Hottentot operated in his favour. In 1774 an attempt was made to induce Governor van Plettenberg to institute a pass system for Hottentots which would have given to the farmers complete control over them. The ground of the request was that runaway slaves were passing themselves off as Bastard Hottentots⁴ and getting employment

¹ Leibbrandt, *Précis of the Cape Archives, Journal 1671-1676*, pp. 53-4, 140, 141, 157, and 159.

² D. Moodie, op. cit., p. 29.

³ D. Moodie, op. cit., p. 42.

⁴ There was in the eighteenth century an attempt to differentiate between Bastard Hottentots and Hottentots, and at the end of the century taxes and service were exacted from the former if they were not in the service of farmers, while the latter were still theoretically free. There was, however, no more comprehensive definition of the position of the Bastard than of the pure Hottentot and (a) the differentiation between the two was never complete, e.g. the Pandour Corps, raised in 1793 to assist in the defence of the colony, included Hottentots as well as

as such, to the great annoyance of the farmers. A pass system, it was contended, would put a stop to this evil, and incidentally it would have the additional advantage of providing machinery by which Hottentots might be forced to stay with the farmer for a definite period instead of working just as long as they felt inclined and then departing, a practice common among a primitive people of low standard of living, but one which has always been particularly irksome to European employers. So grave a departure from the policy of non-interference, however, did not find favour with the governor, and the request was not granted.¹

Two concessions, however, the company did make to the farmers' desire for labour and for control over their servants. It countenanced the practice, which gradually grew into a custom, of handing over to any farmer, or to such poor persons as were incapable of hiring labourers, Hottentots, or Bushmen taken in arms against the colony, and also such Hottentots as were convicted of breach of the peace within the colony, the period being vaguely defined as 'a fixed and equitable term of years';² and in 1775, in response to pressure, it agreed that farmers should be allowed to retain as apprentices until their twenty-fifth year the offspring of the union of slaves and Hottentots if they had maintained those children for the first eighteen months of their lives. The apprenticeship was supposed to be illegal unless duly registered, but the facilities for registration provided by the administrative machinery of the country were evidence of pious intention rather than of actual achievement. The system of apprenticeship then recognized was to form a precedent which, even to the present day, has its attractions for the South African farmer.³

Bastards, and in the same year Hottentot servants, except from the district of Graaf Reinet, were called upon to serve against the Kaffirs; (b) such piecemeal definition as was being made in respect of the Bastard was providing a situation to which that of the free Hottentot was to be assimilated.

¹ D. Moodie, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

² *Ibid*, p. 29.

³ In 1932 the Government of the Union of South Africa passed a Native Service Contract Act which provided, *inter alia*, for the apprenticing by their guardians of native children between the ages of ten and eighteen years. This provision aroused much criticism.

With these exceptions then, the company, refusing or being unable to take a comprehensive view, left the regulation of the growing interdependence of black and white to chance, or rather to the farmers themselves, and from this development emerged the institution of that system of labour tenancy which, with minor variations and somewhat more control, has since remained a feature of South African rural organization. The cattle farmers needed servants, particularly cattle herds. But with extensive lands and great herds they had, in the existing economic conditions of the colony, little convertible wealth with which to purchase slaves or to pay wages. To the Hottentot then, who could no longer, of his own right, live or graze any cattle which remained to him on the lands which had once been his, they offered, in return for service, a place where he might build his huts, pasturage for his cattle, and possibly even a small and irregular wage to be paid in kind, usually cattle. And the Hottentot, with no alternative means of subsistence, had perforce to accept.

The situation thus created had obvious dangers for the Hottentot. He had no formal contract and no legal guarantee. Indeed, the obvious insecurities of this position, coupled with the administrative weakness already noted, offered every facility for exploitation and ill usage. Probably such ill usage was less frequent than might have been expected, for the two races still had common interests: both regarded cattle as their main wealth, and the farmer had much to learn from the Hottentot concerning the care of cattle in the difficult conditions of the country. On the other hand, the Hottentot had made little advance in civilization during his period of contact with the European; there was, in fact, justification for claiming that he had deteriorated. The use of brandy and tobacco, and in some cases, ability to ride a horse and shoot with accuracy were the only things that differentiated him from his forebears. It must be remembered, however, that the Boer had himself sacrificed much of his old standard of living and of culture in return for freedom from administrative control, and he was not in a position to give to the Hottentot what he could not provide for his

own children. And, in the meantime, the Hottentot had the moderate certainty that at least he would not starve.

The real weakness of the situation was the extent to which it had mortgaged the future. The Hottentot had lost his independence without acquiring any new rights in exchange. He might be a labour tenant on land which had once been his, but he could not own that land again or even acquire a regular tenancy of it. While the government implied that he had no rights because he was not part of the State, the farmer knew by experience just how much a part of the State he had become, and assumed that he had no rights because he had no claim thereto, in other words because he was essentially inferior.

The absence of race prejudice which was so marked a feature of the first days of the settlement had given way to a very definite colour consciousness. No doubt it was impossible for two races of such widely different levels of culture to live side by side without the more complex acquiring a sense of superiority. This natural tendency was certainly accentuated in this case by the deteriorating influence of brandy and arrack on a people of marked instability, and it was aggravated by the Hottentots' thieving propensities and dislike of sustained effort which proved a continual annoyance to the colonist both as farmer and as employer. To the consequent conception of native inferiority, the presence of slaves and the growth of the slave-owning mentality inevitably contributed, while the almost continuous warfare between the colonists and the Bushmen, which became simply a hunting down of the weaker by the stronger, induced a tendency to regard the life of a black man as something less sacred than that of a white.

By the end of the eighteenth century, then, the native was to the Dutch colonist already the son of Ham, the hewer of wood and the drawer of water, a being not only inferior but essentially and permanently inferior. One influence alone could have counteracted or modified that view: the influence of the Church. In the beginning, it looked as if this might happen. While the secular government had not elaborated more than a negative policy in regard to the native, and while

within the then narrow limits of the settlement no question of native absorption and political status had yet arisen, the Church¹ at the Cape opened its doors to the natives. A genuine missionary spirit, encouraged by the directors at home and by the commander at the Cape, inspired its first ministrants, and a full equality was offered within and through the Church to all who professed Christianity. The Church claimed, through its attitude to marriage between black and white, that the only basis of inferiority between individuals was heathenism, and that a common Christianity levelled all inequalities. In the relation which still existed between Church and State in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, with its emphasis on membership of the state ecclesiastical as the essential condition of membership of the state civil, this attitude, as yet explicit only in the social sphere, offered the native's best hope of civil and political rights when changed conditions should make those a vital issue. Unfortunately, long before that situation arose, the Church in South Africa had abandoned its missionary activities.² Indeed, those activities did not survive the first twenty-five years of the settlement's existence; and until the later eighteenth century, when the evangelical revival touched the Dutch Church as it had touched so many others, the heathen was disregarded and ignored by the Church.

In the abandonment of missionary effort, the Dutch Church was returning to, not departing from, the general tradition of the Protestant churches.³ Those churches were not missionary

¹ The Church of the Cape Colony was the Reformed Church of Holland, under the Classis or Presbytery of Amsterdam, and in the spirit of the age it maintained a complete monopoly, only modified in 1780 to allow the erection in Capetown of a Lutheran church which had long been in demand by the Lutherans at the Cape.

² Du Plessis, *op. cit.*

³ The first Christian mission to the Hottentots, that of George Schmidt, the Moravian, came to an untimely end after five years, through the opposition of the Dutch Reformed Church at the Cape. That opposition was, however, due not to hostility to missionary work among the heathen, but to the monopolist principle which regarded with distrust the propagation of the Gospel by a missionary not in entire conformity with the State Church. In the eighties the evangelical revival in South Africa brought in its train a revival of the missionary spirit which expressed itself in the formation of the South African Society for Promoting the Extension of

churches; indeed some were expressly opposed to mission work among the heathen, and, in its efforts on behalf of both slaves and Hottentots, the Reformed Church at the Cape had stepped out of the common groove. Its failure to stay out of that groove was due less to a consciousness of difference than to the immediate circumstances obtaining in South Africa. The Church was, like every other institution in the settlement, dependent on the company. Its ministers were officials of the company, appointed, paid, transferred, and dismissed like all other company servants. It suffered, therefore, like every other department of the State, from the increasing inadequacy of the company's resources. It was not until 1665 that the colony received its first permanent minister. Before that, it had to be content with the services of a sick-comforter, a sort of catechist

Christ's Kingdom. There was much opposition, particularly from the frontier districts, to the proposal to carry the Gospel to the heathen, but the opposition came from the people rather than from the Church itself. The actual work of missioning, however, was hampered by the close dependence of the Church on the State which lasted until 1847, and by the difficulty of obtaining recruits even for the regular ministry. As a result, such enthusiasm as there was in the country for missions expressed itself mainly in support of the efforts of other Protestant missionary societies which began to work in this field in the nineteenth century. By the middle of the century, however, the Dutch Reformed Church in the Cape was in a stronger and more independent position and was able to embark upon missionary activities of its own; and to-day it is budgeting for an expenditure of £1,000 per week on mission work.

The Dutch Reformed Church, the largest Dutch Church in South Africa, must be differentiated from the small Nederduits Hervormde Kerk, which, as the State Church of the old South African Republic, was responsible for supporting the Trekkers' policy of 'no equality in Church and State'. The Dutch Reformed Church has recently issued a pronouncement on the responsibility of the Christian Church to the native, which is of the greatest importance in these days when both the present and the future position of the native in the European State of which he now forms part are in jeopardy as never before. While emphasizing the primary aim of missionary endeavour as the preaching of the Gospel, it states that 'where, as a result of the proclamation of the Gospel, a desire has been created in the hearts of the converts for advancement in other spheres of life, it is the duty of the Church not to oppose or hinder such natural aspirations but, on the contrary, to guide them in the right direction. . . . It does not consider, however, that the highest well-being of either Native or European should be sought for along the lines of race fusion, or the elimination of all social barriers, but rather through the fostering and developing of such racial characteristics as (having been purified by the influence of the Gospel, and furthered by the enjoyment of religious privileges) can be developed in a manner that will enable the Native races to take their rightful place in the general community.'

or lay preacher, who could not dispense any of the Sacraments of the Church, thus leaving the people dependent on visiting ministers for baptisms, while marriages were performed by the Council of Policy. In 1795 there were still only six churches in the whole colony, of which one was the Lutheran church at Capetown. In the circumstances, it was almost inevitable that mission work should be neglected, since it was impossible for the Church as it existed to minister effectively even to its white members.

This failure of the Church to carry the Gospel to the heathen had, however, far-reaching civil and political effects, for it reinforced the obvious social differences between white and black by a further discrimination between Christian and heathen. In the seventeenth century these effects were less important to the Hottentot than to the slave, since the Hottentot was still an alien and as such could acquire no rights within the State, while the slave's hope of freedom depended on his becoming a Christian.¹ As time went on, however, and by the process of absorption the Hottentot came within the State, his ability to acquire civil rights became to a large extent, consciously and unconsciously, involved with his right to acquire Christianity, and that right was in its turn a matter of the facility with which he could obtain instruction from, and admission to, the Church. As late as 1825, a belief prevailed in the colony that Hottentots could not acquire land, although there was no law to this effect, and one of the explanations of this disability given to the Crown Commissioner sent out by the British Government in that year was that these people were not Christians.² Thus the social and political inferiority of the Hottentots was given an additional emphasis by their practical exclusion from the Church, while the secular arm of the State allowed matters to develop without any effective attempt to influence or control their direction.

By the third quarter of the eighteenth century, however, there were increasing signs that matters could not be allowed

¹ The company had laid down that slaves professing Christianity were not to be kept in bondage. This provision was subsequently relaxed, but the belief that it remained law survived down to the later eighteenth century and did much to induce the farmers to discourage missionary effort among their slaves. Vide Du Plessis, *op. cit.*, ch. v. ² Theal, *Records of the Cape Colony*, vol. xxxv, p. 313.

to drift indefinitely, that the State would have to acknowledge its obligations, that it would have to define the status of the native within its boundaries and its policy to those still outside. The presence of the Kaffir on the eastern frontier of the colony was creating a new dependence of the farmer upon the government. This new claimant for the lands of South Africa differed from the old ones in numbers, in organization, and in his appreciation of the value of land; and in his advance he was as aggressive and persistent as the European himself. For the first time, the Boer was to meet a real resistance and to feel the need for organized force behind him.

In face of this new advancing tide, the company, already tottering to its fall, and more than ever anxious to limit its responsibilities as its finances became more and more involved, could offer only its old policy of separation as the one hope of peace. In 1778 van Plettenberg met a number of Kaffir chiefs on the Fish river and made an agreement with them that that river should be the boundary between them and the Europeans. Neither party was to cross the boundary except with special permission and, in good old-fashioned style, the bartering of cattle by Europeans from the Kaffirs was prohibited under pain of severe punishment which was also to be meted out for offences against the Kaffir. Despite this arrangement, in the absence of any effective policing of the frontier, Kaffirs were, by 1789,¹ in service with farmers as far west as two days' journey from Swellendam, and individual Europeans, with a disregard for the regulations against trade with the Kaffir such as had met the prohibition of trade with the Hottentots, had penetrated deep into Kaffirland. Cattle theft and reprisals followed these irregular relationships and by 1793 two so-called Kaffir wars had already occurred. The old story was repeated but with a different result. The company, still primarily anxious for peace, blamed the farmers for what were, in the nature of the case, natural frontier conditions and for their results, and it came to an agreement with the Kaffirs whereby, instead of the European frontier being carried forward, the Kaffirs were allowed to

¹ Theal, *History of South Africa before 1795*, vol. iii, p. 178.

remain on the colonial side of the frontier without prejudice to the ownership of the land by the Europeans.¹

This progress of the frontier problem, while it served to accentuate the Boer's dislike and distrust of the government, added to his conviction of the inferiority of the native a new consciousness begotten of insecurity and fear: for both of these the Kaffirs induced as neither the Bushman nor the Hottentot had ever been able to do. The situation was not improved by a growing tendency on the part of the Hottentots to resent the inferiority and insecurity of their position. In 1774 we find the council warning the farmers against ill treatment of their servants as likely to inspire a desire for revenge.² In 1793 a panic spread through the district of Swellendam on the rumour that the Hottentots, encouraged no doubt by the Kaffirs' stand against the Europeans, were preparing to rise in general rebellion: by this time a more serious prospect since, in spite of the government's opposition, numbers of Hottentots had succeeded in acquiring guns, generally as wages from the farmers who employed them. In 1799 they actually did rise, not only in Swellendam but also in Graaf Reinet, and joined the great Kaffir invasion of that year which devastated all the eastern districts and seemed to threaten the very existence of the colony.

By that time, however, the responsibility had passed into other hands and the company had to the end evaded the stock-taking. In 1795 the English took temporary possession. The retrocession, not to the company but to the Batavian Republic, in 1802, suggested that the clearing up of the situation would after all be done by Holland herself. In 1806, however, the second and final conquest of the colony by the English definitely committed the task to a government which had the disadvantage not only of functioning in a country which had grown to distrust all governments, but of being a foreign government as well.

III

The effects of the *laissez-faire* policy of the company had been to complicate the question of native status with established

¹ Ibid., p. 181.

² D. Moodie, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

interests and inherited prejudices. In the circumstances, any government would have found it difficult to avoid all the pitfalls inherent in a definition of the relationship of the State to the native which would guarantee the latter any rights at all. The result of the British attempt to deal with the situation was to destroy the unity of the European population of the country, to lead to the creation of several states where there should have been but one, and to increase proportionately the embarrassment of an already difficult situation.

In spite of the growing importance of Hottentot labour in the colony with the closing of the slave-trade in 1807, the first difference between government and people did not arise, as might have been expected, from the actual definition of the status of the Hottentot. Indeed, that definition, comprised in what came to be known as 'The Hottentot Code',¹ proved eminently satisfactory to the farmers inasmuch as it put the Hottentot on a legal level definitely inferior to that of the European; and, by its institution of the long-desired pass system, it gave to the farmers the control of the native labour supply which they had always desired.² Friction arose in the first instance over an attempt by the government to establish the rule of law on the frontier, and to give a semblance of reality to the protection from ill usage which had been the professed but unrealized aim of the company, and which the new government regarded as an essential duty. In 1811 a Circuit Court was instituted to bring justice nearer to the people. In 1812, the second circuit was presented by certain missionaries of the London Missionary Society with a long list of charges against farmers of cruelties to their Hottentot servants. The charges in many

¹ Proclamation of 1809, 1812, and 1819. Vide Theal, *Records of the Cape Colony*.

² Passes to seek work were to be issued by local officials, the Field Cornets or Landdrosts, who determined the duration of the pass issued. The Field Cornets were farmers, and the Landdrosts were interested in the peace of a farming community. It was simple, then, for them to act in the interests of the local labour supply by limiting the duration of a man's pass so that he could not go beyond the boundaries of the district in search of work. This power also operated against any rise in wages, since persons without passes could be apprehended and handed over by the local authorities to any farmer in need of labour at any wage he was willing to pay.

cases admittedly related to episodes dating many years back. They were, however, duly investigated by the court, in spite of the farmers' indignation at this attention to what they maintained were mere idle tales. While some of the charges were, in a modified form, substantiated, most of them were dismissed as unfounded or unproven. In spite of this result, the anger of the farmers at the whole episode, which they regarded both as a reflection on their character and a dangerous interference with their authority over their servants, found expression in the name of the Black Circuit, the name by which this circuit is still known.

The echoes of this incident had not died away when the question of the relationship of black and white was once more brought before the country by the outbreak of a minor rebellion due to an attempt by the government to bring one Bezuidenhout to justice for ill-using a Hottentot in his service. For two years Bezuidenhout had flouted the courts, and refused to answer their summons. Eventually an officer was sent with a handful of Hottentot soldiers to arrest him. On resisting arrest he was shot, whereupon his relations engineered a rebellion with the declared purpose of setting up a republic which would be free from irritating interference. The rebellion was easily crushed at Slachter's Nek but, while the rebels had elicited little direct support from the general body of farmers, the severity of the punishments meted out to the ringleaders aroused a significant sympathy in a country whose people had forgotten that a government might act with firmness.

The memory of the Black Circuit and Slachter's Nek, however, in spite of the emotions roused by them, would probably have faded as the country became more accustomed to the rule of law had not the whole question of native status been raised by a direct attack on the Hottentot Code and upon the principle of legal inferiority on which it was based. This attack came from the missionaries who, since the end of the eighteenth century, had come from overseas in increasing numbers to work in the South African field. Of these, the representatives of the London Missionary Society, the first followers of the

Moravians, had early become the protagonists of Hottentot rights. Theirs was the responsibility for the Black Circuit. Later, under the leadership and inspiration of Dr. John Philip who in 1820 became the superintendent of the London Missionary Society's missions in South Africa, they challenged the whole existing position of the Hottentots, and openly championed the doctrine of equal rights, stating that legal equality was the only basis of present security and of future progress for the Hottentot. In regard to the Hottentot Code they maintained that, whereas it had been intended to safeguard limited liberties for the Hottentot instead of leaving him entirely unprotected as the old system had done, it had, in actual fact, delivered him bound hand and foot to the farmers by explicitly giving them the support of the law. They exposed the operation of the pass system in limiting the mobility of labour and in depressing wage standards; they pointed out how, from his legal inferiority, the Hottentot had become subject to incidental and unexpected disabilities; and they urged the inability of the race to progress so long as it could not acquire land.¹ They maintained, in brief, that a system which had been designed to protect the Hottentot had become an engine of oppression, and that any system based on the principle of legal inferiority must inevitably have the same effects.

The centralized system of government which Britain had established in the Cape put the ultimate control of policy in the hands of Downing Street, and gave the advantage in any political issue to that party which was able to exercise influence in England. The strength of missionary backing, particularly that of the nascent Exeter Hall, was shown in the repeal of the Hottentot Code in 1828. The 50th Ordinance of that year abolished all legal inequalities between black and white, and

¹ To the Crown Commissioner in 1825 the Landdrost of Uitenhage stated that 'there had never been an instance in this district where a Hottentot had possessed land, nor has the Landdrost ever received instructions to permit such; and which to his humble conception would require alteration of the present system especially while the distinction between the Burger class and the Hottentot people is so wide. The Landdrost may imprison and punish Hottentots at his discretion whereas he cannot legally imprison much less punish a Burger without a decree by the Court of Justice.' Theal, *Records of the Cape Colony*, vol. xxxv, p. 313.

for the first time opened the door of citizenship to the black man. This was the signal for an outcry from the farmers who, while resenting any suggestion of equality between black and white, had a practical grievance in their loss of control over the labour market. Hottentots hitherto forced to labour now refused to work unless impelled by necessity, and the failure of the Europeans in the past to improve their standard of living left them with the possibility of satisfying their meagre wants without either much or continuous effort. The farmer declared that, even to meet his needs, the Hottentot would not work but preferred to thief; he urged that Hottentot vagrancy and theft were assuming alarming proportions and must certainly end by ruining the State; and he pressed for a vagrancy law as the only means of re-establishing security and peace. The demand for a vagrancy law was resisted by the adherents of the doctrine of equal rights, who maintained that the cure for vagrancy was not a law whose operation would re-introduce the pass system with all its concomitant evils, amounting to a re-establishment of legal inferiority, but rather a measure of social reform which would give back to the Hottentots some of the land they had lost. This, and this alone, could make their new-found political liberty an effective reality by providing them with the means of becoming something more than a proletariat whose very numbers operated against any improvement in its standard of living.

Before the colonists had become accustomed to the new position, two other events helped to crystallize the opposition to the doctrine of equal rights and to aggravate their feelings of resentment against a government which, in sacrificing the labour interests of the farmers to the ideal of native rights, was beginning to be suspected of putting the interests of black heathens before those of white Christians.¹ The first of these was the abolition in 1833 of the status of slavery which, while it little

¹ As early as 1737 a rebellion had been raised under the leadership of one Barbier against a government which put the interests of 'Chinese and Hottentots' before those of Christians. The rebellion was the result of the punishment by the company of a number of burghers convicted of offences against a group of Namaquas committed in the course of illicit cattle barter Walker, *op. cit.*, p. 98.

affected the frontier districts where slavery had not appreciably extended, was another evidence of the government's sensitiveness about the rights of the black men. The second was the outbreak at the end of 1834 of the most serious Kaffir war the colony had yet had to face and, on its conclusion, the refusal of the British Government to extend the frontier at the expense of the Kaffirs and to throw open a new area where the farmers might, in the acquisition of new farms, find some satisfaction both for their losses and for their growing land hunger.¹

The outcome of this accumulation of grievances and the evidence which they provided of a fundamental difference between the majority of the people and the government on the subject of the relationship of black and white was the determination of the irreconcilables to abandon the colony and to build new states of their own in the great spaces beyond. There, while slavery would not be permitted, the black man should be kept in his appointed place, and there should be no question of equality with the white man, either in Church or State. Persuaded that the British Government had nothing further to require of them and convinced that they had nothing more to ask of it save freedom to go their own way, in 1836 they began their Great Trek.

Out of this new dispersal arose a number of new states. Of these, Natal with its seaport and its great Zulu population was early brought under British control and constituted a separate colony under the British Crown. Out of the others there gradually emerged, after various vicissitudes, the two Republics of

¹ The British Government, like the company before it, wished to avoid extension of its responsibilities; and in 1827 the farmers for the first time found themselves faced with a definite refusal on the part of the government to extend the frontier. But the population was increasing, both by natural means and by immigration, which assumed new proportions in the nineteenth century, and the old unlimited spaces were no longer available within the frontiers of the colony. The Boer, however, had come to regard at least one farm of 3,000 morgen as his due and that of his sons, and the possibility of failure to achieve that gave him the impression of a real land shortage. Vide Bird, *Annals of Natal*, vol i, for statements by the Trekkers of the grievances which had induced them to abandon the colony. In these statements land shortage figures largely Vide also W. M. Macmillan, *Bantu, Boer, and Briton*, pp. 171 ff

the Orange Free State and the Transvaal. In these republics, where Boer individualism proved the greatest stumbling-block to the establishment of ordered government and hampered the elaboration of a definite policy in any matter, the principle of inequality of black and white was firmly planted in respect of the Bantu, with whom the Trekkers early found themselves in contact.¹ Beyond that principle, however, there was no policy save the *laissez-faire* policy which the company had pursued in its day. In the Free State, where the passage of the Matabele under Moselikatze had destroyed what tribal organization there had been, the natives encountered were either disorganized remnants or an overflow from neighbouring areas; there, under the old system of labour tenancy, coupled with the practice of allowing natives, on payment of a rent or on a basis of *métayage*,² to settle on farms too large for or entirely unused by the farmers, the native was absorbed into the economic system of the State without political or social rights. In the Transvaal, where tribal organization still remained, the policy adopted was to leave the tribal areas as far as possible intact on condition of good behaviour on the part of the tribes; while later a tax was imposed which served the dual purpose of assisting the State exchequer and helping to solve the labour problem by inducing the able-bodied to come out of their reserves to work for the farmers for at least a part of the year.³ This latter part of the programme was open to obvious criticism, yet the policy of maintaining the territorial basis of the tribes while bringing them into contact with European ideas and methods had possibilities of producing a reasonable system if it could be made part

¹ Vide The Constitution of the Orange Free State, Art. I; Eybers, *Select Constitutional Documents illustrating South African History 1795-1910*, p. 286; Resolution of the Volksraad of the South African Republic, 1855, *ibid.*, p. 382, and Grondwet of the S. African Republic, 1858, paras. 9, 31, *ibid.*, pp. 364, 368.

² What is known in South Africa as 'Kaffir Farming'. It was not confined to the Free State but was fairly general in a country where the European had too much land for his own use and the native too little.

³ Under Proclamation 7 of 1908 of the Transvaal, the tax on adult male native farm labourers and dwellers in municipal locations, i.e. natives in European employ, was fixed at £1 per annum, while on others a tax of £2 per annum was imposed. This proclamation remained the basis of native taxation in the Transvaal until 1925.

of a general policy, envisaging the future as well as the present. Unfortunately, there was no foundation to the policy other than the old tendency to deal piecemeal with problems of contact as they arose.¹ Gradually native areas were encroached upon by Europeans, and no adequate new areas were delimited for native occupation.² Under the new contacts the tribal system disintegrated as it was bound to do, and the detribalized natives, without land on which to establish themselves as individual owners, drifted to European farms as labour tenants and squatters, while the revival of the system of apprenticeship for native children helped to fill gaps in the labour market.

Thus, by the end of the nineteenth century, the Boer Republics had largely reproduced the conditions of the eighteenth-century Cape Colony with the substitution of the Bantu for Hottentots, but with the signal difference that the inferior status of the native in the republics had the sanction of the government behind it. The natives in the republics were denied the power of acquiring land,³ or of qualifying for the franchise, while their economic relations with the European were controlled by a pass system⁴ and by a Masters and Servants Law which made breach of contract a criminal offence for the servant, although merely a civil wrong if by the master.⁵

In the meantime the Cape, freed by the unhappy means of

¹ On the native policy of the Voortrekker States vide E. A. Walker, *History of South Africa*, E. Brookes, *History of Native Policy in South Africa*, and Agar Hamilton, *Native Policy of the Voortrekkers*.

² In 1881, shortly after the first British annexation of the Transvaal, a Locations Commission was established, but its work never got beyond the initial stages and a subsequent effort to provide a separate administrative system for natives foundered on the failure of the State to provide a territorial basis for such separation. In recent years, an attempt made by the Union of South Africa to promote a similar scheme of administrative segregation (Native Affairs Act, 1920; Native Administration Act, 1927) has failed for the same reason.

³ After the Anglo-Boer war natives were allowed to buy land in the Transvaal. In the Free State they never acquired this power.

⁴ Vide Instructions to the Field Cornets of the South African Republic, 1858, para. 37, Eybers, op. cit., p. 413.

⁵ This, however, was the old Masters and Servants Act of England which had been introduced into South Africa through the Cape Colony where it still operated; and it is important to remember that, according to its terms, European employees suffered the same disabilities as native employees.

the Trek from the uncompromising opponents of equal rights, proceeded to establish on a political basis the liberal policy adopted in 1828. In 1854, when the Cape eventually received representative institutions,¹ the clauses relating to the franchise in the Constitution Ordinance² recognized no colour difference, and the property qualification which was to be the basis of the franchise was fixed sufficiently low to make it possible for some at least of the Cape Coloured people, as they were now called, to qualify. In 1872, when the colony at last achieved responsible government, no change was made in the franchise, although in the meantime the eastern frontier had been carried forward to include the great Bantu population between the Keiskama and the Kei rivers.

In 1879, however, a departure was made in the Cape from the policy applying no special treatment to natives. In that year the country between the Kei river and Pondoland, the home of a number of great Kaffir tribes, was annexed by the Cape Colony; it was not, however, incorporated administratively nor was the land thrown open to European occupation; it was constituted the Transkeian Territories for which a separate administration had to be provided. The land was to be secured to the natives by prohibiting European acquisition, and, instead of the law of the colony, native customary law was to be administered as far as possible. This departure from precedent was occasioned, partly by the difficulty and danger of attempting immediate absorption of a great native population practically untouched by European influences, and partly to a growing suspicion on the part of the friends of the natives that equal rights might not, after all, be the safest basis of European and native contact from the point of view of the native himself. The adoption, however, of even this differentiation

¹ The delay in the granting of a measure of self-government to the Cape as compared with the progress of popular institutions in other parts of the British Empire is to be traced to the conflicting views on the subject of native policy and to the fear of the British Government, which had to treat philanthropic interests with respect, of giving over the control of that policy to the country itself in which tradition and self-interest alike encouraged the tendency to sacrifice the native to the European.

² *Statutes of the Cape of Good Hope, 1854-1858*, p. 9 of 1883 edition.

was covered as far as possible by the extension of the franchise in 1887 to such of the Transkeian natives as might qualify for it subject to the terms of a Voters Registration Act of that year which explicitly debarred holders of tribal or communal land from claiming the franchise in virtue of such land.

Thus, by the end of the nineteenth century, the principle of legal equality of black and white, based on a common political foundation, had taken definite root in the Cape as against the policy of pass laws and legal inferiority which was equally strongly grounded in the republics. It is open to doubt whether the results were much better under one system than under the other, in so far as the material condition of the native¹ and his ability to rise in the scale of civilization were concerned. Indeed, the condition of the native in the Cape Colony at the beginning of this century might be regarded as a commentary on the ineffectiveness of political freedom without economic security. In the Cape, the extensions of the franchise without colour prejudice which followed every extension of the frontier were not accompanied by any attempt to secure to the native his traditional means of livelihood. Indeed, until the departure made in respect of the Transkei, special treatment of one section of the population of the colony was deprecated as implying the inferiority of that section.² As a result the native, ignorant and unorganized, was thrust into the complex competitive society of the West. Unable to withstand the acquisitive tendencies of that society, he rapidly suffered a dispossession similar to that which the Hottentot had experienced before him. His land passed into the possession of the European and, losing all prospect of the conversion of his tribal ownership into a peasant proprietorship, the native became a labour tenant or

¹ By this time the Bantu as distinct from the Hottentot who, as the Cape Coloured people, had acquired something of the European outlook and method of living.

² In the days before the annexation of the Transkei every extension of the frontier saw some attempt to define part of the newly annexed areas as Native Reserve while throwing the remainder open to European occupation but (a) the areas thus reserved were hopelessly inadequate, and (b) the Cape Government never failed to confiscate part or all of such reserves as punishment for unrest or rebellion, as e.g. in 1877-8 in the Ciskei and in British Bechuanaland in 1896, that is one year after annexation.

a squatter or drifted into the seaport towns where developing public works created an urgent demand for labourers. Here, with wage rates depressed, not only by his low standard of living, but by the operation of the Masters and Servants Act, he was to make his contacts with European civilization in slums which rivalled those of the oldest cities of the world.

From these economic effects of race contacts, the franchise and legal equality had not been able to save the primitive Bantu subjects of the Cape. By the operation of uncontrolled forces, he tended to become part of a racially heterogeneous proletariat. Legal equality for him became the equality which his class could demand, an equality defined by the Masters and Servants Act; while his political equality was, in practice, that accorded to a poor and ignorant electorate in a state wherein material values tend to be of primary importance.

On the other hand, the doctrine of political and legal equality, though it had failed to produce in South Africa a state in which economic and social barriers were less significant than in Europe, had at least this to recommend it and to encourage the fight for its retention as the basis of the relations between black and white: it provided a hope for the future. The door to a real as distinct from a theoretical citizenship was open whenever experience and education should enable the native to pass through it. The essential thing then was that the door should remain open until that time should arrive. In the later years of the century new forces were coming into operation to make that by no means a matter of course.¹

IV

The central force in South African affairs in the latter half of the nineteenth century is to be found in an increasing belief in the desirability of a reunion of the separate units into which the Great Trek had divided the country. Every material

¹ There are obvious parallels between the weakness of English labour in the early nineteenth century and its effects and the weakness of the Bantu in South Africa in face of new conditions and their effects on his position. See M. L. Hodgson in *Christian Students and Modern South Africa, being the report of the Students' Conference held at Fort Hare in 1930*, Lovedale Press

interest pointed to the advantages of a single control. Spiritual and traditional influences, however, pulled in the other direction, and the old difference of opinion on the relationship of black to white operated to strengthen the forces of separation. The focal point of difference was the question of the franchise. In this matter, the South showed more tendency to compromise than the North. In 1887, by a Parliamentary Voters Registration Act, the ostensible purpose of which was to purify the Voters' Roll, the Cape Parliament took occasion to redefine the property qualifications for the franchise so as to exclude land held on tribal or communal ownership. It was with this Act behind it that the Cape Government of the day extended the franchise to the Transkei. This step was followed in 1892 by the Franchise and Ballot Act, which raised the property qualification for the franchise and added an educational test.

Both of these Acts were designed to remove the so-called 'blanket vote'¹ which had gradually been forced into the limelight. They were also, however, attempts to approximate the Cape situation in respect of the native franchise a little more closely to that of the North;² but the principle of no differentiation had been carefully preserved in deference to the protagonists of the native cause. In 1894 Rhodes took a bolder step with the introduction of the Glen Grey Act. This Act, while encouraging individual ownership of land by natives,³ which was coming to be regarded more and more as the road to native salvation, proposed to give security of tenure in respect of the land allotted under the Act, inasmuch as it was not to be divisible, alienable, or distrainable for debt. But the price of this security was the franchise. It was contended that land held on special tenure of this kind and with special guarantees neither required the ordinary representation nor could justify

¹ The vote of the Kaffir who wore a blanket, i.e. the raw Kaffir.

² In the debates on the Parliamentary Voters Registration Act, Rhodes declared 'it would be needless to attempt to effect a union of States in South Africa until this Colony is prepared to meet her neighbours in a settlement of this [the native franchise] question'. Vide *Cape Hansard*.

³ The encouragement was more theoretical than real in view of the provisions of the Act which limited the grants of land to 4 acres in extent and established the principle of one man one lot.

a claim thereto.¹ The advocates of the principle of equality were alarmed at the marked differentiation on which the Act was based, but allowed themselves to be won over by the security for the ownership of the land which the Act provided, while Rhodes, though concerned immediately simply with the district of Glen Grey, boasted that he was legislating not for the Cape only but for all Africa.²

In spite of these modifications, however, the position in regard to the franchise remained substantially the same as before, and when Union was eventually achieved between the four States to which the Anglo-Boer war had given the common status of British colonies, the basis of union in respect of this burning question was one of compromise and mutual toleration, occasioned by the refusal of both North and South to assimilate its own position to that of the other. Each of the four provinces of the new unified state was to retain its own system of race relationship with its traditional political expression. The avowed partisans of the Cape system, already alarmed at the evidences of the extent to which many of the Cape politicians had been prepared to sacrifice the principle of equality in order to secure closer union, were uneasy at the basis of accommodation.³ Their fears, however, were largely allayed by the agreement to entrench the Cape native vote behind a clause in the Act of Union which can be altered only by a two-thirds majority in a joint sitting of the two Houses of the Union Parliament; and union was consummated with the pious hope that, sooner or later, the Cape tradition would permeate the whole country and lead to a willing assimilation of the whole position to that of the South.

¹ This Act also constitutes the one attempt in the Cape to impose a direct labour tax. A tax of 10s. was to be imposed on all able-bodied non-landholding males who had not, in the course of the preceding year, worked for three months outside the district. It aroused much criticism and in actual fact was never enforced. The clause incorporating it was repealed in 1905.

² The Glen Grey Act, with its conception of Native Councils for local administration, did indeed provide a model for local government in the Transkei and an inspiration for the Native Affairs Act of 1920 by which it was hoped to establish administrative segregation in the Union.

³ For the discussion in the Cape Parliament on the proposed Act of Union see *Cape Hansard*.

The Union of South Africa has recently celebrated its majority. Those twenty-one years have justified the fears rather than the hopes of the protagonists of native rights. They have provided a steady stream of discriminating legislation whereby natives of the Union have been placed in a progressively inferior position. In 1913 the Native Land Act prohibited natives from buying land in any but specified areas, while it declared illegal squatting on European lands. Unfortunately, the areas in which natives may purchase land have never been defined; but the sections of the Act rendering squatting illegal were immediately put into operation, in some parts of the country at least, to the great distress of thousands of natives who, turned out of the only homes they knew, had nowhere to go.¹ In 1931 a Native Service Contract Act tightened up the law against squatting;² it reintroduced apprenticeship for children, at the will of the parent organization, and legalized corporal punishment for boys and girls.

In the sphere of industry,³ in which the native outside the Cape Province was already handicapped by the operation of the pass laws, the tendency towards differentiation has been equally marked. The last decade has seen the passing of legislation specially designed to prevent the introduction of natives into skilled trades.⁴ From the benefits of legislation⁵ passed to facilitate the settlement of industrial disputes and to regulate industrial conditions in the hope of preventing recourse to direct action, the native is excluded, and is thus deprived of constitutional means of seeking redress for his economic grievances. But, since he remains under the Masters and Servants Act, he

¹ For first-hand evidence of the operation of these clauses of the Act and the suffering caused see Sol Plaatje, *Native Life in South Africa*.

² Recent legislation has all been in the direction of assimilating the position of all natives on land outside of Native Reserves to that of the labour tenant who owes his master a certain number of days' service in the year as the condition of his tenancy, that service to be performed at the master's convenience.

³ Of the Union's five and a half million natives, less than half live in Native Reserves. Over two millions are on European lands, while approximately three-quarters of a million are permanent town dwellers.

⁴ The Apprenticeship Act, 1922, and the Mines and Works Act, 1911, Amendment Act, 1926, commonly known as the Colour Bar Act.

⁵ Industrial Conciliation Act, 1924; Wage Act, 1925.

may not have recourse to direct action without finding himself at the mercy of the criminal law. Finally, under the Riotous Assemblies Act of 1930, which conferred upon the minister of justice summary powers of banishing persons who, in his opinion, are guilty of causing bad feeling between black and white, he has practically lost his right to give public expression to his grievances.¹

In this progressive application of the principle of differentiation, how has the native of the Cape fared? The policy of equality has saved him from the operation of the clauses of the Land Act limiting the native's powers of purchasing land; but in protecting him from the consequences of the rest of the discriminating legislation which the Union Parliament has produced, it has not been equally effective. Indeed, there has grown up in the Cape a new differentiation which expressly denies the principle of equality. While white labour has secured its emancipation from the control of the Masters and Servants Act, the native still remains subject to its terms. From this new inferiority his voting power has not saved him. And to-day even the vote is at stake. In the coming session of Parliament, an attempt will be made to secure the majority necessary to abolish the Cape Native franchise, and to substitute a limited communal representation for all the natives in the country; and it has been intimated that failure to secure this majority will be the signal for a direct appeal to the European electorate on this issue.

V

The conquest of the Cape by the British and the coming to South Africa of the philanthropic and evangelical movements of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries in English rather than in Dutch guise² gave a racial aspect to the difference of opinion which arose on the subject of Native rights and which

¹ Banishment may extend to extradition in the case of persons born outside the Union. In respect of persons born in the Union, it involves their removal either from their homes or from the scene of their activities. Already a number of native leaders have suffered under the Act.

² The period of the Batavian Republic's government showed the possibilities of both these influences arriving in South Africa in Dutch guise.

led to the Trek and to the formation of the Dutch Republics. That difference assumed the appearance of a difference between English outlook and opinion and Dutch outlook and opinion; it has been the custom to identify the policy of repression with the Dutch section of the community, and to assume a certain liberalism on the part of the English. In recent years, this attitude has acquired a new appearance of reality since the progressive tightening up of the laws against natives has been the work of governments under Dutch leadership¹ drawn from the North and progressively race-conscious in character. But to see in the question of Native policy simply a matter of national tradition and outlook is to miss the essential truth of the situation. It is of the greatest importance to remember in connexion with the happenings of the thirties of last century that, while many of the Dutch colonists abandoned their homes in the colony and withdrew their allegiance from the British Government because of their views on the question of racial equality, the majority of the Dutch population remained behind to accommodate themselves to the situation, and in time to accept it as a matter of course. Further, if the English colonist did not trek it was not because, in many instances, he did not resent the policy of equality of rights with its denial of new lands and its effect on the labour market, but because trekking was not in his tradition.² It is equally important to remember that the Dutch Nationalists, who have been responsible for the bulk of the post-Union repressive legislation, came into office only with the assistance of the South African Labour Party, which is essentially British in racial character, the meeting-ground of these two parties being their common belief in the necessity of maintaining the economic inferiority

¹ First General Botha, then General Smuts who represented the South African Party, a party mainly Dutch but also including the greater part of the English population and attached to the Imperial connexion; later (since 1924), General Hertzog, who represents the Nationalists or race-conscious section of the Dutch population whose original plank was republicanism. Vide J. H. Hofmeyr, *South Africa*, ch. xii (Ernest Benn).

² Dr. Philip, although threatened in many parts of the country, was actually mobbed only in Grahamstown, the most English centre in the country in the thirties as it still tends to be to-day. W. M. Macmillan, *Cape Colour Question*, p. 7.

of the native as the essential condition for the maintenance of white civilization. Further, while the South African Party, which includes the majority of the English stock in the country, is not opposed to a policy which would deprive the Cape Native of his vote and thus establish the natives throughout the country on a common basis of inferiority made as permanent as legislation can make it, the supporters of that party in Natal, the most English section of the Union, are definitely in favour of the policy.

In recent years South African economic life has changed its character almost completely. It has undergone an industrial revolution which has altered fundamentally the position and the economic character of the population. Before Union, the country was predominantly agricultural and pastoral; its population was mainly rural, and carried on its avocations by wasteful extensive methods differing little from those of the eighteenth century. Since the Anglo-Boer war, however, and particularly since Union with its settlement of the political issues which had so long harassed the country, there has taken place not only the greatest development of gold and diamond mines and of subsidiary industries, but also an application of capital to the land which has tended to industrialize its use also. This industrial revolution, while it has not yet deprived the country of its numerical preponderance in the State, has very considerably altered the numerical relationship of town and country. In so doing it has introduced two social factors into the South African situation which, if not new in kind, are new in degree, namely, a skilled artisan and craftsman class with one of the highest wage standards in the world,¹ and a class of unskilled Europeans entering a labour market already monopolized by natives, where the available wage is unequal to the maintenance of a white standard of living, and the work offered has come to bear the stigma of 'Kaffir work'. Of these the first is mainly British in origin, attracted by the prospects afforded by mining development in a country with large quantities of cheap black labour, the latter mainly Dutch, ousted from

¹ *Report of the Economic and Wage Commission*, U.G. 14, 1926.

the land, their traditional home, by the new economic factors to which they could not accommodate themselves and which they could not withstand.

Along with this industrial revolution and its accompanying social changes has come a new wave of hostility to native progress and to native freedom.¹ Threatening to submerge the doctrine of equal rights and all its implications, it has, in its course, carried along Briton and Boer alike. In its emotional content it may be said to equal that which swept the country a century ago. On both of these occasions, the circumstances in which hostility originated lend colour to the contention that its source is essentially economic, although in both cases it has been sanctified by an appeal to moral and spiritual issues. In the former the appeal was to divine dispensation which destined the black man to be a hewer of wood and a drawer of water in the service of his more happily destined white master; in the latter, it is to the responsibility of the white man for maintaining the purity and integrity of Western civilization. A century ago the doctrine of equal rights threatened the land monopoly of the colonist and his control of labour when the increase in the European population made both of increasing importance; to-day it threatens the standard of living of European labour, both at its highest and its lowest, for it opens the door to encroachments by the native, with his lower standard of living, upon the hitherto exclusive field of skilled work, and it suggests that unskilled Europeans should compete in the open market with unskilled natives on whose present wage rates even the lowest white standard cannot be maintained. Last century, the opposers of native rights, unable to influence the views of the power which governed them from above, carried their opposition out of the State rather than accommodate themselves. To-day, such a solution is no longer possible. It is also less necessary, for responsible government has placed the decision in this as in other issues in the hands of the people themselves.

¹ For the development of a similar hostility to native progress in a territory directly under British control see M. L. Hodgson, 'Britain as Trustee in Africa', in *The Political Quarterly*, July-Sept. 1932. Against this must be placed the pronouncement of the Dutch Reformed Church quoted above, p. 489, note 3.

That people, however, in respect of this issue at least, is essentially South African, rather than either British or Boer, and the responsibility for its final decision regarding the duties of Western civilization towards the great Bantu race in South Africa will have to be shared by all who regard South Africa as their home.

GREAT BRITAIN IN AFRICA

By A. HILLIARD ATTERIDGE

(See Map No. 1)

GREAT BRITAIN IN AFRICA

ONE of the oldest regiments in the British Army, now known as the Queen's Own Royal West Surrey Regiment, was formed to provide a garrison for the first African possession of the English Crown—Tangier, on the Atlantic coast of Morocco. The town, with its excellent harbour and a small stretch of open country on its land front, had come to Charles II on his marriage in 1662 as part of the dowry of his bride, the Portuguese Princess Catherine of Braganza. The infantry battalion, raised to garrison this African possession of the king, was popularly known at the time as the 'Queen's Own' or 'The Tangier Regiment'. Formed to hold a town and port captured from the Moslem Moors it was given the badge of the Paschal Lamb. The West Surreys still bear on their colours 'Tangier' as the first of their battle honours.

It was hoped that Tangier would prove a valuable possession. To attract the trade of the hinterland and the caravans that brought the products of the far interior across the Sahara a considerable sum was devoted to improving the harbour, but the result was disappointing. The Moorish Government was suspicious and unfriendly, and imagined the new-comers were busy on quays and breakwaters as a preparation for invasion and conquest of the country. The caravans were diverted from Tangier, and the place proved a costly and unprofitable possession.¹ In the *Diary* of Samuel Pepys one finds references to trouble with the tribes of the hinterland, and skirmishes in which gallant gentlemen from England lost their lives. In 1683

¹ Most of the supplies for the officials and the garrison at Tangier came from London in 1662–84. The contractors made good profits of which a share went to official intermediaries. Some light on this irregular profiteering is provided by an entry in the *Diary* of Pepys, who was a high official of the Admiralty and a member of the 'Tangier Committee'. On 16 July 1664, he writes: 'To the Tangier Committee, and there, above my expectation, got the business of our contract for the victualling carried for my people, viz. Alsopp, Lanyon and Kabsey; and by their promise I do thereby get £300 per annum to myself, which do overjoy me, and the matter is left to me to draw up.' No wonder that five years later we find in the *Diary* anxious references to a parliamentary inquiry into 'the Tangier accounts'.

Muley Hafid, the Sultan of Morocco, declared war and marched on Tangier, but the garrison made a successful defence, and the Sultan had to withdraw with his tribal chiefs tired of the long siege. Four years later the place was abandoned to the Moors as a far too expensive and hopelessly unprofitable possession. England, however, had secured from Portugal in 1662 a more advantageous concession which later developed into the acquisition of Britain's first colonial possession in Africa.

Since the exploration of western Africa organized by Henry the Navigator the Portuguese had tried to maintain a monopoly of the West African trade. Nevertheless, from the days of Elizabeth English ships had from time to time paid contraband visits to the west African coasts and river mouths and even with consent of the local authorities occasionally established temporary trading arrangements. This connivance with unlicensed traders was most frequent where the dealings of both the seamen and the local officials were connected with the most profitable branch of early trade with west Africa—the export of slave labour to the West Indies and South America. John Hawkins of Plymouth, one of the famous seamen of Queen Elizabeth's days, was the first Englishman thus to engage in the slave trade, making his first voyage with a cargo of Negroes for the Spanish Main in 1562.

A century later Charles II obtained from Portugal the right of trade on the Gambia river, which reaches the Atlantic some 1,500 miles south of Tangier. There was no cession of territory, but only the right of establishing trading-stations. The advantage of the grant was, at the time, greatly exaggerated as the result of utterly misleading theories of the geography of the territory. In the latter years of the seventeenth century it was believed that the Gambia and the Senegal rivers were the chief streams of what one may describe as an elongated delta, by which the famous Niger river reached the ocean. The Niger was for a long time believed to flow from east to west.

There was a popular tradition that Timbuctoo far away on the main course of the Niger was a great city, the market of a

flourishing trade of west and central Africa. It had indeed been, in the Middle Ages, the centre of trade between the Tuareg caravans of the Sahara and the lands south of the great desert. But its trade and its population had long been declining. There was also a baseless tradition that not far from it there were rich gold-mines, that made it something like an African El Dorado.

The English company, formed for the Gambia trade, built a fort or trading-post on an island near the mouth of the river, but seems to have made no attempts to extend its operations to the fabled confluence with the Niger and the way to Timbuctoo. There were troubles with Dutch adventurers, who attacked English ships off the coast, and the Portuguese with all their friendship with England failed to protect them. Farther south on the Gulf of Guinea there were the same difficulties.

Adventurous traders had found their way to the Gold Coast in the latter years of the sixteenth century, easily evading or defying the Portuguese claims of monopoly in the lands Prince Henry's ships had discovered. Gold was at first the attraction of the Guinea Coast—precious metal from river gravel, bartered by the Negroes for cheap 'trade goods' from Europe; then came the profitable slave trade. In 1642 the Portuguese abandoned all claims against the Dutch on the Gold Coast in return for the withdrawal of Dutch claims in Brazil. The Dutch interlopers had already founded trading-stations and begun gold-washing and mining in Guinea. English traders on the coast were harried by these Dutch rivals and in 1664 war between England and Holland was the result. The English captured several of the Dutch posts on the Gold Coast and at the peace remained in possession of some of these conquests.

In Gambia and the Gold Coast trading-stations were long after the only British possessions in Africa. It was not till 1776 that by purchase from a local Negro king the promontory of Sierra Leone, where some traders from England had already settled, was added to the British possessions in West Africa. Far south in the Atlantic and some 1,200 miles from the African coast the island of St. Helena had been occupied by the East India Company in 1652, as a supply station where

their ships could call for fresh water and provisions. The Dutch had held it for the same purpose for a few years till, in 1651, they left it in order to establish a better port of call at Capetown.

For some hundred and fifty years the west African possessions of Britain made their chief profits by their large share in the Negro slave trade. For Gambia and the British posts on the Gold Coast, as soon as it was a regularly organized business it was based first on Bristol and then to a still larger extent on Liverpool. In the opening years of the nineteenth century when the anti-slavery movement had already made some progress, Liverpool had nearly two hundred ships engaged in the west African slave trade. The colonists were their agents on the African coast. The trade was a serious obstacle to any attempts at real colonization. In the coast districts it led to slave raiding by native chiefs, who not infrequently even raided the villages of their own people, firing the huts in the night and making the fugitive villagers prisoners, to be marched to the coast and sold as slaves to the local dealers.

When the colony of Sierra Leone was founded in 1787 allotments were provided for Negroes who had served in the navy and army, and later on, when slave-dealing had been abolished by law, the colony was made a safe refuge for Negroes rescued from captured slave ships in the time when illicit slave-dealing was being suppressed in all the colonies.

British empire-making in South Africa began as a result of the French Revolution and the wars of Napoleon. In 1795, when the French Republican armies invaded Holland and the Batavian Republic took the place of the old Republic of the United Provinces, a British naval squadron appeared at Capetown, and the admiral landed a detachment of troops, and informed the local governor that the British Government was taking possession of the place to hold it in the name of Prince William of Orange, during the war with France. The governor, after what was little more than a show of resistance, accepted the new situation, and England held Capetown until 1803. When the war with the French Republic was ended by the

Treaty of Amiens (March 1802) it had been provided that France would treat the Batavian Republic as an independent State, and England would restore to it the Dutch colonial possessions she had occupied during the war. Next year Capetown was handed over to the commissioners sent by the Batavian Republic.

In 1806 a British squadron again took possession of Capetown, landing a small army from India under Sir David Baird. Napoleon had abolished the Dutch Republic and made his brother Louis 'King of Holland'. England replied by seizing the Dutch overseas possessions. Trafalgar had made her mistress of the seas. In the earlier occupation the East India Company had realized the value of Capetown as a port of call on the way to India. At the Congress of Vienna in 1815 most of the Dutch colonies were restored to the Dutch, but the Cape remained British. The men of the time had no idea that it was the laying of a foundation stone of empire in South Africa.

The Dutch East India Company had taken little interest in anything beyond the maintenance of their depot at Capetown. Immigration from Holland came slowly, and the Dutch Government at first gave little encouragement or help. After the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes it arranged for the settlement of a number of Huguenot refugees in the colony, and then, to prevent the French element from becoming too important in the settlement, assisted numbers of Dutch country folk to make a new start in South Africa. French and Dutch settlers had seldom any idea of founding townships or villages; they easily secured large land grants for farms and cattle-raising and obtained indentured native labour on terms that soon developed into the conditions of serfdom or slavery. When the Dutch took over South Africa the southward movement of the warlike Bantu tribes had not yet reached the lands of the future Cape Colony. The early colonists had to deal only with tribes of Bushmen and Hottentots.

When British rule began in Cape Colony a rough census showed that the white population was not quite 27,000, of whom some 6,000 were in Capetown. The non-European

population (including some 11,000 natives in Capetown, amongst whom there were probably a number of Negro slaves) was some 46,000, of whom 17,000 were described as Hottentots. It is likely that other races were included in the reckoning of natives not yet to be described as slaves. These last numbered some 29,000. The 'Europeans' were chiefly Dutch, with a minority bearing French family names of their Huguenot ancestry. The great majority of the white population were descendants of the settlers of the Dutch years of the colony—'Boers' (i.e. country folk, or farmers), or, to use the name they adopted in later years, 'Afrikanders'. Their local Dutch dialect was known as 'Afrikaans'. The descendants of both Dutch immigrants and French refugees clung to the Calvinism of their European homes, and regarded the dark-skinned natives as the pagan Amalekites of their Promised Land.

For some time after the new government took possession there were few British or Irish settlers. For half a century the tide of emigration from the British Isles set almost entirely towards the Americas and Australia. In 1820 the British Government sent 5,000 selected emigrants with free passages and promised land grants to South Africa. They were mostly settled on land in the east of the colony, where they could co-operate with the troops in local military posts—a border guard against the Zulus who were pushing into the country that was afterwards the colony of Natal.

In all the rest of Cape Colony the Boers (the Dutch) were the great majority of the white population and the new British colonial government of Capetown was anything but tactful in its relations with them. There was a rigorous collection of the land dues which, though the rating was not high, amounted to large sums, on the wide farms and grazing-grounds that had been granted by the old Dutch government. The Boers felt specially aggrieved at the collectors having at their call a new police force of armed natives with only a few white officers. The first serious trouble came early in 1816. A Boer farmer was summoned for alleged ill treatment of one of his native labourers, and when he failed to appear before the court a

patrol of the police came to arrest him and he was shot dead in resisting them. His brother rallied the neighbouring farmers to a local rebellion. It was quickly trampled out by a detachment from the nearest garrison and, on a day long remembered with sullen bitterness by the Dutch, five of the rebel farmers were hanged by sentence of a court-martial. The appointment of English magistrates and the abolition of the old Dutch colonial system led to much discontent, and the Boer farmers complained that the formation of native reserve districts was making it difficult to obtain labour for their own lands. The climax came when, after the abolition of slavery by the Act of 1833, which set free all slaves in the British Empire, some thousands of the Boers declared that the time was come to depart from the colony and settle in unoccupied lands where they would no longer be under British law.¹

The actual movement began in 1835, the first stream of adventurers moving north and crossing the Orange river, the frontier of Cape Colony, to find new settlements beyond the domain of British authority. A second exodus went eastward.

A considerable number of Dutch farmers remained in Cape Colony, but thousands mustered for the quest of new homes. Women and children travelled on the huge Cape wagons, drawn by teams of oxen. These also were the transport for farming gear, household goods, and provisions. Some of the native servants went with their masters. The farmers were mounted, with muskets or carbines slung at their backs. Along most of their line of march there was abundance of game to supply fresh meat for the cooking-pots. The Cape Government did not interfere with the movement, and in the lands they reached beyond the frontier the natives were mostly peaceful

¹ A declaration issued by Retief, one of the chief organizers of this exodus, set forth the reasons for which the Dutch farmers 'abandoned their lands, homesteads, country and kindred' in the colony, and noted as the most important of all 'the shameful and unjust proceeding with reference to the freedom of our slaves; yet it is not so much their freedom that drove us to such lengths as their being placed on an equal footing with Christians, contrary to the laws of God and the natural distinction of race and religion, so that it was intolerable for any decent Christian to bow down under such a yoke, wherefore we withdrew in order thus to preserve our doctrines in purity'.

Bantu tribesmen, tilling the ground near their little hut villages, and not venturing to challenge the settlement of these armed white folk in the wide vacant lands. Thus was founded the Orange River Settlement that was later to develop into the Orange Free State.

The second exodus of the Dutch farmers went into the country soon to be known as Natal. The harbour that gave its name to the future colony had been discovered by the Portuguese when they rounded the Cape. They sighted it on Christmas Day, and gave it the name of Port Natal, but they never occupied either the port or the rich country beyond it, which rises by a succession of terraced plateaux to the Drakensburg mountains. In the opening years of the nineteenth century a few British adventurers had settled at Port Natal. The pioneers were elephant hunters collecting ivory. As their numbers increased they repeatedly asked the Cape Colony Government to annex the Port and establish a settlement under Colonial law, but they were told that the colony could not afford the expense. The original natives of the country were hunters and farmers, peaceful and friendly people. The real masters of the interior were new-comers, clans of the great Zulu confederacy, which had been organized by Chaka (or Tyaka), a native ruler of real genius. While Napoleon was winning battles and extending his power over more than half of Europe this African Napoleon, at the outset the chief of a small clan, was building up a native power which for many years was dominant from the Zambesi to the uplands of Natal. He organized and trained his regiments of spearmen from clans of subordinate chiefs and elaborated a system of tactics and a battle organization that depended on the swift and converging march, and the line that flung its wings forward so that the enemy was assailed by a huge crescent of spears, lapping round the flanks and driving home the charge.

Chaka died in 1828. When the Boers trekked eastward, his brother and successor Dingaan was in the northern uplands of Natal, and the new settlers were at first in friendly touch with the Zulu chiefs. Dingaan recognized the right of the new

settlers to establish themselves in central and northern Natal. The Cape Government merely sent a magistrate to the little British settlement at Port Natal and in the coast region. A troubled time began in February 1838 when a party of unarmed Boers were murdered during a visit to Dingaan's camp. War between whites and blacks followed, and dragged on till the Boers, reinforced by a small detachment of British from Port Natal and a larger force of their fellow countrymen from the new Orange River Settlement, inflicted a crushing defeat on an army of some 10,000 Zulus led by Dingaan on the 16th December 1838. The charge of the Zulu spearmen broke down under the steady fire of the Boers, who, with trifling losses, inflicted some 3,000 casualties on the enemy. The defeat was followed by dissensions among the Zulus, the malcontents being led by Dingaan's younger brother Panda (Mpande). The victors were led by Andries Pretorius, one of the leaders of the Great Trek of 1836 across the Orange river, and he celebrated the event by proclaiming a Boer Republic of Natal with its capital at the settlement of Pietermaritzburg.

The Cape Government refused to recognize the new republic and it came to an end in 1842 when Pretorius attempted to seize Port Natal, and a rescuing force arrived from Grahams-town in Cape Colony. It was commanded by Colonel Cloete, an officer of Dutch descent, and in the negotiations that followed he persuaded numbers of the Boers to remain in Natal (soon to receive the status of a colony) as British subjects, but a considerable number, led by Pretorius, refused to live under British rule and withdrew to the Orange River Settlement or farther north to the newer settlements of the Boers beyond the Vaal.

In February 1848 a proclamation declaring the country between the Orange river and the Vaal a British possession under the name of the Orange River Sovereignty was issued by Sir Harry Smith, who had come to the Cape as governor a few weeks earlier. He had a distinguished record of service in the Peninsular War and in India, and for a while had already served in South Africa. The proclamation was popular with many of the settlers, who hoped that British government would

mean protection against the neighbouring tribes, Griquas, Basutos, and Matabele. Andries Pretorius came from the Transvaal to oppose it by force of arms, but in the following summer he was defeated by Sir Harry Smith and a force of British troops at the Battle of Boomplat. The victorious governor was anxious also to annex the Transvaal. But this was vetoed by the home Government, which was opposed to further territorial extension in South Africa. In 1850 Pretorius secured a declaration of the Government recognizing the independence of the Transvaal and not long after, in 1852, it consented to the withdrawal of British sovereignty from the Orange river territory. A deputation sent to London by the partisans of British rule was told, quite frankly, by Lord Newcastle, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, that England did not want to hold any territory north of the Orange river, for it was impossible to find troops for new territory farther and farther north, and practically all that England really needed in South Africa was Capetown and Table Bay.

This was the opinion of most people who gave any thought to the subject in England, in those middle years of the nineteenth century. Few knew or cared about Africa, which was still mostly a blank space on the maps. The west coast trade had been dull and profitless since the slave trade was abolished. The news from the Cape told chiefly of troubles with Dutch Boers and little wars with strangely named savages. There was hardly any emigration to South Africa but there was a sudden increase of adventurous emigration to America and Australia—a rush to the Californian gold-mines and the ‘gold diggings’ in Victoria; but no one dreamed of fortune-seeking at the Cape. No one can then have imagined that there was a rich region of diamonds in Bechuanaland and a wonderful gold-bearing range of hills in the Transvaal: two splendid fields for fortune hunters. Nor could any one foresee that in the next half-century there would come a ‘scramble for Africa’, in which more than half the States of Europe would be involved, and that British politicians and soldiers would be ‘empire making’ from the Mediterranean to the Cape.

Here the story of this tremendous development can be told only in bold outline. A period of about sixty years, from the middle of the nineteenth century to the outbreak of the World War in 1914, was one of the most eventful times in all history. In the first year of the second half of the nineteenth century English opinion was optimistic as to the near future. The May Day of 1851 saw the inauguration of what was described as a new age of peace and progress. When Queen Victoria, surrounded by the ambassadors of all the European Powers, inaugurated the first of 'International Exhibitions' in the Crystal Palace, erected in Hyde Park, the event was described as a pageant of peace, an augury of happier times when the nations of the civilized world would vie with each other in new conquests of science, and free trade would draw them together in an age of peaceful and prosperous brotherhood.

In these hopeful times there was little interest in any ideas of imperial expansion. In England business men and politicians were chiefly interested in the development of invention and discovery and the extension of the trade with India and China. For a while, thanks to the finding of gold in the colony of Victoria, there was a large increase in emigration to Australia. As we have seen, the Colonial Office was strongly opposed to any extension of territory in South Africa, and interested in the Cape only as a useful possession in connexion with the trade with India and the Far East. Capetown lost much of this importance as a stage on the sea way to India even before the opening of the Suez Canal, but the discovery of rich gold and diamond mines in South Africa and the extension of British control and occupation in the hinterland renewed its importance.

From the middle years of the nineteenth century the exploration of the African interior made steady progress, and was a leading factor in the subsequent European domination of the Dark Continent.

In the later stages of this opening up of the interior the explorer was often the political agent of a European government and the pioneer of trade and annexation. At the outset the explorers were missionaries, big game hunters, and often

the agents of geographical societies. Many were inspired by the love of adventurous travel and the interesting task of clearing up the mysteries of new lands. They mostly found the natives of the interior friendly to their strange visitors. The best of these were well equipped for their work. Others—happily not many—were little better than tourists, travelling with native caravans, and seeking an easily secured notoriety.

The most famous of British explorers of central Africa north of the Dutch and English settlements of the Cape was David Livingstone, who went to Africa in 1840 in the service of the London Missionary Society. For many of his first years he was chiefly engaged in exploration, which he described as a needful pioneering for missionary work. He explored the upper course of the Zambesi, and in 1855 discovered the wonderful falls, where the river, here more than a mile wide, plunges into a deep and narrow ravine. North of the Zambesi he explored the country west of Lake Tanganyika, and found a great river (locally called the Lualaba) flowing northward, which he at first took to be the headwaters of the Nile. Later he rightly suggested that it was the upper course of the Congo.

In his last years he ceased to correspond with England and there were rumours that he was dead. Gordon Bennett, of the *New York Herald*, sent one of his staff, Henry M. Stanley (a Briton, naturalized in the United States) to find Livingstone. It proved to be an easy task. At Zanzibar Stanley was provided by Tippoo Tib, an Arab trader, with a party of Negro slaves and Arab foremen as his carriers and guides. Tippoo was a slaver, and this kind of business was one of his 'sidelines'. The party followed a well-known track to Ujiji, the chief trade centre on Lake Tanganyika, and there Livingstone was found. Stanley made a journey with him to the Lualaba river. A few years later Stanley explored the Lualaba to its mouth on the Atlantic where it was known as the Congo—a journey that had important results in later years.

Speke found the source of the Nile in 1861 when from the east coast he reached the great lake, which he named the Victoria Nyanza, and rightly judged to be the main feeder of

the famous river. Next year, exploring its upper course, Baker discovered a smaller, but still large lake, the Albert Nyanza, a second feeder of the Nile. Later on he traced its course through the wilderness of swamps and rivers known as the Bahr-el-Ghazal. Through this wilderness it reaches the Soudan. Some twenty years later Stanley discovered, south of Albert Nyanza, the snowy peaks of Mount Ruwenzori, close to the equator, the highest peak rising to the height of over 18,000 feet.

These are only some notable points in the exploration of central Africa. One terrible discovery of this time was that slavery and slave-trading flourished over vast regions of the interior and though the slave trade had been suppressed on the west coast it was widely organized on the shores of the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean. Another horror among the pagan races of west Africa was human sacrifice, the ritual massacre of hundreds of slaves and prisoners of war. The exploration of the upper Congo region revealed a widespread practice of cannibalism. This exploration of the African interior opened the way to European occupation and conquest, and the partition of Africa among European Powers. Granted that all this was largely inspired by the mere quest of business profits, we may nevertheless regard it as something of a crusade against the horrors of the slave trade and the atrocities of a blood-thirsty form of paganism.

The rapid extension of British activities in Africa in the last three decades of the nineteenth century and the opening years of the twentieth, and the remarkable progress of Empire-making that resulted, may be summarized by outlining the course of events in four great regions of the continent:

1. *In South Africa* the extension of the southern colonies, the unexpected wealth provided by the discovery and development of the diamond and gold mines of Bechuanaland, and the Transvaal and the establishment of the 'Union of South Africa'.

2. *In North-Eastern Africa* the British intervention in Egypt, and the conquest of the Nile lands (with the resultant period of tension between France and England from 1882 to the 'Entente cordiale' of 1905),

3. *In West Africa* the extension of British power to counter-balance the French penetration of the lands of the Upper Niger.

4. *In East Africa* the linking together of the British possessions in North and South Africa initiated primarily by British business associations formed to colonize or exploit the regions discovered by the explorers of the east and central African lands from the Great Lakes of the Nile to the northern limits of the South African colonies.

I. SOUTH AFRICA

Under the rule of Holland, and for some fifty years as a British possession, Cape Colony was regarded by the Home Government chiefly as supplying a port of call on the long voyage of sailing ships going to and returning from India and the Far East. There were times when both the Dutch and the British governments neglected or even opposed emigration to the Cape. The Europeans are still a minority in the population of South Africa. They were long a mere handful compared to the tens of thousands of the native tribes. After the transfer of Cape Colony to English rule the situation was complicated by the European colonists being divided by race, language, and traditions. The 'Great Trek'—the exodus of the Boer malcontents across the Orange river and the Vaal—led to the establishment of two Dutch republics, but still left an important Dutch element in Cape Colony.

There was no naturally marked frontier to the west of the Boer Republics, and the line was somewhat vaguely fixed when the British Government recognized their independent status. In 1867 diamonds were found in the gravel of the upper Vaal and Orange rivers in this western borderland of the Boer territory. At first the finds were few, but by 1869 there was a rush of diggers and reports of sudden wealth won by poor men. Then came the discovery of diamonds in solid ground in the country between the two rivers, where only mere surface work could be attempted by the first prospectors, and this new find must be exploited by mining companies. The Cape Government had already claimed that most even of the earlier gravel

deposits were outside the frontiers of the republics. This was followed by the proclamation of Griqualand as British territory and Bechuanaland as far as the Kalahari Desert as a British protectorate.

The claims of the Orange Free State were settled by a payment of £90,000. Those of the Transvaal were disposed of by a fairly easy proof that the gravel finds on the Vaal were beyond its frontier. In 1871 the mining camps of the most important new diggings developed into the city of Kimberley, which proved to be the richest mining centre in the world.

The pioneers who organized the union of the diamond-mining companies of Kimberley made rapid fortunes. Amongst them was Cecil Rhodes, who had already formed far-reaching plans for the extension of British power in Africa.

In 1877 the Transvaal was annexed by the British Government—an event that proved to be the source of years of trouble for South Africa. The republic had been passing through a difficult time. The President, Burgers, had been unfortunate and unpopular. He had formed a plan for a railway from Pretoria through Portuguese territory to the east coast of Africa, spent large amounts on surveys and preliminary negotiations with Portugal and Holland, and declared that he had an assurance that the Dutch banks would advance the cost of construction. The Raad accepted his plan, but he had soon to admit that he could not obtain the expected capital. The finances of the republic were in disorder, and new taxes had to be levied to meet recurring deficits. Finally there were quarrels with the tribes on the northern frontier, and a serious defeat by the native levies of one of their chiefs. A British commissioner was sent to Pretoria to propose that the Transvaal should be extricated from its difficulties by becoming a British protectorate. This idea was rejected, though he found that in the actually difficult and perilous situation of the country many were in favour of it. On this report the British Government declared the annexation of the Transvaal. It was announced that British troops would secure the safety of the country, and representative local government would soon be established.

There was from the outset considerable feeling against the annexation and discontent spread rapidly when from month to month the promise of early representative government was unfulfilled. Then a new governor and high commissioner, Sir Bartle Frere, arrived at Capetown and, on the ground that the armed power of the Zulus was a standing peril to South Africa, he picked a quarrel with their king, Cetewayo. In January 1879 the invasion of Zululand began and in the first week one of the vanguard forces was surprised by the Zulus and destroyed in the action of Isandhlwana on the 22nd January. The whole plan of the advance was disorganized, and the war dragged on till July, when after the British victory of Ulundi the resistance collapsed and Cetewayo was a fugitive.

Wolseley, sent out with reinforcements to supersede the commander of the campaign, reached the Cape soon after Ulundi. He went as a special commissioner to the Transvaal. The earlier failures of the Zulu war affected the opinion of the efficiency of the British army in Africa, and discontented burghers were hinting that they might soon make a move for restored independence. Wolseley told a Boer deputation that 'until the Vaal river flowed backward' the British flag would fly over the Transvaal. He promised the immediate concession of a local legislature, but instead of an elected body it proved to be only an assembly of deputies selected by the Government. He returned to England in July 1880. In the Transvaal resistance to the payment of taxes began, culminating in November in armed Boers recapturing cattle seized by the sheriff. The government at Pretoria asked for reinforcements from Cape Colony. The Boers were already planning an insurrection.

At a great gathering held at Heidelberg on the 13th December, it was decided to proclaim the republic with a provisional government of the popular leaders, Paul Kruger, Joubert, and Pretorius. The formal proclamation was fixed for the 16th December, 'Dingaan's Day'—the anniversary of the Boer victory over the Zulus in Natal in 1838. The revolt came as a surprise to the government. A half battalion of the 94th regiment marching from Lydenburg to reinforce Pretoria, with its

band playing and colours flying, was ambushed and captured by a force of Boer riflemen. All the nine garrisons in the Transvaal were besieged or isolated and blockaded, and a Boer force entered Natal and occupied its northern gateway, the pass of Laing's Nek. The brief campaign was a series of successes for the Boers. The commander-in-chief in South Africa, Sir George Colley, concentrated a small force at Newcastle, south of the pass, and on the 28th January 1881 was defeated in an attempt to storm it. He formed an entrenched camp at Mount Prospect, two miles south of Laing's Nek, to wait for reinforcements. But Boer parties came riding down the passes of the Drakensberg, cutting off his supplies from Newcastle and as far south as the Ladysmith district.

On the 8th February he attempted to clear the road to Newcastle, but after an unsuccessful fight at the crossing of the Ingogo river withdrew to his entrenchment camp.

Reinforcements were on the way from India and England and Roberts had been chosen to take command in South Africa. The Boers had not cut the telegraph lines in Natal and the Transvaal. The Pretoria Government was in touch with London and the Cape, and the Boer triumvirate was using the line. Negotiations began for a settlement. Then came a strange development. Colley, had he been wiser, would have waited for the coming reinforcements, but he formed what proved to be a rash plan for scaring the enemy from Laing's Nek by surprise seizure of Mount Majuba on the west side of the pass. Strange to say he did not include in his plan a simultaneous frontal attack.

After nightfall on the 26th February, he set out from his camp with a small infantry force. Leaving a detachment to hold a lower height on his line of advance he reached in the darkness the summit of Majuba with 550 officers and men. There was some alarm in the Boer camp, north of the pass, when at sunrise British soldiers were seen on the mountain top, but Joubert, who was in command, steadied the burghers, and Boer marksmen were detailed to pick off every man that showed himself on the summit against the sky line. Then a small party of volunteers began to climb the precipitous northern face of the hill. No

counter-attack was expected by the British on this side, for the precipice seemed an impossible line of attack. When near noon a rush of Boers suddenly appeared on the hill crest, there was a confused attempt to deal with them. There was something like a panic amongst the weary troops on the hill-top as the Boers pushed forward firing as they came. Officers and men were shot down and after a few minutes of confused resistance, Colley ordered the 'Cease fire' and was killed by a Boer bullet as he gave it. Numbers of men were already running down the south slope of the hill; of the small British force engaged there were 90 killed, 133 wounded, and 58 prisoners—a total loss of 281, more than half of those who marched out to the hill.

Five days later Sir Evelyn Wood reached Mount Prospect camp. He arranged an armistice with the Boer leaders. Before the end of March the war was over and the Transvaal was again a Boer Republic. When the startling news of Majuba reached England, Gladstone, then Prime Minister, declared that the fight was an unfortunate incident that should not interfere with the peace negotiations already in progress.

The conclusion of the treaty which restored the Transvaal's independence was denounced by the opposition in England as a hopeless blunder; nay, more, an act of feeble sacrifice of the prestige and the interests of the British Empire. This outcry was echoed by numbers of the British in South Africa and the wealthy profiteers of the diamond mines. Majuba should have been avenged, they declared. A few years later several of these magnates of the diamond fields were making fortunes in the gold mines of the Transvaal, deeply regretting that these had not been discovered when the Transvaal was a British possession and, when these new sources of fortune had been profitably developed, planning a new war with the Transvaal Republic, in which they felt sure that England would secure a swift and easy victory, and 'Majuba would be avenged'. In 1886 came the discovery of gold deposits on the Witwatersrand, a line of high ground running east and west about forty miles south of Pretoria. The gold was in beds of a pebbly conglomerate. Experts had previously reported that gold could not possibly

be found in such a formation. It proved to be one of the greatest goldfields in the world. The new city of Johannesburg came into existence on the site of the first mining-camps, and the mines with their ore crushing plant, and their quarters of a multitude of native workers extend for miles along the high ground, and the white residents in the city and on the Rand number about a quarter of a million.

Like the diamond mines of Kimberley the gold mines of the Rand required powerful machinery for their development. The wealthy directors of the Kimberley mines took a leading part in the development of this new El Dorado. It attracted a multitude of wealth seekers of many nations, and in a few years the immigrants were numbered by tens of thousands. Before long they became an important political party in the Transvaal. They argued that as they were contributing so largely to the wealth of the republic they should have some voice in its government and that after a few years of residence they should have votes at the elections of the Raad. They argued also that the local mining laws should be amended, complaining that these exacted an undue taxation from the mines, and unduly interfered with their management and the recruiting and direction of native labour. Kruger (who was president of the restored republic during its whole existence) steadily opposed concessions, holding that the end in view for the agitators was the dominance of the republic, and probably another annexation to the British Empire.

In 1888 Rhodes added to his activities as a member (and more than once a minister) of the Cape Parliament, and the promotion of his interests at Kimberley and on the Rand by beginning the realization of a long-cherished plan for exploiting the Matabele country, north of the Transvaal. It was identified with the great Kingdom of Monomotopa, which the early Portuguese explorers described as rich in gold. It had been conjectured that it was the land of Ophir from which Solomon brought gold for the Temple. Rhodes obtained a charter for a new trading and colonizing organization, the 'British South Africa Company', and in 1889 his envoys obtained from the

Matabele king the exclusive right to seek for and work metal and mineral deposits throughout his kingdom. The company in return was to give the king a quantity of rifles and cartridges and pay him £100 a month. It was announced that as there was abundance of native labour only settlers who were useful experts or could take up land were required. Two hundred of such adventurers were accepted, 500 armed police were enlisted and drilled, 125 native servants hired. These formed the expedition, which, commanded by General Pennefather, and guided by the veteran hunter and explorer, Selous, began a northward march of some 400 miles in June 1890, and in September founded the first post of the company—'Fort Salisbury'. This was the beginning of a new colonial territory that eventually extended from the Transvaal frontier across the Zambesi to the southern end of Lake Tanganyika, with an area of more than 450,000 square miles.

Reinforced by new settlers and extending its system of fortified posts, the company was soon in full control of Matabeleland. It got rid of King Lobenguela in 1893. On the plea that he was still collecting revenue by sending his warriors to raid outlying villages, it attacked his capital, Buluwayo, with a force made up of its armed police, a detachment of British troops, and the tribesmen of a friendly chief. The Matabele were easily defeated, and their king died a fugitive. In 1896 there was a sudden rising in Matabeleland, which began with the murder of isolated settlers and their families. There was a general flight to the company's forts and the capital. When a British force came to the rescue of the new colony and had won its first successes, Rhodes at some personal risk met a gathering of the rebel chiefs in the Matoppo Hills and arranged a peace. A year before his name had been officially given to the new territory, henceforth known as Rhodesia. British possession was extended from the Cape to the margin of the great lakes of Central Africa, and from the Mediterranean had been pushed far south along the Nile into the Soudan. Rhodes used to talk of his hope that before long there would be a 'Cape to Cairo' railway with British territory along the line.

For nearly six years, from 1890 to 1896, Rhodes had been Prime Minister of Cape Colony, with friendly support from many of the Dutch colonists. The lawless and unsuccessful enterprise of the Jameson Raid led in the first days of 1896 to his resignation of the premiership when it became evident that he had certainly connived at and probably helped to organize this attempt at an Outlander revolt on the Rand, backed by a filibustering expedition from the south-west of Rhodesia. Preparations were made during the last months of 1895. On the border of Rhodesia, Dr. Jameson, Rhodes's right-hand man for many years, got together a force of about 600 mounted rifles, with a couple of field-pieces and some machine guns, on the pretext of a coming move against a local tribe. A committee of action was secretly organized at Johannesburg and rifles, Maxims, and cartridges were smuggled into the city in the disguise of cases of mining equipment and pianos. Among the Boers there was some suspicion of coming trouble, but to a deputation which advised President Kruger to take action he replied by remarking that if one wants to kill a tortoise it is best to wait till it puts its head out of the shell.

On New Year's Day the conspirators proclaimed a provisional government in the 'Gold Reef City', announcing that a strong force was coming to their help. The volunteers paraded under arms, and (to judge from the English illustrated papers) spent much of the day in posing for group photographs. Jameson crossed the border with his raiders, and the men were told that they would probably meet with no opposition in their march to Johannesburg. Next day they found their advance barred by a strong Boer commando, and after a short fight surrendered. The rebels in Johannesburg capitulated without firing a shot. The local leaders were sent to prison and heavily fined. Jameson and his officers were handed over to the British authorities on the promise that they would be sent to England for trial. The whole affair was a miserable fiasco.

Rhodes resigned his premiership. When the first news of the Raid reached England there was a widespread expectation of civil war in the Transvaal and British intervention. For

the time being peace was prolonged but the Raid brought a period of tension in South Africa between Dutch and British, a growing agitation in the Transvaal for revision of the mining laws and votes for the Outlanders. It was echoed in England by an agitation for 'justice' to the large British element in the Transvaal. Negotiations were opened at Pretoria between Kruger and Sir Alfred Milner in June 1899. The Boer President had protected the city with forts armed with heavy guns, and was training a few companies of gunners. He agreed to, and the Volksraad passed a law, giving the franchise to Outlanders who had resided in the republic for at least seven years. The chiefs of the mining interest declared that this was useless, and demanded a five years' qualification. Kruger replied that he could make no further concession; England was preparing for war.

Reinforcements were sent to South Africa in a steadily increasing stream. In October the First Army Reserve was called to the colours and it was announced that 10,000 men were on the way to South Africa. On the 10th Kruger telegraphed an ultimatum, requiring that within forty-eight hours the troops should be withdrawn from the Transvaal frontier, and further reinforcements countermanded. War began on the 12th October. Two days later Sir Redvers Buller embarked at Southampton, to take command. He told an old friend who came to see him off that the war would be all over by Christmas. It lasted nearly three years.

It began with victories of the Boer levies. The Orange Free State declared itself the ally of the Transvaal. In December there was a week of disastrous defeats for the British; Buller was superseded by Roberts with Kitchener as his Chief of the Staff. Bloemfontain and Pretoria were occupied. It was announced that the Transvaal and the Orange Free State were annexed to the British Empire and Roberts returned to England, leaving Kitchener in command. A guerrilla warfare went on for months. The Boers, who won many land successes, for awhile hoped for the intervention of European powers in their favour. At last Louis Botha, who had been their commander-in-chief

during the greater part of the war, decided that nothing could be gained by further resistance, negotiations were begun at Pretoria, and at a conference of the Boer leaders and British representatives at Vereeniging peace was signed on the 31st May 1902.

The Transvaal and the Orange Free State were to become territories of the British Empire, but at an early date were to have self-government; there was to be no taxation for the expenses of the war; and there would be a grant of 3 millions sterling for the restoration of the farm buildings and stock that had been destroyed in the guerrilla war; all prisoners were to be restored to their homes. After the signature of peace at Vereeniging, Kitchener met the Boer leaders and congratulated them on their splendid defence of their country.

Six months later self-government was established. Under an Act passed by the Imperial Parliament, in 1909, there came into existence the 'Union of South Africa' as a single Dominion formed of the four 'Provinces' of the Cape, Natal, the Orange State, and the Transvaal, with its capital, the seat of government at Pretoria, and Capetown as the meeting-place of its Parliament. It was on the eighth anniversary of the Peace of Vereeniging, 31 May 1910, that its Parliament assembled with Botha as the premier of the first ministry of the new Dominion. In 1931 the enactment of the Statute of Westminster gave the Union of South Africa, like the other Dominions of the Empire, all but an independent status.

2. BRITISH INTERVENTION IN EGYPT AND THE CONQUEST OF THE SUDAN

It was the importance of the Suez Canal in the line of communications between England and India by the Mediterranean that led to Britain's intervention in Egypt in 1882.

The first Napoleon has often been described as the modern discoverer of Egypt, thanks to the renewed interest in that country aroused by his attempt to occupy it when he was yet only the Republican General Bonaparte. French politicians long afterwards regarded Egypt as within the French sphere of

influence in the Mediterranean. Thiers, as the Prime Minister of Louis-Philippe, nearly involved France in war with England by his encouragement of the ambitious policy of Mehemet Ali, the Albanian soldier who founded the existing line of Egypt's rulers. Ferdinand de Lesseps, who spent some years in the French consular service in Egypt, was a friend of Said, the grandson of Mehemet Ali, who succeeded to the Pashalik in 1854. In 1856 Lesseps obtained from him a concession for a canal through the Isthmus of Suez.

Palmerston, then in power in England, used his influence to delay for two years the required assent of the Sultan of Turkey to the concession. French influence supported Lesseps successfully; the Sultan's firman was granted and the Suez Canal Company was formed with capital largely subscribed in France. Said Pasha held a large share in it, as a founder and as a subscriber. In 1859 he presided at the beginning of work at the north end of the isthmus, where now Port Said is his monument. In England the project was unpopular. It was attacked as a French scheme for control of a new route to India; it was predicted that it would never be successfully completed or, if it was opened, the drift sand of the deserts would soon close it. In ten years it was completed. Ismail Pasha presided at the ceremonious opening. For his guests from all over Europe he built a palace on the west of Cairo (long since converted into the 'Ghezireh Palace Hotel'). He made a new road to the Pyramids to facilitate their excursions. Chief among them was the Empress Eugénie of France.

Ismail was ambitious, and in money matters recklessly extravagant. He obtained from the Sultan a new title, 'Khedive' (a Persian term meaning 'Prince' or 'Sovereign Prince'). He founded a military school under French officers, increased the army, took several American officers (mostly veterans of the Confederate armies of 1861-5) into his service, fortified Alexandria and constructed the lines of Tel-el-Kebir; engaged in unsuccessful war with Abyssinia, extended the Egyptian rule on the Upper Nile, and (a good deed) employed Gordon and Baker in suppressing the Sudanese slave trade. He borrowed

money freely, and increased the taxes of the peasant farmers along the Nile. By 1875 he was hopelessly bankrupt.

Beaconsfield (who had become prime minister the year before) learned that the Khedive would probably accept an offer for his Suez Canal Shares. He entered into confidential negotiations with Ismail and made what proved to be a good business deal by buying for England the Khedive's 176,600 shares in the canal for £3,976,582. He argued that this investment secured for England a valuable influence in the control of the canal: an all-important link in communications with India.

The few millions received by Ismail did not go far in meeting his pressing liabilities. Financiers and diplomatists proposed various plans to settle his affairs, and he agreed to the formation of a ministry in which an English and a French representative took control of finance and public works. He was soon quarrelling with them, and it was suspected that he encouraged an agitation that began among the army officers who complained that their pay was reduced to provide interest for foreign money-lenders. In the early summer of 1879 there was a riotous demonstration in Cairo led by the officers, to protest against foreign interference in Egypt. England and France appealed to the Sultan to use his suzerain rights to depose Ismail, and in June a firman arrived appointing his son Tewfik as Khedive.

The army officers and the people welcomed the change, but when Tewfik accepted an arrangement placing the control of the finances and the debt in the hands of a dual control, with Sir Evelyn Baring acting for England and M. de Blignières for France, there began an anti-foreign movement, first among the officers, then among the traders in the towns and the farmers in the country. Arabi Pasha, the soldier son of a peasant farmer, led the movement. The growing excitement culminated in the summer of 1882 in a riotous outbreak in Alexandria in which several foreigners were killed. The British Mediterranean fleet concentrated in the harbour. Arabi took command of the place, prepared it for defence, and rejected a summons from the British admiral to cease work on the forts.

On the 11th July Alexandria was bombarded and the forts silenced by the fleet. Landing-parties seized the city. A French squadron that lay in the harbour had steamed out to sea before the bombardment began.

Gladstone, then in power in England, decided on military action in Egypt. France refused an invitation to co-operate. Thus began more than twenty years of tension between France and England that more than once led to danger of war.

A British army under Wolseley concentrated at Alexandria. Arabi Pasha, now master of Egypt, prepared to defend the line of advance from the city into the delta and the entrenched positions of Tel-el-Kebir on the railway from Ismailia to Cairo. The Khedive had fled from the capital to take refuge with the British at Alexandria. On the 20th August the British fleet seized the line of the Suez Canal, and next day the transports began the transfer of the army from Alexandria to Ismailia. It was concentrated in an advanced position in the desert, and at dawn on the 13th September, after a night march, Wolseley stormed the lines of Tel-el-Kebir. Thousands of prisoners were taken and Arabi's army was hopelessly routed. The British cavalry set off on a forced march to Cairo, which surrendered next day.

The Khedive returned to his capital. It was announced that there would be a British protectorate. Baring, as high commissioner, would direct the reorganization of the finances and the introduction of reforms. Sir Evelyn Wood was to organize a new Egyptian army, and the complete independence of the country would be proclaimed when a new régime of progress was firmly established.

This easy conquest of Egypt was the prelude to new troubles and wars in the lands of the Nile. Ismail had extended his power in the Sudan farther towards the great lakes of central Africa, but during the latter years of his khedivate a dangerous situation was developing. Reouf Pasha, the governor at Khartoum, had only local levies and Arab auxiliaries at his disposal. Gordon and Baker had left Ismail's service. They had broken up the local slave trade of the Sudan, but it was beginning again.

Discontent was spreading among the tribes, and there were local disorders.

In 1881 there came the first small stir of a successful revolt in the Sudan. Its leader was Mohammed Ahned, who for some years had lived a hermit's life at Abba Island on the Nile, about 150 miles south of Khartoum, gaining a reputation for sanctity and forming a group of disciples. He told them that the time was evil, but there would soon be a deliverance. He claimed to be a descendant of the founder of Islam, born to be their guide and protector.

Reouf Pasha summoned him to come to Khartoum and answer for his seditious teaching. He sent a defiant reply. Two companies of soldiers came to arrest him. He gathered a crowd of his pupils and admirers, armed only with sticks and a few hunting-spears, and routed the troops, who probably had no liking for their work. A second attempt to arrest him had the same result.

He then declared that he was 'the Mahdi'—that is, the inspired 'Guide' who, according to Moslem tradition, is to be sent as the precursor of the second coming of Christ and gather the Faithful in a peaceful and powerful kingdom. He said his victories won by unarmed men were the first of his miracles. There would be still greater triumphs. He called on all the Faithful to follow him and drive the Egyptians (or, as he called them, 'the Turks') and the infidels out of the land.

The news of his revolt and the mission he claimed spread like wildfire. To rally the tribes of southern Kordofan to his standard he crossed the Nile and recruited many adherents. An Egyptian force, some 6,000 strong, was collected at Fashoda, and advanced to attack him in June 1882. Few of the 6,000 survived the battle and the fierce pursuit, and the victory gave the Mahdi a large supply of arms and ammunition. He marched northward to besiege the capital of the province, El Obeid, where the Austrian Slatin Pasha was in command. The city was starved into surrender in January 1883.

The British Government had refused to take any action in the troubled Sudan, and seems to have underrated the importance

of the Mahdist movement. But shortly before the surrender of El Obeid a retired officer of the Indian Army, Colonel Hicks, had arrived at Khartoum and offered his services to Reouf Pasha. He was given the rank of Pasha and the command of a force composed of troops from the local garrison, loyal Arab tribesmen, and recruits collected from the villages, some of them arriving in chains. A few months were spent in organizing and training this mixed force. In the early autumn Hicks dispersed a Mahdist levy in Senaar on the Blue Nile, and then marched into Kordofan with an army about 8,000 strong. On the 5th November 1883 his force was attacked and routed by the Mahdi in the wooded Kashgil country south of El Obeid. Only 300 fugitives escaped from the relentless pursuit of the victors.

The British Government now insisted that the Sudan must be abandoned. This would entail the withdrawal from Berber and Khartoum of the Egyptian garrisons, and officials and a number of Europeans, including Greek traders and the Catholic missionaries and nuns (Austrians and Italians).

While the British Government was still hesitating as to the choice of an envoy to direct this evacuation Gordon was in England preparing to set out for the new Congo State in the service of the Belgian King. W. T. Stead (the most popular English journalist of the time) published an interview with him on the outlook in the Sudan, and urged that he was the best man for the task. The press and public opinion supported the suggestion. Gordon was offered the arduous mission and accepted it. Leaving London on the 18th January 1885, and making a short stay in Cairo, he reached Khartoum by way of Berber in the middle of February.

There were soon divergences of view between Gordon and Baring at Cairo and the government in London. The Mahdist revolt had spread to the Red Sea shores, and to protect the port of Suakin a force was sent to beat off the warlike Hadendowa tribesmen. Gordon suggested in vain that British troops should be sent up as far as Berber. Before this place fell into the hands of the Mahdists on the 26th May he had sent more than 2,000

Egyptian women, children, and invalided men down the Nile to safety.

The Mahdi had already summoned Khartoum to submit to his rule. Raids in the neighbourhood, the cutting of the telegraph line, and the concentration of a great Mahdist army round the village of Omdurman on the opposite (west) bank of the Nile heralded a close siege. Gordon made a splendid defence, but it was not till the summer that it was decided to send a British army to his help.

The decision came too late. It took longer than had been expected to send an army up the Nile. At Christmas it was only partly concentrated at Korti below the Fourth Cataract. There was to be a march across the Bayuda desert, in the great curving bend of the Nile, to reach the river again at Metemneh, a hundred miles below Khartoum, where Gordon's steamers would be waiting. A messenger from him brought a warning that the end was near. A column about 1,200 strong fought its way across the desert, and at Metemneh received the news that Khartoum had been stormed and Gordon killed in the night of the 21st January 1885. There was talk of 'avenging Gordon' by an expedition to recapture Khartoum next year. Some preparations were made, but there was tension with Russia in central Asia, and another war in the Sudan would be a costly undertaking. The idea was abandoned, and in 1886 the frontier was withdrawn to the Second Cataract, and the village of Wadi Halfa developed into the border fortress of Egypt.

The Mahdi died of fever soon after his great victory, and was succeeded by one of his earliest disciples, the Emir Abdullahi, who under the title of 'The Khalifa' reigned for some years over a vast empire. In 1889 there was an attempt to invade Egypt by the west bank of the Nile. It was defeated by the new Egyptian army. After this there were only occasional attempts to raid the frontier villages.

The reconquest of the Sudan began in 1896, when on orders from London Kitchener with the new Egyptian army invaded the Dongola province. The Dervish frontier garrison was routed, a gunboat flotilla, manned by officers and men of

the British Navy, silenced the batteries of El Hafir, and Dongola was occupied without any serious resistance. The gunboats patrolled the Nile southwards to Korti. Next year Abu Hamed, on the great bend of the Upper Nile, was stormed, Berber reoccupied, and a railway laid from Wadi Halfa across the desert and along the Nile bank beyond Berber, to the junction of the Atbara with the great river. Here at the railhead Fort Atbara was constructed, an entrenched base for the final push to Omdurman and Khartoum.

In the following winter, reinforced by a British brigade, Kitchener defeated a Mahdist army on the Atbara. In August a combined British and Egyptian army 40,000 strong made the final move. On the 2nd September 1898 a Mahdist army some 80,000 strong was defeated at the Battle of Omdurman. Omdurman and Khartoum were occupied, and the Khalifa Abdullahi was a fugitive.

It had long been known that Major Marchand of the French Army, in command of a small force of French Senegalese troops, was making his way towards the Nile through central Africa from the French Congo. Khartoum had hardly been occupied when news came that he had occupied Fashoda, on the Nile, nearly 500 miles farther south. With three gunboats and a British detachment Kitchener proceeded to Fashoda, hoisted the British flag in front of the French position, met Marchand, and told him that if he came as an explorer he was welcome, but there could be no pretence to annex a position on the Nile for France, and Marchand must cease the enlistment of local tribesmen already begun. Marchand replied that he could not act without communications from his government, and was told the telegraph line from Khartoum to Paris would be at his service.

There were anxious days while the negotiations between London and Paris dragged on, and both countries were busy with preliminary preparations for a conflict. Happily France at last agreed to the English claim that all the Nile was under British protection and Fashoda was not a 'no-man's-land'. Though offered honourable transit through Egypt, Marchand

and his officers and men marched through Abyssinia to embark for France at the French port of Djibouti.

The Sudan was declared to be a condominium under the joint rule of England and Egypt. Khartoum, its capital, is now a winter resort for tourists, and for miles the railway by which they reach it runs through a region of irrigated cotton plantations, where it was constructed through a desert. Egypt and the Sudan have prospered under European rule and tutelage, and now at long last Egypt has been declared independent and self-governing as the friend and ally of Britain, and the joint rule of the two governments is to continue in the Sudan.

3. WEST AFRICA

While from the intervention in Egypt in 1882 to the victorious advance to Omdurman and Khartoum in 1898 the British were making themselves masters of the Nile lands, the French were penetrating along the upper course of the Niger into central Africa. This advance had begun in the later years of the Second Empire on the initiative of an enterprising soldier, General Faidherbe, the governor of the coast colony of Senegambia. He planned a push to the Upper Niger from Kayes, a village on the Senegal river at the head of its navigable lower course. This place was made the starting-point for reconnaissances towards the Niger and the survey for a light railway (afterwards partly constructed) which was to link Kayes with Bammako on the upper course of the Niger. These preliminary operations brought the French into contact with El Hadj Omar, a west African Mahdi, who had built up a Mohammedan kingdom on the Upper Senegal and in the hill-country between it and the Niger. The war of 1870 put an end for a while to French schemes of colonial conquest, and it was not till 1879 that the advance to the Niger was resumed on the plans traced out by Faidherbe.

For some twenty years the French advance into the Niger country gradually won its way eastward along the great river and through lands to the south of it. The forces engaged in this long series of campaigns were small detachments of native

troops led by French officers. Timbuctoo was occupied in 1893. Next year the inland advance was linked up with the Guinea coast by the French conquest of Dahomey, a good service to its people, for it ended a native kingdom which had long celebrated its national festivals by cruel massacres of human victims. The same good service was done by the British occupation of Ashanti in 1896 and the kingdom of Benin in 1897—both of these being west African States in which human sacrifices were traditional customs.

The French advance at last reached and passed the rapids of Boussa on the Niger, thus entering territory long claimed as within the sphere of British influence, the local trade being in the hands of a chartered association—the Royal Niger Company. The British Government formed a frontier force for the protection of the traders, but the frontier was ill defined. It was eventually fixed by the Anglo-French Boundary Convention of 1898. Before this peaceful solution of the frontier question was secured there had been perilous times in the wild border country. French and British detachments were moving from one native village to another, securing with the aid of interpreters the acceptance by local chiefs of documents acknowledging the sovereignty of the armed visitors. A local conflict in the disputed region might have meant war between the two Powers represented by these envoys. Good-humour and tactful avoidance of any unfriendly action on either side secured the way of peace. Again and again French and British met in the same native settlement. They formally hoisted their flags at opposite ends of the village or the temporary camp of the natives, made a record of their claims, obtained in some cases the signature of the chiefs to the papers of both parties; then, leaving it to the politicians in London and Paris to settle to which party the place was to be assigned, they parted as good friends.

From the Niger the French pushed their occupation to the shores of Lake Chad in central Africa. The British extended their sovereignty to the south-western shore of the same lake and were also allotted a large territory on both sides of the Niger to the north of the Boussa Rapids. In this wide territory

of British Nigeria the policy has been adopted of ruling through the local chiefs under a local code of laws that embodies all that is best in local tradition with the guiding principles of civilized legislation. The British governor has besides his civil and military staff a consultative council nominated by the local chiefs. European settlement is discouraged. The province is a protectorate rather than a subject land, and so far the system has been a success.

4. BRITAIN IN EAST AFRICA

England had a large share in the west African slave trade, but in the nineteenth century the British Navy took a leading part in its suppression. This task was fulfilled in the earlier years of Queen Victoria's long reign. In the second half of the century British warships—a light frigate and a flotilla of small craft—were employed in dealing with the slave-traders on the east coast of Africa. Zanzibar was long the head-quarters of the trade. When the power of Portugal was on the wane in the Indian Ocean and the Far East, and gradually her trading-stations along the African coast from the Zambesi to the Red Sea were abandoned, they were occupied by Arab adventurers, mostly from Muscat at the mouth of the Persian Gulf. In the mid-years of the nineteenth century a son of the ruling house at Muscat seized the islands of Zanzibar and Penba, made himself master of the Arab ports on the mainland coast, and assumed the title of sultan of Zanzibar.

The Arab raiders and slavers had a fairly free hand for a long period while the governments of western Europe were occupied with the rivalries of France and England in India and North America, the War of American Independence, the French Revolution, and the long wars of Napoleon. The time was far in the future when, each morning and evening, newspapers in millions of copies gave the news from all over the world. Zanzibar, almost unknown to Europe, became the organizing centre of a flourishing trade, the most profitable feature of which was slave-dealing. Slave-hunting expeditions started from the trade stations along the African coast, and collected their

human prey in the south from the interior as far as the great lakes of the Nile. Later the northern raiders worked in combination with their kindred allies, the slave hunters of the Sudan. The captives who survived the long march to the coast were shipped off to Arabia and Persia.

In later years Stanley's exploration of the Congo opened a new field for the slave hunters. Led by men who had served in his expedition, they raided beyond Lake Tanganyika along the Lualaba and through the new lands that were soon to be the eastern territory of King Leopold's Congo State. The hunters used to reconnoitre a native village, close round it in the night, fire the huts, trap the fugitives, and add them to their chain gangs of captives to march them down to the east coast. The seaward tracks were soon marked by the bones of those who died on the way.

When at last the tidings of this new extension of the inland slave trade of Africa reached Europe, the conferences which King Leopold convened at Brussels in 1876 and 1890 in connexion with his plans for the Congo State devoted much of their proceedings to the problem of dealing with the slave trade. The aged archbishop of Carthage, Cardinal Lavigerie, visited London and other European capitals to spread knowledge of these latest developments of the slave trade vouched for by his missionaries in central Africa. The international 'Scramble for Africa' was making rapid progress. Bismarck had at last consented to German traders taking their part in it, and new measures for dealing with the slave trade were discussed at the international conference the Chancellor of the German Empire convened at Berlin in 1884-5.

The chief purpose of its debates was to minimize the danger of conflicts between the European Powers that were engaged in partition of Africa by defining the limits of their actual possessions and marking out their 'spheres of influence', and incidentally securing a share for Germany. At Berlin the partition of Africa was only partly outlined, but the events of the years that followed completed it for the whole continent by the time the Brussels Conference met in 1889-90.

In eastern Africa Portuguese territory on the coast then extended from Natal to Cape Delgado. Germany had secured the adjacent territory (since 'mandated' to Britain at the peace of 1919) with a coast-line from Cape Delgado to a point a few miles south of the port of Mombasa. North of the German colony for some 300 miles Britain held the coast and a valuable right to the hinterland northwards to the Abyssinian frontier and westward to Lake Victoria Nyanza and the Upper Nile. The vitally important possession of the coast and the port of Mombasa came to Britain thanks largely to the political ability and foresight of Sir John Kirk, who for more than twenty years was British consul at Zanzibar.¹ He gradually acquired an effective influence over its Arab rulers and in the face of endless difficulties at last obtained the Sultan's ban on the local slave trade. He secured the establishment of a British vice-consulate at Mombasa and ensured that the Sultan's authority was asserted and acknowledged on the coast. In 1886, a few weeks before Kirk's return to England, Zanzibar was declared a protectorate of Britain. Three years later the Sultan disposed of his rights on the mainland under the British protectorate to Sir William Mackinnon, the founder of the Chartered British East Africa Company. Its operations were directed in concert with the British Government, which before long took entire control of the new colony, now known as Kenya.

The company had planned a railway from Mombasa to Uganda and the Great Lakes to form a new link with the British possessions on the Upper Nile. It was begun in 1896 and completed in 1903, the main cost of the enterprise being found by the British Government. Kenya had at the outset been regarded as chiefly useful for opening up this way to Uganda and the Sudan. When the railway had been carried through the hot lowland coast-belt and reached the highland beyond the escarpment of the inland plateau, it was realized that this new line was opening up a fertile country, with a climate well adapted for European colonization. Year after year numbers

¹ He had served as a medical officer in the Crimean War, and then accompanied Livingstone in some of his explorations in Central Africa.

of settlers from the home lands have made their way to Kenya. The general opinion is that nowhere in Africa is there a better region for white settlement. Lately gold deposits have been discovered. Some, perhaps the most inviting, of these happen to be on lands occupied by the natives. The accepted local view seems to be that these folk have only a mere right to a site for huts and gardens, and that, unless they are useful as working miners, all they can claim is transfer to other pieces of ground.

Uganda, the country of the Great Lakes, first visited by European explorers in mid-Victorian days, after many troubled years in its earlier occupation by British pioneers, became a peaceful and a prosperous country under the British protectorate some forty years ago. It is not a 'white man's country'. Of its population of over 3 millions less than 2,000 are Europeans. There is a British governor with a staff of officials from the home country, and a native armed constabulary under British officers. The native capital, Kampala, is the residence of the 'Kabaka', the native king. The country is governed under a revised system of native law, and there is a High Court of British jurists. Serious crime is rare. The Kabaka, a descendant of the old ruling race of the country, the Buganda, gives some share of his authority to the chiefs of subject races. His own people, the Buganda, number over 600,000; all who have lived among them credit them with remarkable intelligence. In Kampala, a city of seven hills, there are two cathedrals, the Catholic and the Anglican, each on its hill-top. Nearly all the Buganda are now converts or the children of converts. There is a well-organized school system, almost entirely in the hands of the Catholic and Anglican missions, and generously supported from the public revenue. The country is prosperous, its most abundant product being cotton, which is exported to the value of some millions each year. The exports are chiefly through Mombasa. Happily for the people of Uganda no gold deposits have been found as yet.

This survey of the extension of British power and influence in Africa, the last great continent to be explored and dominated

by Europe, does not pretend to be more than a brief outline of a vast subject. It necessarily has to take note of Britain's relations with other Powers in the partition of Africa. Though primarily a competition for trade influence and territory there was also in many directions the element of co-operation—not in mere conquest, or motived by self-interest—but for the benefit of the native races of Africa.

It has been a gain to them that the slave trade on land and sea has been all but completely abolished. This may well be counted as one of the best results of the white man's penetration in both negro and Arab Africa. Tribal wars were long the normal plague of wide regions. There is now a reign of peace under ordered government. The horror of periodical massacres on local festivals has been abolished in countries like Ashanti, Benin, and Dahomey, where human sacrifices came as regularly each year as bank holidays in England. In British Nigeria, Uganda, and Basutoland there has been the successful experiment of governing through native officials, under a combined code of European and revised native law. The science of Europe is dealing with sanitation and grappling with prevalent outbreaks of disease.

In this good work the doctors have valuable allies in the missionaries of Africa. The nursing staff of many of the hospitals is provided by the Catholic nuns. The mission schools are doing valuable educational work, officially recognized by the subsidies granted to them by the governments. Unhappily the religious differences of Europe have their echo in Africa.

It would of course be easy to point out the defects and failures of European and British rule in Africa. Thus, for instance, the education laws of the Union of South Africa include an enactment intended to bar teaching of any higher skilled trade or art in the native schools. This is part of the policy of securing a monopoly of skilled employment for the white worker, and 'keeping the black in his proper place'. Or again, it might be noted that, though slavery has been abolished, commandeered or forced labour has not disappeared, and the conditions of the labourers in the mines are open to very serious criticism. It is

not surprising to hear that among the native mining population there is the beginning of a Communist propaganda, inspired not from Soviet Russia but from a Communist organization in the 'Africa of America', that is among the Negro millions in the United States. In west Africa, however, it seems fairly certain that Soviet propaganda has begun a propaganda of atheism, with the formation of 'cells' or groups of adherents among the native workers, and promises of a new Utopia, when the dark-skinned race will rid the land of white control. One widespread grievance here and elsewhere, even among educated Negroes, is the feeling that the white men, from the ruling class down to the poorest of European workers, regard them as an utterly inferior race.

By far the greater part of Africa is not a land for white men. The Europeans, of all nations, are a small minority in the total population of the continent. Among the Europeans there have been not a few who have won not only the respect but even the devoted affection of the Negroes of Africa. Such Europeans have been found not only among the missionaries and the doctors but among officials and soldiers, landowners and business men. But from the viewpoint of the great majority of the subject race there is a wide rift between the Negro and the white man. In Africa, for the time being, white conquest is a completely accomplished fact. The best hope for a peaceful future—a hope but not a certainty—is that a bond of true brotherhood may close the rift between the ruling race and the subject races of Africa.

NEGRO SLAVERY

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NEGRO SLAVERY

TRADING IN MEN

SLAVERY in the Western Hemisphere was the natural result of cheap and abundant land and a sure market for such products which therefrom could be produced. Inasmuch as labour was the only problem of that day it seemed an easy solution of it to try forced labour, for the world was already familiar with serfdom. In the exploitation of the New World, too, it was believed that the Indians on the very virgin soil to be developed stood ready to supply the demand for cheap labour, but the American aborigines were not accustomed to the tempo of European industrialists, and these natives soon proved to be inefficient workers and unprofitable servants. The labour exacted of the Indians was too taxing for their bodily resistance, and they died in large numbers. Bishop Bartolomé de las Casas, therefore, advocated the importation of Africans into the Spanish colonies to put an end to the enslavement of the weak-bodied Indians. He repented of this, however, two years later.¹

Some others, especially the English colonists, thought of European labour; but this, too, had to be forced. At first this was restricted to white indentured servants of the same race as that of the pioneering planters and prospectors in the New World. Inasmuch as these servants became free on the expiration of their indentures, however, it was finally thought better still to follow the Spanish policy of importing Negroes who should serve for life. Suited to the miasmatic plantations of the lowlands and to the tropics especially, Africans soon solved the problem of labour supply in all America, and their numbers rapidly multiplied. The importations increased in Brazil to the extent that by 1850 Negroes and the negroid element constituted about 50 per cent. of the entire population. In the English colonies along the Upper Atlantic not many slaves were required, but in the production of rice, sugar, and tobacco

¹ *The Journal of Negro History*, xx. 205-6.

towards the South a larger number were enslaved; and by 1865 they aggregated almost 4,000,000.

The importation of these Africans became a business known as the slave trade. A commercial revolution was then in progress. Traders were looking for new routes, new methods, and new commodities. Men in quest of precious metals and opportunities to amass wealth had no scruples with respect to humanity. If money could be made by buying and selling human beings they did so. Africa at that time had suffered a decline in culture, and its internal commotions invited foreign aggression. The Mohammedans had secured a foothold in the country in the eighth century and by the year A.D. 1000 had penetrated the interior to plunder and traffic in slaves to supply soldiers for the armies and guards and labourers around their harems.¹ Following the Mohammedans came the traders of Christian countries which in the sixteenth century entered upon their programme of commercial expansion. The African slave, then, became an important factor in this world enterprise.

Before the organized effort to bring Africans into this development of the New World, however, there had been sufficient infiltration of the Negroes into European countries along the Mediterranean to make their presence no exception to the rule. About A.D. 1500 there were probably 3,000 slaves in Venice.² Negroes had been brought to Spain, and this traffic was further stimulated by Europeans when they conquered the Moslems just across the Mediterranean. Following close upon the explorations of Prince Henry, the Portuguese ships began to bring home annually more than seven or eight hundred slaves, who served as menials and worked the estates taken from the Moors. Slaves increased to such an extent in Seville that in 1474 Ferdinand and Isabella appointed a noted Negro, Juan de Valladolid, as the 'mayoral of the Negroes' in that city. Juan

¹ The Mohammedan slave trade in Africa has been treated *in extenso* by James Hugo Johnston in an article thus entitled in the *Journal of Negro History*, xiii. 478-91.

² Carlton J. Hayes, *Political and Social History of Modern Europe*, i. 67.

Tatino, a man of African blood, developed there as the greatest Latin scholar in Spain.¹

The lot of the Africans brought to the Iberian peninsula was not hard. The institution was largely patriarchal. Rejecting the proposals of men desiring exploitation, the Christian Queen Isabella had refused to permit the traders to make the traffic an enterprise to produce wealth. Interested in the promotion of religion, too, the queen prohibited the importation of the unchristianized Africans into the colonies. Things changed somewhat when she passed away, however, for Ferdinand, being less humane than his consort, gradually yielded to the demands of the trading class and permitted the sale of unconverted Negroes to the Spanish colonies. Yet Ferdinand did not give *carte blanche* authority to all adventurers engaged in the traffic. At times he manifested sufficient humanity to try to check the trade. When the Spaniards entered upon this new programme of slave-trading, however, they found their progress impeded by having no foothold in Africa. Their slaves had to be obtained indirectly through traders of other nations, especially the English, the commercial rivals of the Spanish. John Hawkins, an Englishman, entered upon the enterprise as the 'father of the slave trade'; and, following his exploits from 1530 to 1562, the Dutch appeared as the competitors of British adventurers.²

The English, in spite of some difficulty, however, were in a position to supply the demand for slaves after they had established themselves on the Gambia about 1618. The Dutch who had made a voyage to Guinea in 1595 were the power on these shores. In 1617 they captured the island of Gorée and in 1624 attained their important objective in establishing a fort on the Gold Coast. The Danes touched West Africa probably about 1650 and built Christiansborg Castle. Half a century later a Brandenburg company established there a claim by building one or more forts. After holding these places for twoscore years they sold them to the Dutch. One of the Dutch ships

¹ W. E. Dubois, *The Negro*, p. 146; and Helps, *Spanish Conquest*, iv. 401; *The Journal of Negro History*, xx. 27-31, 190-243.

² W. E. Dubois, *The Negro*, pp. 151-3.

participating in this traffic brought to Jamestown, Virginia, in 1619, the first cargo of African captives, which marked the beginning of slavery in what is now the United States. The Dutch West India Company was organized in 1621 for further exploitation in America.¹

The predominant influence in Africa during these years however, was that of the Portuguese. The Spaniards at the same time controlled Central and Southern America by virtue of the Papal Bull and the Treaty of Tordesillas, which divided the newly discovered lands between these nations. Other nations trading to Africa were there on sufferance only. This situation continued until the power of the Portuguese was broken by the Dutch in the wars culminating in 1637. At that time they took Elmina on the Gold Coast and drove the Portuguese from West Africa north of the Equator except from Gambia and some small islands. At the same time the Portuguese, unfortunate also in another quarter, were being driven south by the Arabs on the east coast. By 1700 the Portuguese had lost all of their territory there except Mozambique, and they were able to retain only Angola on the west coast. The Dutch trading companies, therefore, came into their own during the first half of the seventeenth century. The Dutch East India Company became the most successful corporation participating in European commercial expansion at that time.²

The Dutch in these conquests, however, were merely paving the way for a greater power with a more feasible programme for the exploitation of the New World. The English made inroads on the Dutch during the naval war which the former successfully closed with the Peace of Breda in 1667; and the conflict between the French and the Dutch in 1672 resulted in the transfer of Gorée to France. The English slave trade then assumed national, and even international, proportions. One of the most important provisions of the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713, which closed the War of the Spanish Succession, was the

¹ T. K. Ingram, *History of Slavery*, p. 152.

² For the extensive treatment of this phase of the subject consult Sir Charles Lucas's *The Partition and Colonization of Africa*.

'Asiento' by which the English secured the monopoly of the slave trade with the Spanish colonies. The English slave traffic, then, developed into an organized business operated by certain companies, with special grants from the Crown. The first of these corporations began under such auspices in 1618, but did not function satisfactorily. Another group of men received a charter of this sort in 1631. In 1662 was chartered the Royal Adventurers Trading into Africa,¹ which was reorganized in 1672 as the Royal African Company with the larger possibility for the monopoly of the slave trade between the Gold Coast and the British colonies.²

Stirred by reports of such profitable trade, however, other adventurers brought to bear sufficient pressure to have it thrown open to all English vessels. This drew into the traffic vessels from the British American settlements, especially from Boston and Newport. These vessels plied between America and certain forts established on the Guinea Coast. The French operated in the Senegal, the English in the Gambia, and the Dutch and English on the Gold Coast. In the beginning the task of obtaining the slave cargo was largely that of the captain of the vessel arriving at the shore. On landing he traded trinkets or rum for slaves. He sometimes kidnapped Africans, even the princes who drove their captives in war to the coast to be sold. This led to hazardous encounters with armed Africans. They found it necessary thereafter, then, to systematize the buying by establishing factories along the coast, which, by excursions into the interior or by dealing with those who had penetrated the back country, would have the slaves on hand before the arrival of the traders. In the course of time, then, the development of the slave trade required the stimulation of wars among the natives to supply captives who were offered as slaves to the factories along the coast in return for merchandise considered valuable by the Africans.

¹ George F. Zook, *The Royal Adventurers Trading into Africa*.

² This aspect of the slave trade has been treated in an unpublished manuscript, 'The Royal African Company', by George F. Zook; and the documents of the trade are available in Elizabeth Donnan's *Documents Illustrative of the History of the Slave Trade to America*, vol. i.

The commodities exchanged for these slaves were generally shipped from manufacturing centres like Newport and Boston in New England and from Bristol and Liverpool in England. In 1726 Bristol, Liverpool, and London had 171 ships thus engaged. These vessels carried to Africa iron bars, rum, cloth, shells, crystal beads, brass pans, and foreign coins, to be exchanged for slaves.¹

The slaves thereby obtained had been driven to the coast in coffles, sometimes for distances of more than a thousand miles. They had to cross a wilderness which had practically no facilities for transportation except those with which nature had endowed it. And since few African rivers are navigable from the interior it was necessary to go most of the way by walking. Inasmuch, moreover, as the means of subsistence were not always to be secured, many of these unfortunates dropped dead from thirst and famine. Those who succeeded in surviving the ordeal of this drive to the coast were offered for sale on arrival only to face other horrors of the vessels of the 'Middle Passage'.²

Sometimes forced into a crouching position, sometimes compelled to lie down, captives accepted as valuable were shackled and herded together like cattle in ships. The space generally allowed for the standing room of a slave was just a few square inches. Ventilation was usually inadequate, clothing was limited, the water was insufficient, and the food was spoiled. Crowded thus together in the lower parts of an unsanitary vessel, many of these unfortunates died of various complaints before reaching America.

Occasionally the trusted Negroes on board would start a riot to liberate themselves by killing their captors,³ but the system was finally reduced to such a safe procedure that little fear therefrom was experienced. After the slave trade was legally prohibited the traffic became decidedly inhuman. Prior to this time a slaver had to exercise some care with these captives, for a loss of too many would have made the voyage unprofitable.

¹ Edward Channing, *A History of the United States*, ii. 512-15.

² W. E. Dubois, *The Suppression of the African Slave Trade*, *passim*.

³ See Joshua Coffin's *Slave Insurrections* and Higginson's *Travelers and Outlaws*.

But the restriction on the trade so increased the price of slaves thereafter that a loss of some of them could be more easily borne.¹

These Africans, however, were not brought in large numbers directly to the ports of what is now the United States and not many were taken to the lower regions of South America. Slave labour did not at first seem very profitable along these shores of the Atlantic. In the West Indies and the torrid parts of Latin America, devoted to the production of cane sugar so much in demand at that time, African slaves were welcomed. In the islands they were exchanged mainly for such raw materials as molasses. The traders could secure a slave in Africa for about 100 or 120 gallons of rum valued at about 50 or 60 dollars. They would sell him in the West Indies for from 100 to 200 dollars or for molasses worth this amount. Brought by the slavers to ports in the United States, the molasses was manufactured into rum. To supply this demand for rum manufacture Newport had twenty-one distilleries. With this rum the ships set out to Africa again on their triangular route connecting with the commercial centres in three separated parts of the world.²

As to exactly how many natives were thus brought away from that continent, authorities widely differ. When the slave trade was in full swing, 50,000 or 100,000 were imported every year. Some authorities believe that not more than 5,000,000, while others contend that 10,000,000, Africans were carried away captive and enslaved. But to figure out the extent to which this process of depopulation affected Africa, one must bear in mind that for every slave imported into America at least four or five others had to meet death in the numerous wars, in the inhuman drive to the coast, and in the cruel shipment in unsanitary ships hardly suitable for transporting hogs. Africa probably lost more than 50,000,000 natives. When we think of how the World War conscription of 40,000,000 men upset the

¹ F. K. Ingram, *History of Slavery*, p. 152; Elizabeth Donnan, *Documents Illustrative of the History of the Slave Trade to America*, i, *passim*.

² Edward Channing, *A History of the United States*, ii. 512-15.

economic and social life of the Allied Powers, we can easily estimate the effect of the loss to Africa of 50,000,000 of its inhabitants.¹ This, to some extent, accounts for the decline of that continent.

The parts of Africa from which these Negroes were brought may be of some importance here. The large majority of them were taken from Guinea and the Gold Coast. Very few were imported from the East Coast of Africa. The slave-trading nations did not control that part of the continent.² Among these slaves were a few of the most intelligent of the Africans, the Senegalese, with an infusion of Arab blood. They were especially valuable for their work as mechanics and artisans. Then there were the Mandingoes, who were considered gentle in demeanour, but 'prone to theft'. The Coromantees brought from the Gold Coast were hearty and stalwart in mind and body. For that reason they were frequently the source of slave insurrections. It was said, however, that the Coromantees were not revengeful when well treated. Slavers brought over some Whydahs, Nagoes, and Paw Paws. They were much desired by the planters because they were lusty, industrious, cheerful, and submissive. There came also a few Gaboons. They were physically weak and consequently unsuited for purposes of exploitation. The colonists imported, too, some Gambia Negroes, prized for their meekness. The Eboes brought from Calabar were not desired, because they were inclined to commit suicide rather than bear the yoke of slavery. The Congolese, Angolas, and the Eboes gave their masters much trouble by running away. Among the natives thus imported there were a few Moors and some brown people from Madagascar.³

A proper description of the natives thus imported, however, cannot be obtained from the sources from which come these reports on the character of these African captives. These were observations made from the point of view of the enslaver. A native was regarded as a thief if without authority he took from

¹ W. E. Dubois, *The Negro*, pp. 155, 156.

² U. B. Phillips, *American Negro Slavery*, pp. 42-5.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 24.

the fruits of his own labour an additional supply of food to supplement the meagre allotment from his master. An African was considered untruthful if he diplomatically concealed the facts as to the egress and regress of his fellow men who were being enslaved. If these captives were docile and tractable and readily accepted the yoke, they were considered the most desirable class of Africans and were extensively lauded because of their 'great virtues'. To understand the Africans of that time, then, and to appreciate what they stood for one must interpret to the contrary what their traducers said about them.¹

Sometimes an African of high social standing, thus kidnapped and brought over, impressed even the enslaver. In the possession of Michael Denton of Maryland there was found a slave who observed the custom of praying five times a day according to the requirements of the Mohammedan religion. An ignorant white boy, seeing him kneel down and bowing in the direction of Mecca, threw sand in his eyes and so impaired his sight as to invite an investigation of his habits. It was discovered that he was an orthodox Mohammedan and an Arabic scholar. Hearing this, James Oglethorpe interceded in his behalf and had him liberated and taken to England. There he was accorded all the honours due to a man of learning. He was associated with a professor of Cambridge in the translation of Oriental manuscripts and through him he was introduced to some of the most desirable people of England. This was probably the record of Job, a slave in Maryland in 1731-3, a Fulah brought from Futa in what is now French Senegal. He could write Arabic and repeat the whole Koran.²

THE NEGRO ENSLAVED

The first Negroes brought to America were not actually slaves. Slavery was unknown to modern law at that time. The system had to be developed from the law of serfdom. While the lot of the Negroes and Indians first forced to labour on the sugar

¹ Many of such biased comments are found in Ruth A. Fisher's *Extracts from the Records of the African Companies*. See also Elizabeth Donnan's *Documents Illustrative of the History of the Slave Trade to America*, *passim* (Washington), 1931-5.

² *The American Historical Review*, xxx. 787-95.

plantations and in the mines was harder than that of those in other parts, they all had the status of what were known as indentured servants. It is said that one of the Negroes brought to Jamestown in 1619 was so progressive that after serving the time of his indenture he became the owner of a servant himself.¹ There were Negroes who had white indentured servants, and laws were enacted later against such a practice. In most cases these servants were received in the home as a part of the family as was the custom among the patriarchs of the Orient.

The permanency of the labour supply, however, was threatened by the termination of the indentures of the servants who, on becoming free, could take up land and thus as farmers increased rather than supplied the demand for labour. It was soon found possible, then, to make an exception of black servants by passing laws which declared Negroes as held to the permanent service of their masters and 'Incapable of making satisfaction for the time lost in running away by addition of time'. About the middle of the seventeenth century, then, the North American colonies began to reconstruct their economic order according to this new point of view and legally proclaimed slavery as a new institution. By the end of that century slavery as such was generally recognized. The institution had been recognized much earlier than this in Latin America, where mining and sugar production became the outstanding enterprises. Pernambuco, one of the states of Brazil, had 10,000 slaves in 1585.²

The large majority of the first slaves imported were carried to the West Indies and to Latin America to produce sugar, from the much-expected profits of which men dreamed of amassing great wealth; and a considerable number of them succeeded. These parts became the wealthiest colonies of the world. All European nations then tried to get more and still more of these sugar-producing possessions. Little thought was taken of the other colonies at that time, and they did not develop rapidly enough to require large numbers of slaves. In

¹ *The Journal of Negro History*, i. 235-6.

² *Ibid.*, xi. 350.

course of time, however, after having been well readjusted, and in some cases after having taken over a considerable portion of the Western civilization, a number of these slaves were brought from the West Indies to what is now the United States, and others were carried farther into Latin American continental colonies. Some of them had then learned to speak, read, and write two or three modern languages. When, however, such mentally developed Negroes proved to be a source of discontent and insurrections, colonists deemed it wiser to import slaves in their crude form directly from Africa.

The slaves on the sugar plantations were subjected to a process known as 'breaking in'. Some were assigned to work among well-seasoned slaves, and a few were given individual tasks. When they became well 'broken in' they were grouped by families in separate quarters. These were surrounded by small tracts of land on which they were required to raise their own food. Such things as clothing, dried fish, molasses, rum, and salt, which they could not easily produce, were issued by the plantation commissary. They went to work in gangs, some cultivating sugar cane, some toiling in the mills and stills, some labouring at handicrafts, and some in mines.¹ Others were employed in domestic service.

The slavery in these parts was characterized as the torture of the man with the hoe. As few implements had been introduced and the planters of that day did not easily take to labour-saving devices most of the cultivation of the crops was done with the hoe.² This required the hardest of labour. Under these conditions the slaves could not develop into a robust class. Worst of all, many of them died as a result of this drudgery. While the death-rate was unusually high, the birth-rate was exceptionally small. There was not much provision for taking care of the African new-born.³

Speaking of Jamaica, a surgeon said that one-third of the babies died in the first month, and few of the imported women bore children. A contemporary said that more than a quarter

¹ *The Journal of Negro History*, xv. 319.

² *Ibid.*, xi. 599-600.

³ *Ibid.*, xi. 630-46.

of the babies died within the first nine days of 'jaw-fall', and another fourth before they passed their second year. The Negro women had to work hard and the planters themselves encouraged them in sexual promiscuity. Such a habit is not conducive to reproduction. This meant that the colonies had to depend on the importation of new African slaves. The slave trade to supply the demand for such labour was thereby stimulated. The planters ceased, therefore, to purchase male and female slaves in equal numbers, as had been the custom, inasmuch as the breeding of slaves there apparently failed.¹

These slaves thus treated, moreover, became easy victims of the diseases of white men. Lacking time to establish an immunity against such maladies, the unseasoned slaves died in large numbers. They suffered especially from colds and measles which, considered ordinary complaints in the case of white men, proved fatal to these Africans. Travellers and planters mention in their accounts such other troublesome diseases as lock-jaw, yaws, cocoa-bay, guinea worms, small-pox, leprosy, hereditary venereal diseases, menstrual obstructions, promiscuous venery, and ulcers. The excessive use of new rum aggravated these complaints and contributed to the sterility of the early slave population.²

To fill the places of slaves dying out so rapidly an authority estimated that a planter with 100 slaves would have to import six a year. Others estimated it at a figure as high as from a third to two-thirds. This, of course, varied according to the treatment of the slave with respect to food, housing conditions, and allotted labour. Towards the end of the eighteenth century, however, the average life of the slave was estimated at from fifty to sixty years.³

In the sparsely settled colonies to the north, slavery became a sort of patriarchal institution except for the numerous slave dealers of that section who supplied the south with Africans in large numbers to cultivate rice, indigo, and tobacco. Farther south in the West Indies and Latin America, as stated above, Negroes were enslaved to work on the sugar plantations and in

¹ *The Journal of Negro History*, xi. 646. ² *Ibid.*, xi. 646-7. ³ *Ibid.*, xi. 648.

the mines. Inasmuch, however, as some of these adventurers moved from place to place prospecting and fur-trading to secure fabulous riches and return therewith to Europe in a few years to enjoy a life of ease and comfort, they had a different attitude towards Negro slavery. They never made the system efficient as did the permanent settlers. This difference in purposes of the colonists, then, produced a difference in their methods of colonization. The English who came to establish a home in the New World wanted a permanent labour force; the Latin fur-trader or mineral exploiter needed labour temporarily to do seasonal hunting or exploring. The Englishman brought his wife and raised a family, while the Latin adventurer took up with the Indian and Negro women by whom he produced mixed breeds who eventually found their way into the social order as the equals of the Latins, whereas the Englishman tended in the main to hold himself aloof from the slaves and to keep that class separate and distinct. This special class of mixed breeds offered a way of escape for a number of the descendants of slaves and tended to make the situation seem more hopeful than it otherwise would have appeared.¹

Intermarriage of the races was forbidden among the English as a further debasement of the Negro slave, but the Latins as a rule did not have this attitude toward the Negro freedmen.² Manumission among the English was generally restricted to liberation for meritorious service; and, as a rule, a Negro could not enslave any other person than one of his own colour. Dealings with slaves could be had only through their masters. Both fugitive servants and slaves could be apprehended, imprisoned, and advertised for as any other property lost or stolen, and they could be whipped for escaping from their masters. Slaves rebelling, conspiring with free Negroes or indentured servants, or administering medicine, could be put to death. The right of assembly was restricted. Slaves who would not abandon 'evil habits' might be dismembered. Any Negro who lifted his hands against a white man received thirty lashes on his bare back. Testimony of Negroes was admissible only in the case of

¹ *Ibid.*, xx. 335.

² *Ibid.*, vii. 363.

a capital offence charged to a slave. Even in that case the judge warned the witness beforehand that if he falsified he would be pilloried, his ears would be cut off, and he would get thirty-nine lashes. Negro criminals were tried by special courts without the assistance of a jury.¹

Slaves among both the Latins and the English in the West Indies were regarded as property, taxed and disposed of by will as other chattels. The few indentured servants who remained were subjected to poll-tax, and the contracts under which they served rather than themselves were considered as property. In 1748 and 1753 Virginia defined slaves as imported non-Christians, but provided that the definition should not apply to Turks and Moors on good terms with England and with proof that they were free in that country. The child of a slave mother followed the condition of the mother. According to this code, moreover, conversion to Christianity could not result in the freedom of the slave.²

At first the evangelization of the slaves among the English was hindered by the fear that according to an unwritten law a Christian could not be held as a slave. By a proclamation of the Anglican Bishop of London and special decrees and laws of the colonies, however, the Negro was made a slave in spite of his new faith, for manumission was not to result from conversion. This legal change, however, did not imply any obligation of the owners to instruct their bondmen in religion. It merely meant that they would no longer have an excuse for preventing missionaries from entering upon the evangelization of the slaves.

The slave regulations developed first among the English in Barbados, their first prosperous slave colony, and this code decidedly influenced that of the Southern United States, but had less influence in the Latin American countries. The code of Virginia, borrowed largely from Barbados, tended to become the law of all the British slave-holding colonies, modified to

¹ Edward Channing, *A History of the United States*, II. 393-4, and U. B. Phillips, *American Negro Slavery*, p. 504.

² *Special Report of the United States Commissioner of Education*, 1871, p. 363.

suit local conditions. In 1693 the government of Philadelphia ordered the constable to arrest all Negroes 'gadding about' on the first day of the week. Such offenders were to be imprisoned until the following morning and given thirty-nine lashes. South Carolina and Pennsylvania followed Virginia in providing special courts for Negroes charged with burglary, murder, and the like. They might be whipped, branded, deported, or put to death.¹

Slaves had no right of locomotion except subject to the will of their owner. The patrol system authorized all persons to punish slaves absent from their plantation without required passes. In the course of time this penalty for running away was so increased in some cases that the fugitives would suffer death. In the case of mutiny or rebellion, they were subject to the rigours of martial law. Slaves were not allowed to have weapons, or to assemble in public meetings. For striking a Christian, the slave could be subjected to severe corporal punishment. For unusual crimes they suffered death. There were cases of punishment by being mutilated, broken on the wheel, or burnt alive. The sale of alcoholics to slaves was prohibited.²

Certain precautions as to the comfort of slaves were taken, moreover, for otherwise they might prove unprofitable to their masters. By law they were allowed so much clothing and at least as much as a specified quantity of food. There had to be drawers and caps for the men and petticoats and caps for the women. Homes of a certain kind had to be provided, and some semblance of humanity had to mark the treatment which the slaves received. Laws to this effect, however, often had little weight and tended to fall into desuetude, for the slave-owner was generally a law unto himself. The punishment or mistreatment of the bondmen was a matter known only to the master and his slaves, and they could not testify against him in the courts.

¹ *Pennsylvania Statutes at Large* (ed. 1896), ii. 233; Cooper's *Statutes of South Carolina*, iii. 557, 561, vii. 413, Henning's *Statutes at Large*, ix. 104, 356, xi. 106, 363; E. Channing, *A History of the United States*, ii. 377-98.

² This particular regulation was probably more general in the colonies than it might have been had not the Puritanic idea figured here and there for social reform; but the use of alcoholics by the slaves was an incentive to insurrections.

The lot of the slave in tropical America was generally better than that of the bondmen in the colonies of North America during the cotton régime of the nineteenth century,¹ but it was aggravated by absentee ownership. The overseers in charge of the plantations were required to produce the largest crop possible. This in turn, of course, necessitated their driving the slaves to the utmost in order to secure the largest return from their labour. The owners of these plantations residing in Europe might sometimes be won to the idea of reform, but the good words which they might periodically utter out of compassion for the slave had little effect in improving the economic situation far away in the New World.²

In the course of time, however, the lot of the slave even under the English in tropical America seemed to improve. The management of the plantations became more efficient, and larger numbers of Englishwomen brought in served as a restraining influence. This change, too, was a result of the humanitarian movement in England which took the form of agitation for the abolition of the slave trade and the improvement of the condition of the slaves. The tendency was from slavery to serfdom. Some of the cruel measures fell into desuetude. Planters, becoming more kindly disposed towards their slaves, permitted them to acquire property. They sometimes owned not only hogs, cattle, and sheep, but also land. The custom of the country permitted masters to bequeath to their slaves some of the property which had been accumulated as a result of faithfulness to their owners.³

Slavery as it developed in connexion with the exploitation of the New World, then, varied from place to place as well as from period to period. To say that slavery was benevolent or cruel does not mean very much; to refer to a few masters as kind or inhuman may mean less in trying to reconstruct the

¹ The best source here is Mrs. Helen Tunnicliff Catterall's *Judicial Cases concerning American Slavery and the Negro* (Washington, 1928-32), three volumes.

² The extent of absentee ownerships may be estimated by examining the records set forth in Carter G. Woodson's *Free Negro Owners of Slaves in the United States in 1830 together with the Absentee Ownership of Slaves in the United States in 1830* (Washington, 1926).

³ *The Journal of Negro History*, xi. 617.

picture of the institution as it existed centuries ago. Some contemporaries saw in the institution nothing objectionable, while others discovered its terrible evils. It depended upon the point of view of the observer. Furthermore, there are numerous instances of slavery in the mild form on a plantation at one time and changing to a most oppressive system on that same plantation a few years later. The system was a new thing, and it had to find its place in the new economic order.¹

On the plantations in the West Indies and South America, however, slavery among the Latins soon began to function more definitely. With the increase of wealth came the demand for more of the comforts of life; and the possession of a larger portion of America where sugar could be produced with cheap labour of African slaves made the system apparently much more profitable than ever before in the history of the world. These particular colonies enhanced in value, and European nations became bitter rivals for such possessions. European wars usually extended to these parts, and they figured in the negotiations by which they were closed. At one time England contemplated giving up all of Canada in exchange for the small island of Guadeloupe.

Negro slaves, too, found their way to a permanent role in the production of coffee in later years, but in this work they did not toil so hard as they did on the sugar plantations. It was of some significance that European nations had come into the possession of lands suitable for the production of coffee and that it could be produced under their direction for less than it could be obtained from the East. The increase in the supply, too, lowered the price and brought it within the reach of a larger number of consumers. This new demand, as in the case of sugar, then, tended to increase the demand for more cheap labour and stimulated the slave trade as in the case of Brazil. Passing from visionary schemes to a more practical policy of developing the country, then, a larger number of Latin colonists

¹ The law of slavery in the English colonies along the Atlantic may be conveniently studied by examining the two volumes of Mrs. H. T. Catterall's *Judicial Cases concerning American Slavery and the Negro*.

considered the Negroes as a necessity, and they played an important role in their subsequent history.¹

Slavery, too, more uniformly obtained in tropical regions than farther north. Having a more equable climate, the tropical countries did not have varying economic interests which made the institution apparently profitable in one part of the country and unprofitable in another. With conditions largely uniform, slaves were at work throughout the section where Europeans settled in South America.² Slaves were used in the production of tobacco and cotton, and a limited number in cocoa and rubber. Some few were employed later on cattle ranches in Brazil and Argentine.

In cities of Latin America owners sent out slaves to work for other employers, and they turned their wages over to idle masters. They carried about the streets large bundles on their heads, brought water to supply the inhabitants, and bore off the refuse of the city. Slaves removed the imported goods from the docks and transported them from place to place in the city. Most of the work required of artisans was done by slaves as in the United States. Housework, of course, was done practically altogether by slaves; and, being under close supervision of their owners, such menials had less liberty than other urban slaves, but at the same time they could profit by close contact with their masters.

SLAVERY AND WORLD MOVEMENTS

While this commercial expansion which culminated in the exploitation of the New World with slave labour was revolutionizing industry and commerce a movement arose directed against the autocratic forms of government under which the peoples of Europe lived and particularly on the part of the proletariat no longer willing to submit to the harsh conditions to which that same industrialism had subjected the underworld. This social upheaval culminated in the French Revolution of 1789 followed by the reign of terror, justly so called, for it

¹ In spite of this more serious method of colonial development, however, the Latins, according to accessible records, were not as efficient as the English in their plantation management.

² *The Journal of Negro History*, vii. 352.

inspired terror not only into the hearts of the ruling princes but also into the hearts of the upper classes dismayed at the prospect of losing their privileged positions, their property, and perhaps even their lives.

The effect of this on the Negro was that in the disruption of the old order and in the new alignments of men of more liberal tendencies the Negro slave had a new day. In the northern part of the United States the Negroes were liberated; in the republics of Latin America their condition was improved, gradual and peaceful emancipation was finally worked out. In the remaining possessions of European countries in the New World slavery was abolished by the revolution, as in Haiti, or by gradual emancipation and apprenticeship, as was the case by the English in 1833.¹ As a preparation for the new position which the freedmen occupied in the reconstructed social order the evangelization of the unconverted was stimulated and schools especially adapted to their enlightenment and uplift were provided by friends and agents of organizations established for this special work.²

To these new citizens in Latin America were open all doors to honours in the republic which had undergone such a social upheaval and the absorption of the Negro population as a constituent part of the body politic was effected without much difficulty. It is not on record that a scene such as Abraham Lincoln witnessed at New Orleans when Negro husband and wife were sold away from each other and from their children and these from their parents and each other, was ever enacted south of the Rio Grande. In North America, however, under Protestant and Teutonic influences, there developed an attitude towards the Negro in these parts that was not highly salutary. He was to be free and not free. He would have the right to labour, to trade, and to own property, but should not be allowed to serve in the militia, to sit on a jury, to vote, or to hold office.

¹ F. J. Klingberg, *The Anti-Slavery Movement in England*, *passim*.

² Plans for the uplift of the Negroes were outlined in detail in the reports of anti-slavery groups on both sides of the Atlantic. These plans usually embodied not only measures for the abolition of slavery but also for the education of the negroes thus freed and their placement in useful positions in life.

In other words, he was to be a slave turned loose to make his own living rather than to solve the problem by permanent attachment to a master.¹

These conditions with respect to the Negroes in slavery and those who happened to secure their freedom during the revolutionary period did not long tend to improve. When men of reform tendencies settled down to the practical task of establishing governments in the States which had separated from Great Britain they found themselves face to face with men representing varying interests which had to be considered. While for some time it was thought that slavery which had been abolished in the Northern States would soon reach extinction in Delaware, Maryland, and Virginia and North Carolina, the more backward States like Georgia and South Carolina stood out for pro-slavery compromises, two of which were incorporated into the constitution of the United States in 1787. These were the counting of five Negroes as three whites in the apportionment of representation in the lower house of Congress and the provision that slavery should not be prohibited until 1808.

A contributing factor to subsequent reaction in these parts was that the liberal-mindedness of the patriots of the revolutionary period tended to decline some years later when the multiplication of mechanical appliances developed industrialism to the extent that men thought largely of producing wealth and saw in the enslavement of the Negro the supply for cheaper labour in places where slavery had not theretofore flourished. These mechanical appliances began with the invention of Watt's steam-engine and increased by such as those of the flying shuttle, the wool-combing machine, the power-loom, and finally the cotton gin. Cloth could then be produced by machinery rather than by hand; and, of course, it could be more cheaply produced from cotton than from wool because the supply of cotton fabric could easily be increased by extending the plantation area.²

¹ These provisions are set forth in J. H. Russell's *Free Negroes in Va.*, in E. R. Turner's *The Negro in Pennsylvania*, in F. U. Quillin's *Color Line in Ohio*, and in J. W. Wright's *Free Negro in Maryland*.

² W. E. Dubois, *The Suppression of the African Slave Trade*, *passim*.

This Industrial Revolution, then, completely changed the aspect of things. In the States where slave labour was in use, any talk about emancipation came to an end. Manumission was made more difficult, and in some cases the Negro found it almost impossible to obtain his freedom even when the master desired to grant it for some meritorious service. Public sentiment was against it. The slave trade was stimulated, although in Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina it was prohibited for the economic reason that industry had reached a settled state in these parts and the influx of more slaves diminished their value and might make the institution such a burden that abolition would become a necessity.¹

When the time at last came in 1808 for the final prohibition of the trade according to one of the compromises of the Constitution of the United States, it was found, moreover, impossible to secure the enactment of a measure that would actually prohibit the traffic. The Bill as passed would penalize the importation of slaves from abroad, prohibited the slave trade along the coast in vessels of less than 40 tons, required of larger vessels conformity to certain stipulated regulations, and placed smuggled slaves, when taken, at the disposal of the State where they might be landed. This was a victory for the pro-slavery interests in the United States. Inasmuch as Congress was under such control the measure was never effective, and illicit trade flourished throughout the sugar- and cotton-producing districts without much interference. African slaves were brought to the United States by way of Fernandina and Galveston by secret connexion or communication with islands in the West Indies. Cuban ships engaged in this traffic sailed under the Spanish flag, and thereby more easily brought slaves to the Southern States.²

Slavery, then, had a chance to show what it would become. The evil had developed until practically all whites in the Gulf States had become victims of the greed for gain. At the time the cotton gin was invented cotton was worth 45 cents a pound.

¹ *The Journal of Negro History*, viii. 367-83.

² W. E. Dubois, *The Suppression of the African Slave Trade*, *passim*.

In 1791 only 38 bales of cotton of the standard size of 500 lb. were exported from the United States. In 1809, however, the number of bales exported reached 218,723; and the cotton was evaluated as worth 24,000,106 dollars, although the price at that time was only 28 cents a pound. The output thereafter doubled from decade to decade. Slavery was so stimulated then that it spread into the interior of the South, invading even the area where the land was not so fertile.¹

By stimulating the development of the plantation for the production of cotton and eliminating the small farmers so as materially to affect the social order, making the rich white man richer and the poor white man poorer, the South was revolutionized. The institution, then, was engrafted upon the whole region. Southern anti-slavery effort was checked even in those States where slaves could not be employed in cotton producing as in Virginia, Maryland, and Delaware, for these States found it profitable to engage in slave-breeding to supply the brisk market in the Lower South.²

Slaves thus disposed of were sent in droves over land by way of South-Western Virginia, from the mountains into the Mississippi Valley, or more directly towards the ports on the Gulf of Mexico; and they were taken through Alexandria, Harpers Ferry, and Cumberland to the National Turnpike at Wheeling and then carried down the Ohio and the Mississippi to New Orleans on flat boats as any other commodity of those days. Because of the increasing value of such slaves the breeding of them became an important business of the aristocracy in the Upper South. Slaves were matched by force to produce lusty offspring for field-hands, and white men produced young mulatto women who were sold to the distant plantations as 'fancy girls' for slave-owners who had gone to that country without families.³

The large demand for slaves being more than the internal slave traffic could supply, illicit African slave trade developed in large proportions. From this stimulated trade there followed

¹ *The Journal of Negro History*, viii. 367-83.

² Frederic Bancroft, *Slave-Trading in the Old South*, pp. 67-87.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 38, 50, 51, 57, 102, 131, 251, 280, 328.

not only the enslavement of a large number of helpless Africans, but also of some of the learned and most prominent members of the tribes. One of these distinguished Africans brought thus into enslavement was Lahmen Kebby, a Fulah Negro. He was liberated in 1835 after having been held a slave for many years in South Carolina, Alabama, and other Southern States. In Africa he had spent much time at study, and he had served as a schoolmaster. He said that his aunt was much more learned than he was and 'eminent for superior acquirements and for her skill in teaching'. 'Schools', he said, 'were generally established through the country; provision was made by law for educating children of all classes; and the poor were taught without charge.'¹

There was another Fulah, Omar Ibn Said, sold into slavery in the Carolinas about 1807. At first he had a kind master, but at the death of his owner his lot became hard. He therefore ran away. Arrested as a fugitive, he was imprisoned in Fayetteville, North Carolina. By writing in Arabic on some coals while confined in the Cumberland County Jail, probably making thus an appeal for help, he attracted attention as a remarkable man. When General James Owen, brother of Governor John Owen, heard of Omar he bought him and carried him to his home in Bladen County in that State. There he was treated more as a distinguished freeman of colour than as a slave. He was at first a devout Mohammedan and faithfully read the Koran that he might live up to the principles of the Prophet, but he gradually became interested in Christianity. He later made a profession of faith in this religion and attended the country church near Owen's estate. A slave of this type (it may have been Omar Ibn Said himself) was taken to the University of North Carolina, sometime before the Civil War in the United States, to instruct one of its professors in the Arabic language and literature.²

The work of the slaves in this part of the world where slavery was at its worst became all but slow torture unto death. Slaves

¹ *African Repository*, xiii. 204; *Methodist Review*, xlv. 77-90.

² *The American Historical Review*, xxx. 787-95.

were driven during the long hours of the summer, scantily fed and poorly clad. Less care was exercised in looking after the health of the slaves than formerly, for the master figured out that it would be more profitable to buy a slave and work him to death during the first seven years, and let him die under the ordeal, for by that time he would have received sufficient profit from his labour to purchase another to take his place.

Against this system there was not much outside resistance, for the Negroes had few friends in the Southern United States to take up their cause prior to 1840 and practically none there after that time. No protests came from the local churches which, after having manifested some interest in freedom, began to divide on the question until by 1844 there developed a distinct pro-slavery church where the institution existed, and a neutral, lukewarm, or anti-slavery church where the evil did not exist. With a united front the pro-slavery church boldly presented a rational defence of the institution. Sermons to slaves were prepared from the text: 'Servants, obey your master'; and the relation of master and slave was regarded as having divine sanction.¹ The only hope for freedom, then, lay in escape towards the North.

Those in the Lower South, however, were too far away from free soil to carry out such an undertaking except occasionally when they could escape on a vessel to some port in the West Indies, to England, or to some other foreign harbour, but rigorous legislation with respect to Negro seamen soon made this impossible.² The only other chance they had was to try their fortune in the wilderness. Such efforts, however, hardly amounted to more than a short stay in the forest beyond the frontier, where because of their lack of knowledge and in-

¹ This doctrine was well set forth by many pro-slavery writers among whom was Bishop William Capers. See William May Wightman's *Life of William Capers*, p. 295. See also C. C. Jones's *The Religious Instruction of the Negroes in the United States*, *passim*.

² As a result of several escapes of fugitives by sea to foreign parts not long after Denmark Vesey's Insurrection in 1822 South Carolina enacted a law requiring a thorough inspection of all vessels in the port of Charleston and the imprisonment of all Negro seamen landing there during such time as the vessels might be in port. Cooper and McCord, *Statutes at Large of South Carolina*, p. 333.

ability to understand the Indians they were easily captured. Brought back, they were subjected to greater tortures than those they had suffered before. In not a few cases, however, they succeeded in making friends with the Indians and paved the way for others of their group to escape more easily to the camps of the red men. While the Indians enslaved some of these fugitives themselves a larger number of them became free and intermarried with these aborigines, who had not the race prejudice found among the whites. From this came a number of mixed breeds who figured conspicuously in the various circles of the red men beyond the frontier and, like Osceola and Negro Abraham, became prominent leaders in the wars of these natives on the strongholds of the whites.¹

The Negroes who were not successful in escaping from the scene of their increasing persecution or who had no inclination to do so sometimes staged a fight on the very grounds on which they stood. They had reached the point of believing that it was not better to bear the ills from which they were suffering than fly to those that they knew not of. There had always been minor disturbances of the peace or menacing uprisings ever since the introduction of bondmen, but slavery had not reached its worst stage, and therefore had not evoked the fiercest expression of the wrath of the enslaved against the institution. Such a stage in the development of the institution, however, had finally come. The news of the success of the insurrection in Haiti led by Toussaint Louverture and the teachings of refugees from that island, who immigrated into the United States in 1793, stimulated the oppressed to action.² Insurrections of a terrible order broke out, therefore, in places, like that of Gabriel in Virginia in 1800, Denmark Vesey in South Carolina in 1822, and Nat Turner in Virginia in 1831. Jamaica had increasing trouble with the Maroons, who had fortified themselves in the strongholds of that island, and finally had to deport them to Nova Scotia and still later to Sierra Leone.³ In Bahia and

¹ See Joshua R. Gidding's *The Exiles of Florida*, *passim*.

² William S. Drewery, *Slave Insurrections in Virginia*, p. 121.

³ *The Journal of Negro History*, vii. 361-2.

Pernambuco, Brazil, an insurrection developed in 1808.¹ The Virgin Islands, which had had a troublesome uprising in 1733, had an unusually bloody insurrection in 1848.²

To make slavery secure after this reaction, however, not only the slaves themselves but the free Negroes and the whites who might sympathize with them were brought under vigilance, and laws dealing with their operations were enacted. Negroes were, therefore, prohibited from learning to read or write, and the teaching of the Negro to do these things was severely penalized by the law of these 'Cotton States'. Lest by contact they might learn the fundamentals of education, the slaves were prohibited from assembling for any purpose whatever except in the case of religious meetings, and then only when a certain number of 'discreet' white men would be present. In some States white pastors were required for their churches after Negro preachers were legally silenced³ as a result of the wave of hostile legislation which followed the Virginia Insurrection of 1831.

Free Negroes were restricted in many ways as were the slaves. Certain of their privileges, like owning a dog, and a gun with which to hunt, were withdrawn. Their right of locomotion was restricted, and in some cases they had to leave the State within a specified time unless they could give bond for good behaviour and for not becoming a public charge. Their schools were generally closed. Virginia in 1838 enacted a law to the effect that a free Negro leaving the State for purposes of education should not be permitted to return. For other minor offences free Negroes were arrested, tried, and condemned to be sold into slavery; and thus many a poor wretch of this class lost his freedom. Free Negroes were willing to leave the land of cruel slavery, but they had difficulty in making a living in strange parts, for sections to which they wanted to go warned them to keep away because they were not desired, and those that persisted in going to certain points on free soil in the United States were sometimes mobbed and driven out.⁴

¹ R. C. Dallas, *The History of the Maroons*, ii. 241.

² Knox's *St. Thomas*, p. 110 et seq.

³ Carter G. Woodson, *Education of the Negro Prior to 1861*, pp. 162-4.

⁴ Carter G. Woodson, *A Century of Negro Migration*, pp. 36-60.

To solve these vexing problems were brought forward two proposals which differed radically the one from the other. These were abolition and colonization. From the very beginning of slavery in this country there had been advocates of liberty for all men regardless of colour. The plan suggested, however, was that of gradual and sometimes compensated emancipation.¹ Few persons had the idea of emancipating all of the slaves instantly. This slower process was the idea of Thomas Clarkson, Fothergill, and Granville Sharp in England, and it was supported by other anti-slavery groups in Denmark and France. The thought of instant abolition did not become popular among reformers until the third decade of the nineteenth century under William Lloyd Garrison, who advanced beyond the traditional position in attacking slavery not only as an economic evil but as a sin against God.² Such militant effort was not necessary in most parts of Latin America because of the policy of treating the blacks more kindly there and the ease with which Negroes were emancipated and received into the body of citizens as the equals of all.

When the matter of emancipation became a reality in the northern part of the United States persons who believed in the freedom of the Negroes, who at the same time did not think that they should remain with their former masters to contend for social and political equality, worked out the scheme of their deportation to Africa or of their colonization in other parts. It was believed that any attempt to keep the two races together as competitors for equal honours in the republic would result in the destruction of one by the other. Colonization, then, in the scheme of some of the emancipationists gradually became the correlative of emancipation.³

Some of these efforts were interesting. Early in the history of the emancipation movement certain Quakers had undertaken

¹ M. S. Locke, *Anti-Slavery in America*, *passim*; and A. D. Adams, *Neglected Period of Anti-Slavery in America*, *passim*.

² W. L. Garrison's views were set forth in *The Liberator*, which he edited in Boston, beginning in 1831. These are well summarized also in his biography by his children: the Garrisons' *William Lloyd Garrison*, in three volumes.

³ *Works of Thomas Jefferson*, iii. 296, iv. 291, and viii. 380.

to free Negroes and return them to Africa that they might christianize the African natives. Religious groups in Europe had also undertaken the same thing. Paul Cuffe corresponded about 1812 with a number of persons who had similar ideas and appreciated also the commercial possibilities of Africa. He made a trip to England and then to the western coast of Africa and demonstrated how Negroes could actually become colonists there. With this to encourage them persons with the idea of deportation from America of such Negroes as might be freed by kind masters and of such free Negroes as might be induced or compelled to go, met in Washington, D.C., in 1816 and organized the American Colonization Society.¹

This effort tended to divide the advocates of emancipation in the United States into those who believed that the Negro should be free and elevated as a citizen with all the rights of others, and those who believed that the only condition on which the Negro should be freed would be deportation. It was believed that the free Negro among the slaves would be an element of disturbance and would tend to undermine the institution. If the free Negro, moreover, could successfully establish himself as a citizen in a State where slavery was in vogue, it would be a death-blow to the argument upon which slavery had been justified. These two factions kept up this fight throughout the ante-bellum period in the United States. The abolition leader was the fearless agitator and daring editor of the *Liberator*, William Lloyd Garrison, who had along with him many others of the same courage, Wendell Phillips, Samuel J. May, Arthur Tappan, Elijah P. Lovejoy, Theodore Dwight Weld, Lucretia Mott, Frederick Douglass, Charles Lennox Remond, Samuel Ringold Ward, and Sojourner Truth.²

The colonists were fortunate in having more financial support in that their programme appealed not only to slaveholders but to persons of economic standing in the North. They could proceed with their task more systematically under the direction

¹ H. N. Sherwood has made a study of the American Colonization Society which is both brief and satisfactory. See *The Journal of Negro History*, ii. 209-28.

² The accounts of these efforts are found in *The Liberator* and in the *Reports of the American Anti-Slavery Society*.

of the presidency of prominent men like Henry Clay, Bushrod Washington, and others of distinction, who gave their support to the enterprise. They succeeded in establishing Liberia, on the western coast of Africa, and deported to that country considerable numbers of liberated slaves. The free Negroes, as a rule, however, opposed the movement, and refused to go; and although several States threatened to deport them they were never expatriated.

OBSERVATIONS AND COMPARISONS

Negroes often speak of the Latin races as more humane than the Teutonic; and some go so far as to say that the Catholic religion comes nearer to the teachings of Jesus than that of the Protestants. These opinions have resulted mainly from differing experiences of Negroes in contact with these races in the Western Hemisphere. We do know that in religion, law, and customs these Caucasian elements widely differ with respect to the weaker races. That these things influence their attitude towards the Negro is only natural. The resulting impression made upon the Negro, therefore, requires elucidation and comment.

To say that the English were not interested in the uplift of the enslaved Africans would hardly express the truth. The exploiters of the resources of the new possessions were not interested in such a matter, but they were restrained somewhat by the humanitarian elements in Great Britain, which in spite of a majority opinion to the contrary always succeeded in some way in getting a hearing.¹ Those interested in the evangelization of both the Negro and the Indian organized in 1701 the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. Ministers of this connexion like the Rev. Mr. Thomas and the Rev. Mr. Davies in Virginia, and Elias Neau in New York, did much for the enlightenment of Negroes; and so did those stimulated by the sermons of the Rev. Thomas Bacon and the Associates of Dr. Thomas Bray.² The regular clergy of the

¹ F. J. Klingberg, *The Anti-Slavery Movement in England*, and W. L. Mathieson, *Great Britain and the Slave Trade*.

² Carter G. Woodson, *Education of the Negro Prior to 1861*, pp. 18-50.

English settled in the colonies, however, became too depraved to keep up interest in the despised Negro slaves.

We should approach nearer the truth in saying that while these Anglicans were doing these things Catholic priests in other parts were taking this task more seriously. Jesuit missionaries, following the example of Paul Le Jeune, Le Petit, and François Philibert Watrum, were instructing Negroes in religion and morals in the Mississippi Valley during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; Spanish and Portuguese clergy were doing likewise in Central and South America; and wherever they came into contact with Negroes they endeavoured to bring them into the Church on a basis of equality with others and encouraged their elevation to the status of freemen. So much more kindly disposed were these Latin missionaries towards Negroes than the English that it was feared that in the case of international complications the Negroes would go to the assistance of these friends of mankind.¹

The treatment of the slaves in the Western Hemisphere, however, varied from place to place for several reasons. The character of the African native himself might determine the reaction of the European towards him; the climate in which he was enslaved might affect his attitude towards his surroundings and at the same time somewhat determine the attitude of the master towards the slave. African natives from Angola and the Congo who had been enslaved in their own continent did not readily rebel against the yoke when carried away captive. Those Africans like the Gaboons, Mozambiques, or the Minas who had been able to lord it over the others in their tribal wars instinctively rebelled against the enslavement by Europeans.² Those parts which imported Africans who were tractable had little trouble from fugitives and insurrections and, therefore, did not have to take precautions against such revolts which often resulted in a change from humane treatment to most cruel persecution.³

¹ *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 31 July 1746; and *The Maryland Gazette*, 20 March 1755.

² U. B. Phillips, *American Negro-Slavery*, pp. 42-5.

³ *The Journal of Negro History*, xx. 315-16.

The treatment of the slaves, too, was often determined by what they were required to do. Where they were house servants, as in the case of the towns of North or South America, they lived very much as menials of old days of the patriarchs. When they worked on the cotton and sugar plantations or in the mines of Latin America the situation was entirely different. Men using slaves under such circumstances were exploiting the country to become rich as soon as possible that they might spend their money in riotous living in the capitals of Europe. The slaves were, therefore, treated according to the pace set for producing wealth rapidly in the particular industry.

Observers often reported that slaves under such circumstances were driven as brutes, there being little variation whether they were in North or South America. In this case, however, there was a possibility for much misunderstanding. For example, the housing of the slaves in North America, if no better than in tropical regions, could not be construed as cruel treatment because a comfortable home in the one climate would have been regarded as inadequate in the other.

The same may be said about clothing, for whereas comfortable apparel is required in the north temperate zone, very little clothing is necessary in the tropical regions. Furthermore, the food supply in North America if not any greater than that in the tropical parts could not be construed as an evidence of cruelty, because what the masters did not supply in that region was given in abundance by nature. The prevalence of large or small slave-holders, moreover, determined whether they would be worked hard or not, for owners of a few slaves sometimes drove them harder than did the large planters; but this advantage was often overborne by absentee ownership which left the slave in the hands of cruel overseers who generally made the lot of the bondmen intolerable.

The slaves did not all fare alike even in the same country. For example, slaves used in the production of coffee did not suffer such hardships as those worked on the sugar plantations and in the mines. The seasonal character of some of these products, moreover, accounts sometimes for the unusual hardships

which the slaves had to undergo because masters often thought it necessary to drive them as hard as possible to get as much labour out of them as they could during the season when the crops could be produced, but allowed the slaves at other times during the year more leisure in working at less hard labour. In the mines the labour was continuous incessant toil, and heavy burdens often injured the slaves physically and shortened their lives.¹

The Negroes thus enslaved, moreover, enjoyed varying degrees of freedom in the New World. In what is now the United States, especially in the lower parts of the southern area of this country, Negroes had difficulty in securing manumission or the privilege of hiring themselves to work out their freedom; but in Latin America these classes tended to increase because there was less fear of such Negroes than was experienced in the slave-holding States along the Atlantic and the Gulf of Mexico. On the other hand, it was argued that it might tend to cause disturbance among the slaves when they had little chance for emancipation, whereas some assurance of ultimate freedom would result in quietude.

It is worth while to note, too, that although slavery in the beginning was very much alike in all parts of the New World it tended to be modified in Latin America while it was becoming cruel in what is now the United States. Whereas the slave-holding area of this country tended to make laws to prevent Negroes from assembling for educational purposes and prohibited others from teaching,² the majority of the countries of Latin America tended to enact laws to provide for the comfort of the slaves and for their religious instruction. There was little opposition to the technical training of slaves and not much objection to their learning to read and write.

In Latin America, too, more consideration was given to the talents of the slaves. Their masters early realized that the Negro is naturally endowed with some artistic capacity. Con-

¹ J. R. Louis and Elizabeth C. Agassiz, *A Journey in Brazil*, i. 66, and Thomas Ewbank, *Life in Brazil*, p. 119.

² See Carter G. Woodson's *Education of the Negro Prior to 1861*, pp. 151-78.

sequently the Latin Americans sometimes stimulated the development of the Negroes along these lines, especially in music. In Brazil we learn that some of the large plantations organized brass bands and orchestras by giving Negroes special training for this work; because of their unusual attainment in music Negroes were used by the Latins in religious services, in which they thus played a prominent part.¹

In the matter of caring for the health of the slave, moreover, the same contrast prevailed. Reading the laws, one would hardly find any more provision for the health of the slaves in Latin America than one would in the Southern United States. In both cases the law provided that attention should be given to the sick and protection to the old. Yet throughout the New World there were numerous complaints to the effect that these laws were ignored. As a matter of fact, however, the tendency to neglect the slaves under these circumstances and turn out helpless creatures to beg for their living or free them to escape the burden of their maintenance tended to become less pronounced in Latin America than in the United States.²

The same may be said of the cruel custom of dividing slave families which were often broken up by the slave trade. In the beginning there were numerous instances of this in slaveholding sections in the New World. This was especially true after the suppression of the foreign slave traffic. Even children ten years of age were sent away to the coffee plantations of Southern Brazil, and others still younger were disposed of to owners of cotton plantations in the United States.³ In Latin America, as it happened in Brazil, we find, however, that a law against this was enacted in 1850. The public conscience was aroused against this evil, and the custom had to be abandoned there, but it continued in the United States until the institution was abolished by the Civil War.

Among the Latins, too, there seemed to be more of a tendency to punish masters who neglected or cruelly treated their slaves. In some cases masters were forced by custom to sell their slaves

¹ *The Journal of Negro History*, xv. 335.

² *Ibid.* xv, 315 et seq.

³ Frederic Bancroft, *Slave Trading in the Old South*, pp. 22, 58, 120 et seq.

They had their own religious societies under the direction of leaders of their race, and they participated both actively and passively in the work of the Church.¹

The clergy of the Catholic Church, too, had long manifested still more interest in the slaves. They sometimes took the part of the slave in defending him from oppression. The first protest against slavery in the New World was that uttered in Havana by Alfonso Sandoval, a Spanish Jesuit. Owners in Protestant America had laws and customs to the contrary,² for it was very seldom that the clergy on slave territory had sufficient courage to object to cruel treatment of slaves. The Catholic clergy of Latin America tended to treat the slave as a brother of the white communicant, with God as the Father of all; and this principle was not only referred to occasionally in sermons, but it tended to become a working principle wherever the Catholic religion had full sway. While there was not always a tendency to interfere with the legal relation of master and slave, emphasis upon this relation with respect to God and the Church certainly tended to make the yoke less galling than where this sentiment was not found.

In the course of time the teaching of religion in Latin America facilitated manumission, a thing dreaded in the slave commonwealths of the United States, which feared that the free people of colour might start servile insurrections and overthrow the social order. In Latin America the Church tended to impress upon the slave-holders the thought that good treatment and an open door to freedom would be a better safeguard against such ills by removing the intolerable conditions against which slaves sometimes rebelled.

The ease with which slaves of the Latins obtained freedom is explained further by their having a much larger number of holidays in Catholic countries than in the Protestant. The slaves, then, had more extra time to earn money with which they purchased themselves and their families. The thorough evangelization of their masters also was one of the reasons why they were

¹ Henry Koster, *Travels in Brazil*, 2nd ed. ii. 238-9.

² W. E. Dubois, *The Negro*, p. 197.

disposed to emancipate slaves for meritorious services and sometimes out of compassion when they felt that the bondmen had learned to appreciate freedom. Slave mothers often chose well-to-do god-parents for their infants, hoping that some day they would be sufficiently benevolent to provide a way for these children to be emancipated.¹

It seems, then, in view of these comparisons that the religious freedom gained by the Protestants in their revolt against the Catholic Church has too often turned out to be an additional licence to hate the brother of colour. While the Protestant slave-holders in the United States were writing and rewriting arguments to prove that the Negroes were brutes and, therefore, should be enslaved as beasts of burden, the Catholics were accepting the Negroes as brethren and treating them as men. Seeing in the slaves themselves great potentiality for the enjoyment of more culture and for contribution thereto, the Latins gave Negroes opportunities far greater than those which were found in Protestant America.²

This difference in the two attitudes of these whites is further shown by the differences in their treatment of the free people of colour. In the United States, the free negro was regarded as a dangerous element and, therefore, was generally persecuted, except in a few cases, where they were considered valuable as mechanics and artisans, in cities like Charleston and New Orleans.³ The extent to which the free negro took part in the life of the Latin American countries, however, cannot be accurately figured out for the reason that no record was kept of such matters with respect to race, for the tendency in those parts was to take less account of such distinctions. It was considered exceptional that in the more liberal parts of the United States about forty-eight thousands of free Negro heads of families had developed by 1830 to the point of maintaining themselves independently of the whites and that at that time 3,777 of these heads of families owned as many as 1,260 slaves. These free

¹ Henry Koster, *Travels in Brazil*, 2nd ed. ii. 230.

² *The Journal of Negro History*, xv. 333.

³ Carter G. Woodson, *Free Negro Heads of Families in the United States in 1830*, *passim*.

Negroes, however, unlike others in parts where slavery was not so cruel, were largely benevolent slave-holders, husbands who had purchased their wives and children, wives who had bought the freedom of their husbands and their offspring, and friends of the oppressed who purchased those despitefully treated with a view to allowing them to work out their freedom or obtain it for a nominal sum.¹

In Latin America free Negroes were accorded the rights and privileges of the best white element in the communities where they lived. Freedom among them was no fiction; they were given a chance at all the honours and gifts of the nation of which they constituted a part. These free Negroes freely intermarried with the whites of their social standing and throughout the slave period continued to rise to positions of usefulness and distinction. This element of the Negro population held public offices, served as clergymen for both races, and even held bishoprics in the Catholic Church.²

The free Negro in Latin America, then, exerted a salutary influence throughout this part of the world. Inasmuch as this element demonstrated that persons of African blood had the ability to discharge functions of citizenship, the people as a whole were convinced that manumission was desirable and that the country would profit rather than lose thereby. Consequently in some of these countries during the early years the free Negroes outnumbered the white element in the population.³ When all slaves were finally emancipated in this part it was not such a shock to the economic system as it worked out in the United States, because the process was gradually going on and conditions were such that the people accepted the change without any unusual disturbance to the social order or economic process. This was precisely the experience in the emancipation of the 600,000 Negro slaves in Brazil in 1888.

The course of slavery in these two parts of the world, then,

¹ Carter G. Woodson, *Free Negro Owners of Slaves in the United States in 1830*, *passim*.

² Harry H. Johnston, *The Negro in the New World*, p. 42.

³ W. D. Christie, *Notes on Brazil*, pp. 69-76; Thomas C. Dawson, *South American Republics*, 1st ed. i. 481.

was different in many respects. Slavery started in Latin America before it was introduced into the United States, but it was abolished first in the latter. Among the Latins there were larger numbers of slaves who constituted a greater portion of the population than there were in the United States. The stimulus to slavery among the Latins was restrictions on the trade and the expansion of the sugar industry; while the impetus to its expansion in the United States was the invention of the cotton gin. The slaves in the United States organized insurrections now and then and here and there, but such uprising never assumed serious proportions. When slavery was finally abolished it caused more trouble in the United States, which had to go through a devastating war, than it did among the Latins, who solved the problem with less disturbance of the peace and without any loss of life.

In freedom the Negroes of the United States have encountered every sort of race prejudice and discrimination and have found the door of opportunity closed in their faces, but in practically all of the Latin American countries they have been granted all the privileges and immunities of citizens.

EUROPE AND THE FAR EAST

By PÈRE CHARLES

(See Maps Nos. 2 and 3)

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CHAPTER I

THE ROAD TO INDIA: PORTUGUESE COLONIAL DEVELOPMENT AND THE ESTADO DA INDIA

LAND has sundered mankind; across the seas men once more come together. For those who suspect the truth of this paradox the history of European expansion towards the Far East will provide a useful study. While the expedition of Alexander the Great failed to establish a safe and lasting liaison between India and Europe; while the tales of Marco Polo, William of Rubruc, and John of Piano Carpini were so completely forgotten that no one even in the fifteenth century could place correctly either Cambaluc (Pekin), or Cathay (China), and Christopher Columbus, in 1492, mistook the Antilles for Zipangu (Japan), blundering by the whole breadth of the Pacific Ocean, we find that the sea-skirted countries of western Europe, Portugal, Spain, England, Holland, and France, by the overseas route brought contact, conquest, and trade even to the Far East. On the 15th August 1549 Francis Xavier stepped from his Chinese junk at Kagoshima; it was from Lisbon that he had started.

One after the other, every attempt to find a safe overland route through the Eurasian continent had proved a failure. Political frontiers, natural obstacles, rivers, mountains, deserts; the lack of suitable transport, the constant unloading and loading at every stage; the payment of dues, unfixed and uncertain, both in price and number; the perpetual risk of brigands; the barrier of Islam in the Near East; the impossibility of obtaining guides and interpreters, or even shelter at night; how indeed could the overland route, encumbered with such drawbacks, compete with the sailing-ship—and afterwards with the steamship—which from Lisbon to Macao, from the Zuyder Zee to the Moluccas, under the same flag, with a complete load, carried merchandise and soldiers, governors and the mail?

Storms, epidemics on board ship, and pirates on the high seas were the only troubles. The first of these enemies, in spite

of what literary tradition has asserted to the contrary, proved the least to be feared. It is surprising to see with what security the galleys and caravels plied between Lisbon and Malacca. From 1497 to 1578, out of 364 ships which sailed from Goa to Lisbon round the redoubtable Cape of Good Hope, only 39 were wrecked,¹ and it must be noted that these figures include first attempts. A process of trial and error was inevitable before the log-books could be kept with sufficient accuracy, and before danger-zones and dangerous currents and reefs were properly marked.

The relative facility of navigation on the Indian route gave some sort of scandal at Lisbon. For it happened that under the Viceroy Nuño d'Acunha, in 1536, Portugal obtained from the Sultan Badur permission to build a fort at Diu. It was known that John III eagerly desired to get possession of the charter, and the viceroy hastily sent off with a light frigate Simon Ferreira, secretary of India. But another Portuguese, Diogo Botelho, succeeded in outpacing him. He fitted out, at his own expense, a tiny galley 22 feet long, with a 12-foot beam, and 6 feet above the water. With a few slaves, and five Portuguese, three of whom were his own servants, navigating himself, he set out from Diu and arrived at Lisbon. To prevent people from discovering that it was possible to make so great a journey at so little cost in so frail a vessel the Portuguese Government ordered the boat to be burnt.

Shipwrecks became more frequent after the union of the crowns of Portugal and Spain (1580). Ships were sometimes captured by the English and the Dutch; others had been overloaded by greedy owners, or had proved unseaworthy, especially from the time when Philip II had handed over the ship-building yards to private individuals. Under Spanish rule naval efficiency continued to decline, and so, between 1580 and 1612, out of 157 ships proceeding to India 57 became a total loss. In the seventeenth century the English and the Dutch were more familiar with Portuguese ports than the Portuguese themselves.²

¹ De Lannoy and Van der Linden, *Histoire de l'Expansion coloniale des Peuples Européens*, 1st vol., 1907, p. 124. ² Rebello da Silva, *Historia de Portugal*, v. 235.

Epidemics on board proved even more destructive than shipwreck. Vasco da Gama, after an absence of two years, brought back only 55 men out of the 160 who had accompanied him. The crews were decimated by scurvy, and on African cruises malaria became endemic.

Yet, in spite of all, the overseas route proved beyond doubt preferable to that over land, and it is not altogether surprising that Portugal was first to show the way. It is certain also that the jealousy of other commercial nations has, for centuries, disparaged both the consequences and the admirable quality of the undertaking carried out by that Catholic nation. A review of what the Portuguese have done is sufficient of itself to refute the accusations commonly brought against them.

The history of Portuguese expansion in Asia is merely the continuation of her maritime development along African coasts; it begins for us, who here are only concerned with the East, on the 24th April 1498, the day when Vasco da Gama, leaving the port of Melinda, plotted a straight course to Calicut across the Indian Ocean.¹

Neither by instructions received from Lisbon, nor by his equipment, nor even by his own designs, does he appear to have set forth as a conqueror. He had come before the Sultan of Melinda as a Christian trader, sent by a great monarch of the West to establish profitable relations between the markets of India and those of Europe. Melinda had given him a warm welcome. In the harbour he had found four vessels from India, arrived from Cannanore; from these he had been most generously provided with all possible information. The reverence shown by the Indian sailors to the images of saints confirmed the Portuguese in the opinion that Indians, when they were not Mohammedans, were Christians.

The Sultan of Melinda having supplied Vasco da Gama with a pilot from Gujarat to conduct him to Calicut, and having made him promise to call in on his way home, the Portuguese admiral set sail. A few Indians and some Moors had asked, and had willingly been granted, the favour of a passage.

¹ Castanheda, *Historia da India*, book i, ch. xiii.

Twenty-four days after leaving Melinda, nearly eleven months after leaving the harbour of Lisbon, they arrived, on the 10th May, at Calicut. The peninsula of Hindustan, wholly lacking in political unity, appeared to be a mosaic of small States, uncertain as to frontiers and redivided into subordinate tributaries, each desirous of escaping from the authority of their suzerain.

Having no desire to conquer territory, but merely wishing to establish commercial intercourse, the Portuguese were chiefly interested in kingdoms with a coast-line. They had been told that the chief of Calicut was a powerful lord, the Zamorin, whose authority extended over all Malabar. Vasco da Gama put on shore a convict, for at that time such men were customarily permitted to undertake a dangerous enterprise and promised freedom if successful.

By good fortune it happened that this man met near the harbour two Moors from Tunis, one of whom spoke Spanish and was astounded at meeting Europeans. He asked to be conducted to da Gama's ship and cried out to him in Castilian: 'Welcome, Welcome, plenty of rubies, plenty of emeralds: Give great thanks to God who has brought you where there are all the spices, all the precious stones, and all the riches in the world.' Contact was established. The Zamorin, who lived at Pandarana, some miles from Calicut, invited da Gama to pay him a visit with all the ceremony due to an ambassador. The enormous Portuguese caravels, an altogether unusual sight, had produced a considerable impression on people's minds; yet to land in a strange country without having first of all seized upon some hostage involved perhaps the risk of falling into an ambush. The words addressed by da Gama to his officers on board ship show clearly both the object of his enterprise and the spirit in which it was conducted. He left orders for his brother Paul to fulfil, in his place, the functions of commander, and gave him formal instructions not to make the slightest attempt at a rescue 'even if he saw him stabbed', the victim of some ambushade. Paul had orders without attempting any reprisal to set sail at once for Portugal, give an account to the king of their journey,

the discovery of India, and the sad fate of the chief of the expedition. The ship's papers were the things that really mattered, not the person of the admiral; the future, and not vengeance, was important.

Carrying twelve Portuguese, dressed in their best, and with a salute of all the ships' guns, the ships' boats landed Vasco da Gama on the beach, where he was met by the minister of the Zamorin. They set off with due ceremony, Gama borne in a palanquin, the others escorted by two hundred people. An incident on the way shows clearly what the Portuguese thought of the religious situation in India. In their opinion any one who was not a Mohammedan might possibly be a Christian. Had not St. Thomas evangelized India and converted whole kingdoms? On the road followed by the procession were two temples. The Portuguese took them for churches. Brahmins, lined up in a row at the door, presented them with sacred water, with which they devoutly made the sign of the cross. They were then offered some powdered cow-dung; this they put on their foreheads, and then entered into the temple, finding it crowded with statues. The shape of these images upset them a little, and one sailor cried out in a loud voice that he adored only one God, and that if these statues were idols or devils he renounced them with all his heart. But the others were reassured when they observed that the Indians were pointing out to them a statue of 'Marian' and they went on quietly with their devotions.¹

The audience granted by the Zamorin was full of pomp and ceremony; but Gama had no fine presents to show. His box of sugar, his two barrels of oil, his pot of honey, his six hats . . . would have delighted the Kaffirs of Mozambique. They inspired merely with contempt the rich Indians of Calicut. However, the King's letter, fortunately written in Arabic and translated without delay, was received with honour. During the whole interview Gama remained convinced that the Zamorin was a Christian king, and to him, as such, he offered the friendship

¹ It is impossible to ascertain to-day whether this statue was Balarama, i.e. the boy Rama with his mother, or some other Hindu deity.

of the King of Portugal. The Zamorin consented in the end to promise freedom of trade 'provided it was carried on without violence and without prejudice to the rights of other nations who had been first in point of time, and whose friendship he had every inducement to cherish'. Gama, in spite of some hostile intrigues, safely rejoined his ship, and in August 1499 with the survivors of the expedition he reached the estuary of the Tagus. All had gone well, so it seemed, except at one point; but this point was the important one. The Zamorin had referred to 'other trading nations' who had arrived first on the scene, whose rights he did not wish to disturb. Now it was clear that the arrival of the Portuguese was not merely a threat but a fatal menace to the maritime trade of the Indian Ocean. From time immemorial that trade had been in the hands of the Mohammedans, the Moors as they were called. They paid considerable sums in custom duties and landing charges. These dues provided the Zamorin with the more reliable portion of his income. They came to load pepper and spices on their flat-bottomed craft, then made their way through the Red Sea towards Egypt, whence the Venetians redistributed the merchandise throughout the markets of Europe. At Calicut itself this trade was so busy and so regular that it was under the official superintendence of a controller, who was a Mohammedan. The sudden arrival of the huge Portuguese vessels, coming to buy at first hand in the markets of Asia so lucrative a produce, was at once recognized by the Mohammedan ship-owners as a sign of impending and ruinous disaster.

Cabral, who succeeded Vasco da Gama and left Lisbon with thirteen ships in March 1500, met with hostility soon after reaching Calicut. He had received clear instructions from King Manuel. He was to ask the Zamorin's permission to establish a Portuguese trading station in the town; to persuade him to get rid of the competing Mohammedans, and to allow the Franciscans who had arrived from Portugal to preach Christianity. Cabral lacked the capacity to carry out successfully such a delicate negotiation. The policy of the Zamorin could only be to keep up appearances, to be profuse with kind words,

and to avoid sacrificing the interests of any of his customers, who might be allowed, however, to fight it out among themselves. Portuguese writers, as is only natural, have described such a policy as perfidious. From their point of view it was difficult to judge otherwise. The latent conflict of interests soon led to an explosion.

It has been shown that Mohammedan trading, so busy at Calicut, was under the control of public officials, themselves Moors. These consuls were given the name of *Sabandar*. The Portuguese were saved from disaster by the fact that this important office was held in duplicate. One of the Sabandars supervised the caravans which came by the sea-route, the other those which came over land, and the interests of the two departments were in opposition. Produce dispatched by the continental route towards the Gulf of Persia meant so much deficit, or so much opportunity lost, for the flotillas; all that the sea carried from Arabia into the harbour of Calicut was, in its turn, lost to the overland route.

The naval Sabandar had at once realized that for himself and for his fellows the arrival of the Portuguese meant immediate ruin, the extinction of Mohammedan trade in the Indian Ocean. His colleague had, not without perspicuity, appreciated all the advantages which the presence of the Portuguese fleet would bring to his caravans. He could rely upon making up their cargo, in exchange for hard cash, with produce from the interior, and above all, he could assure for himself a return freight to the continental markets. The notion of combining with the strangers provided an opportunity of enriching himself and of suppressing his maritime colleague. To the very end, he it was who remained faithful to Portugal, in spite of differences of religion; he it was who warned the Portuguese of those who plotted against them, and supported them by every means in his power. The Portuguese, if wide-awake, might have seen at once which of these two men was to be their genuine ally. In the early days they saw nothing. The Zamorin had given Cabral everything he wanted. He had bestowed upon him a sort of palace within the town itself; the gift had been recorded in letters of

gold. The Portuguese flag floated over the building, which was exempt from all taxation. A Portuguese named André Correa had been accepted as consul-general, and had at once taken possession of the property and started to sell European produce and to collect merchandise for the returning fleet. Here was the difficult problem. The Portuguese fleet wished to return with a full cargo. The day of sailing was fixed, not by convenience, but by the periodical winds of the monsoon. Provision of a sufficient freight became therefore an urgent matter. Correa foolishly accepted the suggestion of the naval Sabandar who assured him that a large Indian vessel, loaded with seven elephants, was a smuggler. He attacked and captured the ship, but found the papers in order; the cargo had to be restored, and the Portuguese, from the Indian point of view, were now regarded as pirates. Similar incidents occurred even within the harbour of Calicut. The exasperation of the Indian traders and their agents reached such a pitch that a popular riot broke out against the Portuguese. Their houses were broken into, sacked, and set on fire; and Correa, with fifty of his countrymen, was overwhelmed in the disaster. Cabral, who had foreseen nothing, waited on his bridge for the explanations and excuses of the Zamorin. But that potentate remained silent. He was unwise. Scandalized at silence after such a crime, the Portuguese moved their ships in, burnt in the harbour twelve large Mohammedan vessels, throwing into irons all who attempted to escape, and for two days, without stopping, bombarded Calicut. The Zamorin fled up country.

Vengeance was satisfied, but the ships had no return freight. It was now that the Portuguese had a second stroke of luck. The rivalry between the two Sabandars was accompanied by a political rivalry between the vassals of the Zamorin and their overlord. Although in theory tributaries of Calicut, the little coastal Kingdoms of Cochin and Cannanore enjoyed no advantages from such subjection. The Zamorin could afford them no military protection, and the tribute exacted by Calicut seemed therefore a payment for which there was no compensation.

The arrival of the Portuguese had aroused throughout all

Malabar keen aspirations for commercial and political emancipation. This state of affairs, if Cabral had understood it better, would at once have proved advantageous. But the episode at Calicut had unfortunately made him suspicious of all Indians, and it was only when a Yogi, converted by a Franciscan, came with definite proposals from the king of Cochin that he consented to go there. The affair was well worth consideration. Cochin abounded in spices and Indian merchandise. In a few days the fleet had a full cargo, and messengers from the kings of Cannanore and Coulam¹ still kept beseeching the Portuguese to visit their country and enter into treaties. Cabral, pressed for time, made but a brief stay at Cannanore to take on board an envoy, and at once make for home. Warned of the negotiations concluded at Cochin, the Moorish merchants of Calicut decided to overwhelm the Portuguese with a surprise attack. The Zamorin himself clearly compromised, took a hand, so it seems, in the scheme, although it is difficult to ascertain the precise extent of his collaboration. A fleet of sixty sail, of which twenty-five were of a considerable tonnage, followed on the heels of Cabral, and picked him up off Cochin, making for Cannanore. Cabral, whose ships were fully loaded, and who wished to take advantage of the monsoon, turned a blind eye and continued his course. The Moors, convinced that he was running away, followed him up to Cannanore. Several days after he had set sail again four ships commanded by Juan da Nova, which King Manuel had sent out from Lisbon without waiting for the return of Cabral, entered the harbour. Da Nova had been unable to rejoin Cabral, but when calling at Melinda he had been informed about the tragic affair at Calicut, the massacre of Correa, and the sacking of the trading station. The king of Cannanore warned him of the arrival of the hostile fleet, at least a hundred vessels strong, which, a few hours later, blocked the harbour entrance. Da Nova was not the man to hesitate. Maintaining a continuous fire all that day he sunk twenty enemy ships and compelled the remainder to make for Calicut. The Zamorin, keeping to

¹ The Quilon of to-day.

his policy of vacillation, hastened to propose terms to the visitors and declared that he had taken no part in the battle. Da Nova, anxious to complete his cargo as soon as possible, made no reply, filled up his four big ships with all the merchandise which had accumulated at Cannanore, paid cash down, to the great satisfaction of the king, and returned unharmed to Portugal. The consequences of these expeditions were well understood at Lisbon. It was first of all clear that the great Christian kingdoms supposed to be in India were a myth. It was also evident that in order to safeguard trade it would be essential to eliminate the Mohammedans, and that to this a stout resistance would be offered. And finally, it was impossible to abandon the Portuguese trading stations to the sole protection of the kinglets of Malabar, themselves open to attacks from the Moors and to reprisals from their overlord at Calicut. Some kind of military organization was urgent, and it was necessary to provide for war on the high seas against the fleets of Islam, well armed with guns, and, on the whole, no mean adversaries.

King Manuel appreciated the situation correctly. He sent off old Vasco da Gama for the second time with twenty ships; his orders included important instructions about military operations. Gama was to occupy the strait of Bab el Mandeb and thus prevent all incursion of the Moorish fleet through the Red Sea. Only commercial fleets were aimed at. The road of the sea caravans was to be blocked. At the same time Gama was to obtain from the Zamorin full satisfaction for the pillaging and massacre of the Portuguese at Calicut, and, taking advantage of the discord among the coast-line princes of Malabar, to form alliances.

From Indian ships alone, primitive sailing-vessels most of which were flat-bottomed, the Portuguese feared no peril on the high seas. But the Sultan of Egypt, last of the Mameluke dynasty whom the Portuguese had already met in the Mediterranean, was quite a different and a more dangerous adversary. It was his treasure, trade, and power that were threatened by Portuguese ascendancy in India, and behind this ruler, Kansouh el Ghouri, was felt the influence of Venice, hoping to use

him as a means of destroying this unexpected competition from Portugal. Gama met in the Indian Ocean a big Egyptian ship which belonged to the Sultan of Egypt, with the crescent at every mast-head. She was named the *Moeris*, and was on her yearly trip from India laden with merchandise and swarming with pilgrims on their way to Mecca. Gama gave the order to attack; the vessel was captured, and the cargo transhipped to the Portuguese fleet. Some young children, moreover, were taken 'to make monks of them in the monastery of Belem at Lisbon'. Then, to avenge the attack which Cabral had sustained, Gama gave orders to set fire to the ship with all on board. The Moors fought desperately among the flames, throwing burning spars on to the Portuguese, and keeping up the hopeless struggle far on into the night. For safety the Portuguese fleet had broken away, and in the darkness the crews could hear the voices of Mohammedan pilgrims calling upon the Prophet. Early in the morning Gama completed his incendiary work of destruction by a bombardment which left no survivors. The expedition arrived at Calicut. There also an 'example' was made. Gama seized about fifty Indians who were fishing in their tiny canoes and took up a prominent position opposite Calicut. The Zamorin, evidently ill at ease, sent out first a Mohammedan disguised as a Franciscan, who introduced himself with a sonorous *Deo Gratias*. Negotiations took place. The Zamorin protested that the town had been bombarded and considerable damage done; Gama retorted that the attack on Cabral and the massacre of the Portuguese called for full satisfaction, and, finally, to bring matters to a head he presented the Zamorin with an ultimatum. No reply was given. When the ultimatum expired Gama hanged at the yard-arms of his ships the fifty Indian fishermen, in such a way that the whole town could see them; then, at high tide, having cut from the corpses hands and feet, he sent them in on a raft, with a letter written in Arabic addressed to the Zamorin explaining that here was a small present in return for all his lies, and that, as for the merchandise of the Portuguese king, he, the Zamorin, would have to make compensation a hundredfold.

The town was then bombarded for a whole day. In all this there was nothing more than fruitless reprisal. Two facts of greater import mark the visit of Gama to India. The first was a deputation he received from the Christians of Crannanore, who said they were the Christians of St. Thomas, and who were at once identified by the Portuguese as the descendants of converts made by the great Apostle. So that, after all, there were Christians in India, but they were few in number, and enjoyed no political independence. The arrival of the Portuguese seemed to them, as to so many other groups of dissatisfied men in India, the first glimmer of hope. They brought to Gama the sceptre of their ancient kings, and declared that they accepted the king of Portugal as their overlord, begging to be delivered from the 'tyranny' of Mohammedans and pagans. Unfortunately they could speak in the name merely of a small community of some 30,000 souls. Gama was profuse with kind words; loaded his ships at Crannanore; persuaded these two States to conclude an offensive and defensive alliance against the Zamorin, and set sail for Portugal. Near Pandarama he fell in with a fleet of thirty-nine sail which the Zamorin had sent to block his return. Weighed down with cargo, Gama did not wish to risk a pitched battle; he hustled the enemy with sufficient violence to ensure their flight, and burned two of their ships. On the 1st September 1503 he was back at Lisbon.

It became more and more evident that no permanent results could be obtained by the mere dispatch to India of merchant fleets, which, as soon as they had loaded, returned home at once, leaving to the tender mercies of rivals the allies of Portugal and the trading stations. A warning had just been given. The Zamorin had seized and sacked Cochin. A little more and he would have captured the king of Cochin himself. But at the last moment the Portuguese fleet had been able to intervene, and a fort had been hastily constructed in order to avert the repetition of such disasters. These trading stations, however, could not be properly looked after during the long absence of the fleet. Organizations of some kind of permanent defence on the spot were essential.

In 1505 King Manuel sent a viceroy to India, Francisco d'Almeida, Count d'Abrantes, who was to live in India, build forts, and provide for the safety of Portuguese trade and of the Indian princes who were vassals of the Crown. Some idea of what the Portuguese meant by protection of their trade can be gained from examination of the terms of the treaties entered into with the Indian princes of the western coast.

The Portuguese did not claim, as has been sometimes said, a monopoly; this would have killed trade by a too narrow restriction of outlets. The Portuguese fleet alone could never have handled the whole export trade of India. Yet though there was no claim for monopoly they insisted at least on privilege, and on privilege of a very special kind. In order to form a sound judgement on these stipulations it must be noted that the fleets, at this period, were armed and fitted out by the king himself, and that quite naturally, therefore, the Portuguese applied to them the statute of exemptions enjoyed by the royal domain. Hence in all the ports which had treaties with Portugal it was stipulated that Indians must first of all offer their goods to the Portuguese traders, who themselves fixed the price. Other traders could buy nothing from native producers until the Portuguese stores were filled; no other firm could load a ship until the Portuguese fleet had obtained its full cargo. In order to prevent smuggling it was agreed that all ships had to submit to inspection, that all had to obtain passports, or certificates, from the Portuguese governor-general. Such a system could be maintained only by force, and constant revolt against it was only to be expected. The protection of commercial interests led easily to military operations, and afterwards to political intervention, but Portugal had never planned or even thought about the conquest of India, and always decided that the ruling powers in that country should be respected as long as they continued to be friendly.

After the arrival of d'Almeida, and up to the death of Albuquerque (16th December 1515), the Portuguese settlement was able to take firm root in India. The first thing to be done was to put a stop to Mohammedan competition through the Red Sea.

Tristan d'Acunha seized upon Sokotra, off Cape Guardafui, closing thus the outlet of Bab el Mandeb yet faithful to the customary principles of Portuguese policy; having exterminated the foreign Mohammedan garrison he restored the island to the natives, with a guarantee of freedom under the protection of Portugal. The mosque was changed into a church and Affonso de Noronha placed in command of the fort (1507). Rival fleets were also to be expected in the Indian Ocean from the Gulf of Persia. It was blocked in the same way by the capture of Ormuz. Albuquerque became master of the place (1507) and established there a protectorate of the same kind. He constructed a citadel and allowed the established authority, although Mohammedan, to remain in power.

Alarm now seized the Indian sovereigns. The Portuguese had the keys of trade in their pockets. Competition, upon which these princes had always thrived, was about to come to an end owing to the *de facto* monopoly imposed by Europeans. One power alone could hope to pit itself successfully against the Christian fleets in Asiatic waters, that of the Sultan of Egypt. Such was the widespread impression. The Zamorin of Calicut, the Kings of Ormuz, Aden, and all the sea-coast Mohammedans, combined to send him, as secretly as possible, an emissary—Maimon.

Maimon arrived at the right moment. Fury and consternation reigned in Cairo. The revenues of the Sultan had consisted chiefly of taxes levied on merchandise in transit. Both ways all exchange of goods between Asia and the markets of Europe had passed through his hands. For five years this business had been on the decline; the capture of Sokotra and Ormuz completed its destruction. Commercial firms and the banks in Cairo gradually realized that at all costs Portuguese competition must be ended. The Sultan had already tried peaceful diplomacy. He had sent a Franciscan, the Superior of the Convent of Sinai, to Rome, to Pope Alexander VI, with a letter of complaint against the activities of Spain and Portugal, the persecutors of Islam. He added that unless Portugal ceased to persecute the Mohammedans of India, he, the Sultan, would by

way of reprisal destroy the Holy Places, and drive from his dominions all Christians who should refuse to embrace Mohammedanism. The pontifical court seems to have been seriously alarmed by these threats. The Franciscan was hurriedly sent off to Madrid and Lisbon. King Manuel understood the situation too well to allow himself to be disturbed by the threats of Khansou el Ghouri. He told the Pope there was no cause for fear; that the only thing the Sultan was concerned about was the stoppage of trade; that he would never destroy the Holy Places where he received so much money from the taxation of pilgrims, and that if he made any move to that end, he, Manuel, would warn him that the immediate destruction of Mecca would be the price of such temerity.

When Maimon appeared at Cairo, the Sultan had already realized that the dispute with the Portuguese would have to be settled by force of arms. His artificers began to construct a fleet of warships to be launched in the Indian Ocean. The enterprise was stupendous. No timber could be obtained on the coasts of the Red Sea; the wood had to be cut in Asia Minor, brought to Alexandria, carried by camels up to Suez, where temporary shipyards had been erected. It is easy to deduce, from the scope of such an effort, how desperate was the peril with which the Sultan was threatened by the presence of the Portuguese in Asia.

In spite of all secrecy the Sultan could not conceal his operations from the observation of his enemies. Andre d'Amaral, Grand Chancellor of St. John of Jerusalem, sailed from Rhodes with the Christian fleet, attacked that of the Sultan which was bringing timber from Asia Minor to Cairo, sunk five ships, captured six more, and scattered the remainder, but could not prevent these remnants from reaching the Egyptian coast. The Sultan succeeded with surprising rapidity in constructing at Suez, and launching in the Red Sea, a fleet of ten vessels, of which seven were large enough to stand up to any Portuguese man-of-war.

The fighting-crews included more than 1,500 Mamelukes, all renegade Christians. They coasted along the shores of

Arabia, and in December 1508 the Sultan's fleet dropped anchor at Diu.

The Portuguese suspected nothing. When Lourenço d'Almeida, son of the viceroy, saw them bearing down on him off the coast at Chaul, he thought at first it was d'Albuquerque. Only the appearance of flags, red and white with black crescents, revealed the enemy. The conflict proved disastrous for the Portuguese. D'Almeida was killed. The Moors made the mistake of not pushing on at once for Calicut to join up with the Zamorin and attack the viceroy in the anchorage of Cochin. The delay saved the Portuguese. All India was now prepared to drive them out. The victors of Chaul received daily offers of submission and embassies; but on the 2nd February 1509 Francisco d'Almeida, reinforced by a flotilla which had arrived in the nick of time from Portugal, completely destroyed at Diu the squadron of the Sultan. The Mamelukes fought to the death; only twenty-two survived the combat. The ships of the Zamorin and all his tiny flotilla of auxiliary vessels were swept away by Portuguese gun-fire and, naturally enough, the Indian princes all hastened to submit, fearful of incurring harsh treatment on account of their intrigues with the Sultan.

For the time being d'Almeida had side-tracked the Moorish peril, but there could be no permanent security so long as Portugal possessed no permanent base in India. It was no use relying on the kings and on their treaties to sanction and maintain a state of affairs which redounded too often to their disadvantage. It was the merit of Affonso d'Albuquerque that he correctly summed up the situation. Armed with information provided by Indian refugees and spies he succeeded in capturing Goa (1510), not now by way of reprisal, or to obtain some trading concession, but to put Portuguese power in the place of the local chief. The proclamation he issued to the inhabitants shows, more clearly than any long commentary, with what principles the enterprise was animated; the privileges of the people were confirmed; freedom assured; all had the right to follow the religion in which they had been bred; one-third of the tribute paid to the deposed prince

was remitted; police and military forces passed to the control of Portugal.

The Portuguese have never been affected by racial prejudice. Albuquerque, who wished to make Goa a Portuguese town, encouraged marriages between his officers and women of the country. He assisted in person at weddings, granted lands and houses to the newly married couples, and found a place for the husbands in the local administration. In his financial policy he showed astuteness. He reduced by a considerable amount the payments of port dues by ships entering or leaving the harbour, and consequently trade was attracted. He was thus able to maintain a very high price from trading stores for the right of traffic. To safeguard these transactions he coined Portuguese money, and this coin soon ruled all the markets of Asia.

These markets called for expansion. Malacca was occupied by Moors who refused to recognize the overlordship of the king of Siam. Albuquerque took the town by storm, in spite of a vigorous resistance supported by powerful guns. He installed a supervisor, selected by himself, who was a native of the country, and received hearty congratulations from the king of Siam. He sent ambassadors to Java and Sumatra; then, bitterly mindful that he had formerly been commanded to abandon Ormuz, he retook the place, drove out the Persian troops, and re-established a native government under the protection of Portugal.

Nothing illustrates more clearly the Indian policy of the Portuguese court than the reception given in Portugal to the news that Goa had been occupied. Conquest was not looked for, only freedom to trade and to preach. Albuquerque was therefore told to restore Goa to Abdul-Khan, the dispossessed sovereign. When this order arrived in India, the council unanimously decided that it could not be obeyed. Albuquerque was deeply mortified by this repudiation of his policy; it preceded, indeed, his recall. He died shortly afterwards, on the bridge of his ship while it lay off Goa, his rosary beads in his hands, and clothed in the habit of a Franciscan (16th December 1515). He was sixty-three years old.

The Portuguese settlement was founded. After Albuquerque the line of trading stations was further extended, and here and there forts were constructed. The Moluccas were reached in 1521; Diu was captured in 1546; Ceylon was occupied in 1539. In 1542 the first Portuguese vessels visited the coast of Japan at Tanega-shima, but with this empire, as with China, armed conflict was avoided. Development proceeded according to the plan of Albuquerque: no territorial conquests, but a chain of strong outposts with forts and sheltered harbours to ensure a colonial preponderance without having to undertake the administration of foreign peoples. Macao, a rocky spur near Canton, which the Chinese had handed over to the Portuguese traders, was the only place which became a second Goa, that is to say a real colony, though not entirely independent from the sovereignty of China.

Portugal did not succeed in making a permanent settlement either in Java, Sumatra, or Siam. In spite of the victory of d'Almeida over the Caliph's fleet at Diu, the Mohammedan peril from the Red Sea still persisted. The sultanate of Egypt had been conquered by the Ottoman Turks who, after the second quarter of the sixteenth century, invaded the Red Sea. The Portuguese lost Aden in 1551, Muscat in 1552, and, after several attempts, failed to take either Medina or Jedda.

On the 4th August 1578 King Sebastian of Portugal was killed at Al Kasr in Morocco, with the flower of his nobility. Three years later Philip II of Spain was proclaimed king of Portugal. From that moment, and in spite of renewed expansion overseas under the reign of the house of Braganza (1640), Portuguese power was on the decline. Dutchmen and Englishmen became successful competitors in the commercial world. Japan, under the Tokugawa, expelled the Portuguese at the commencement of the seventeenth century. Goa and Macao held firm, as also a few islands, but there could no longer be any question of attempting further conquests, and the idea itself was abandoned.

To understand and appreciate the work of Portugal in Asia it is essential first to correct a few prevalent errors.

It has been stated that the sole motive of Portuguese enterprise was commercial greed, a desire to steal from Venice her lucrative trade in pepper and spices, by going to seek them on the very spot where they were grown.

It has also been declared that this objective, purely commercial, was disguised under an appearance of missionary zeal: that Portugal, in order to obtain the favour of the Holy See, had turned a trading enterprise into a mock crusade against paganism; and that an incongruous mixture of apostolic fanaticism with a spirit of greed had brought ruin and discredit on the whole *Estado da India*. There is nothing in the historical records lending any strength to such an assertion. It is impossible to accept a theory inspired by commercial jealousy and so lacking in discrimination.

Three elements dominate and explain the activities of the Portuguese in Asia.

The first is the Royal Privilege as it was recognized both in theory and practice at that time. Expeditions were authorized and financed by the king. The sale of merchandise brought back by Vasco da Gama and Cabral more than doubly repaid the expenses of the journey, in spite of the fact that four of Cabral's ships were lost. And so, from 1514 until the death of King Sebastian, Indian trade was regulated by a whole series of royal edicts with the object of ensuring profit to the king. Pepper, cloves, cinnamon, ginger, silk, lacquer, precious metals, were declared to be reserved to the king. Such a ruling held good not only for trade between Goa and Lisbon but for the local trade of India, between Malacca and Goa, between Goa and Ormuz.

We have noted that by a privilege inscribed in the treaties Portugal was permitted to fix the price of produce and to help herself first. As for the goods which were a royal monopoly, if on hand in excess of requirements at Lisbon, they were destroyed on the spot. To prevent smuggling, trade was centralized. African produce destined for Lisbon had first to pass through Goa. The trade of China and Japan, with headquarters at Macao, was directed thence to Goa. The trade of

the islands of Sonde took the same direction via Malacca. Between Goa and Lisbon a regular convoy was authorized; the royal fleet which every year sailed from the Tagus in February or March consisted of six or seven large merchantmen. The route was strictly laid down. Eighteen months after sailing the fleet had to be back again. At times a few private traders obtained permits to charter a ship, subject to very heavy taxation and regulations of a draconian severity. A standing order issued in 1520 stipulated that passengers on board the royal fleet were not allowed to disembark anywhere during the long voyage, which lasted five or six months, under penalty of banishment and confiscation of all their property.

It is wrong, therefore, to describe Portuguese colonial development as the exploitation of Asiatic peoples by a European people. The colonial privilege profited not the Portuguese people, but the Crown, and we observe how frequently the Portuguese came to an understanding with native traders to defraud the sovereign of his rights. In order to realize what was the dominating idea of the *Estado da India* it must be thought of as a kind of extension of the personal domain of the king, a kind of royal preserve, into which, condescendingly, but with numerous restrictions and precautions, the sovereign occasionally allowed private individuals to enter. The whole undertaking is animated with the idea of a royal supremacy, or a *Padroado*. Freedom of trade was no more conceivable than the idea of sacking the royal palace, and a man would no more have thought of setting up in India as an independent trader than of sitting down unasked at the table of Manuel or John III.

This royal monopoly seems to-day to be exorbitant. In order to form a sound judgement, however, it is well to notice that the *Estado da India* had neither official budget nor parliament; that all expenditure had to be met by the royal treasury, and that very naturally the whole available income was directed to that source. This right of the Crown had, moreover, been sanctioned by the Papacy, not, as has been thoughtlessly asserted, in recompense for services rendered to the Church by

the kings of Portugal, but in prevision of services that they were to render in the future.

A mere glance at the pages of the Chartulary of Bulls of the *Padroado* is enough to reveal the almost limitless extent of the Papal concessions. They involved, however, definite obligations. The king undertook to finance the whole work of evangelization and the whole ecclesiastical organization. He was bound to erect, found, and endow archbishoprics, bishoprics, seminaries, churches, and pay the salary of the clerical officials. He was responsible for the whole ecclesiastical budget. In order to provide for such commitments he could not rely on taxation. When Goa, in 1519, was granted the privilege of a Portuguese town with a charter identical with that of Lisbon, the city contained only 450 genuine native citizens. Before the middle of the eighteenth century the total area, including all dependencies, did not exceed 500 square miles, and Goa, it must be observed, was by far the largest of all Portuguese colonial possessions in India. It was impossible within such a narrow compass to find taxpayers in sufficient number to supply the treasury and provide for administrative expenditure. The only way out of the difficulty was to monopolize commercial profits, and this royal monopoly figured therefore as an essential part of government.

Quite apart from these considerations it would be wrong to attribute the work of the Portuguese merely to greed. A second feature of the situation, very marked especially in the early days, was the crusading spirit, which sometimes ennobles actions in other respects unworthy of approval. The agelong conflict with Islam had nowhere been so tragic and so lasting as in the Iberian peninsula. The *Reconquista* had endured for nearly seven centuries. The Moors, about 1490, had been practically expelled from the country, but they still held on to nearly all the African littoral of the Mediterranean. The Turks had recently seized Constantinople (1453); they threatened the Danube, and even Italy. To overcome Islam it was not sufficient to capture Granada, and it was no longer possible to expect a crusade of olden times from a disunited Christendom.

John II of Portugal remembered 'Prester John'. He had not been forgotten since the days of Marco Polo. This Prester John who, according to the persistent legend, lived somewhere beyond the belt of Mohammedan countries, and was supposed to be a Christian king, ruler of a mighty empire, why should they not join up with him, form an alliance, and together unite to crush the power of Islam? As recently as 1486, after the discovery of the Cape of Storms (Cape of Good Hope) by Bartholomew Diaz, John II of Portugal had sent Affonso de Paiva and Juan de Civilham to seek, by way of Jerusalem or Cairo, a meeting with this 'Prester John'. They were to inform him of Portuguese discoveries on the coast of Guinea, ask him whether the regions belonged to his domain, and propose to him an alliance 'in order that the faith of Jesus Christ might be exalted'.¹ A crusade against the Moors was still regarded, by the Portuguese people, as the most worthy of all expeditions. And on this point the kings agreed with the people. From Juan d'Aviz to Sebastian, and even at the height of their commercial power, the rulers of Portugal continued the campaign in Morocco, and made onslaughts in the Mediterranean itself, upon the Mohammedan fleets. As soon as the road to India was opened up they supposed that here was a chance, by uniting with the Christians of 'Prester John', to fall upon the Sultan of Egypt from the rear, and to attempt the rescue of the Holy Places in Arabian Islam. This idea of a crusade was so tenacious that it ended by overriding the most pressing commercial interests, and was destined to involve, with the Moroccan expedition of Sebastian and the disaster of Al Kasr, a postponement of the Estado da India. It is right to notice, moreover, that while attempting to destroy the political and military power of Islam, the Portuguese in India never persecuted the Mohammedans, as such. They fought with them as with rivals, and destroyed their fleets, but it is a calumny to assert that they were animated by a kind of blind hatred of all the followers of Mohammed. The best friend of Vasco da Gama, of Albuquerque, and of all the governors

¹ 'Prestar a fazer com que a fé de Jesu Christo fosse exelçada' (*Chronica de el Rei D. João II*, ed. Garcia de Resende, vol. 1, cap. lxi).

was the Mohammedan Sultan of Melinda. Albuquerque promised freedom of worship to the Mohammedans of Ormuz. He received the envoys of the Shah of Persia, and even wished to conclude with him an offensive and defensive alliance. The Sabandar of the land caravans at Calicut, the Coje-Bequi of the Portuguese accounts, remained a faithful friend of the Portuguese. The same policy was followed at Malacca and in the Andaman Islands.

It is, of course, true that in the Portuguese 'towns' of India, such as Goa or Macao, the legislation of the home capital was in force. Goa had the same charter as Lisbon, Malacca the same as Evora. There, indeed, public worship was forbidden the Mohammedans, and the mosques had been turned into churches. But in searching through the annals—voluminous indeed, and full of detail—of Castanheda, Correa, Barros, or Couto, and reading with care the minutely worded instructions given to the governors by the kings of Portugal, there is not a single definite indication of a persecuting spirit towards Islam. We shall presently see that the Dutch Calvinists were more cruel to the Catholic Indians than the Portuguese had been to Mohammedans, Buddhists, or pagans.

In addition to the crusading spirit, an interest in evangelization, in the spread of Christianity, must be regarded as a special mark of Portuguese colonial enterprise. We have seen that an undertaking to support the missionaries must be weighed against the enormous advantages conceded to the Portuguese by Papal Bulls. The kings of Portugal, and the kings of Spain also, during the period of union between the two crowns, took seriously to heart this weighty obligation and, in spite of some notorious failures which it would be absurd to deny, the undertaking on the whole prospered. Even at the present day the clergy of Goa form the most numerous Christian ecclesiastical body in the whole of India, and the Catholics, instructed in the first place by Portugal, have remained wonderfully faithful to their religion. Difficulties were plentiful enough. There existed then no such organization as the Propagation of the Faith, and the whole expenditure of the mission depended on the Crown.

The missionary staff itself was neither trained in advance, nor properly recruited, nor put to any test before setting forth. The moral and religious state of the Portuguese colonists in those ports of call where they were attached by no tradition, and where there was no public opinion to censure disorder, was beyond description. We know what the condition of affairs was like when St. Francis Xavier, sent by the Pope as Nuncio and by King John III as inspector-general of missions, arrived in India. He himself took pains to inform the king in a series of remarkably outspoken letters. The Portuguese, he writes, have no priests who attend to them, their morals are deplorable, half-caste children declare that they are Portuguese by blood but not by religion. Xavier is so upset by what he has seen in India that he 'flees' to Japan, to waste no more of his time (letter of 26 January 1549). The concentration of trade at Goa had resulted in some degree of congestion. But the city, a bishopric in 1533 and archbishopric in 1558, with eighty churches and convents of all Orders, had little outside influence, and its religious activity did not extend beyond the zone wherein the power of Portugal ruled. The interior of India remained almost entirely closed to the missionaries.

In spite of moral deficiencies the Portuguese colonist always remained a firm believer, with faith sufficiently genuine to produce great works of charity.

When trade prospered the Portuguese merchants of Malacca or Macao showed towards the missions a generosity which astonished the clergy themselves; and they willingly placed their resources at the disposal of the Christian authorities. Standing above conflicting and vested interests, and all the brutality involved in colonization founded on a monopoly, the idealism of the missionaries sheds a lustre on the work of the Portuguese and makes up for their many blunders.

The task was immense; it was indeed beyond their power. John IV began to see that the India of the East cost him money, while agricultural Brazil, his milch cow, *vacca de leite*, brought profit to the home country. 'If only God would assure me', he cried, 'that I might without dishonour abandon the East

Indies!' The English and the Dutch had offered to take the colonies over, but 'from a religious motive' he would not listen to them; 'I shudder', he said, 'at the idea that the Catholic religion might be supplanted by heresy'.¹ It is in the clear light of such texts as these that we must examine the popular assertion, repeated by all the rivals of Portugal, to the effect that interest in religion was merely a cloak thrown over piracy.

Towards the natives the attitude of Portugal was, officially, blameless. In the East abuses were, as a matter of fact, frequent. The Portuguese settlements were divided into three classes. First of all the colonies proper—towns where Portuguese sovereignty was exercised directly—such as Goa, Diu, Malacca, and even Macao. Doubtless in the last-named place Portuguese supremacy was limited by some regulations. The Chinese had stipulated that no forts should be built. But the clause had been cleverly interpreted and, as a defence against the Dutch and against pirates, public buildings had been fortified and guns placed on embankments. None of these Portuguese settlements included any hinterland.

A second category consisted of colonies, much more numerous, where sovereignty was vested in a protected or allied native prince. Here the Portuguese could only govern indirectly, except in the citadel and its adjacent quarters. Clearly there must have been a strong temptation to slip from indirect administration into direct government. As a rule the Portuguese did not yield to the temptation, except in Ceylon, where the experiment did not prove a success. This was at the beginning of the eighteenth century; union with Spain had then considerably restricted the activities of Portugal. It seems, moreover, that the idea of conquering the whole island and supplanting the native sovereignty had been more Castilian than Portuguese. The expedition of Cortez in Mexico had become for Spaniards the model of a *Conquista* and the ideal of a colonial system. In the seventeenth century the military

¹ C. de Santarem, *Quadro elementar das relações politicas e diplomaticas de Portugal*, t. iv, part ii, Introdução, p. clix sq.

and naval strength of Portugal was insufficient to make such attempts successful.

Finally, in the third classification we must include colonies founded in States where the sovereign remained altogether independent of Portuguese power. Here such power could only be exercised to a most limited extent, by means of concessions often precarious and with payments often inconvenient. In some respects Macao can be included in this category. The trading stations of Bantam in Java, of Macassar in the Celebes, of Chittagong in eastern Bengal, from every point of view fit this classification. When the Dutch came to attack the Estado da India these proved to be the most vulnerable places.

Within these three categories was present almost every possible variation of governmental system. In Japan for instance, as we shall see later, the Portuguese settlements enjoyed no sort of monopoly. They began under the rule of common law, and the only kind of preponderance possible was that resulting from superiority in methods of trading.

With such diverse elements it was difficult to constitute a real empire. Albuquerque had thought of it, but his plans remained a dream. To put them into execution, military strength far beyond the resources of Portugal would have been essential. The Castilian notion of a vast territorial empire, obtained by one or two victories, continued nevertheless to dazzle people's minds, especially in the days of Philip II. But the most clear-headed observers were always opposed to such a scheme. F. Valentino Carvalho, informed of some project of conquest which the Spaniards had designed against Japan, wrote from Nagasaki on the 26th October 1612: 'I do not know by what means I can persuade the King (of Spain) against this business. The enterprise is impossible. The ruler of Japan [the reference is to the Shogun] is able to recruit an army of 500,000 men, all first-rate soldiers, and first-class shots.'¹ The situation was very different from that which Pizzaro had faced in Peru or Cortez in Mexico.

¹ 'Epist. Ind. et Jap.' MS. 1611-19, quoted by Delplace, *Le Catholicisme au Japon*, vol. ii, p. 168.

Here it is important to emphasize one of the most striking characteristics of the spirit which inspired Portuguese colonization. The results obtained by the first expeditions to India suffice to explain the enthusiasm aroused. The first voyage of Vasco da Gama brought in sixty times its cost. That of the second fleet, though not so lucrative, produced a profit equal to five times the capital invested. Enormous revenues were secured from trade between the various colonies in India. A single voyage between Macao and Japan made a fortune for a ship's captain. The conclusion has been formed, rather hastily, that this prospect of gain, abundant and immediate, had led to a wholesale exodus of the inhabitants of Portugal, which provides an explanation of the depopulation of the Portuguese country-side in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and accounts also for the fact that the population of the kingdom remained stationary. There is, however, an obvious flaw in the argument. Portuguese emigration to the colonies was by no means extensive. India could not have absorbed annually more than 300 to 400 men, since the fleet, dispatched every season to Goa, did not carry a greater number, and there was no other way of getting there. A considerable number of these travellers returned home as soon as their tour was ended, or when they had made a fortune. The number of men taken annually from Portugal by India could not possibly have been more than two hundred. History books where these figures are exceeded need to be revised; they have been written with a complete misunderstanding of the regulations which governed the *Estado da India*. The State monopoly, both in trade and in transport, effectually prevented anything like a 'gold-rush' to the oversea settlements.

The passengers who thus embarked on the voyage to Asia, round the Cape of Good Hope, were a very mixed company. Each fleet, after the example of Vasco da Gama, carried a few criminals, condemned to death but respited, the *desparados* as they were called, and a number of improvident adventurers.

Very often, however, the obligation of obtaining a royal permit prevented the shipment of unsuitable people, and this

acted as a kind of preliminary check. The Portuguese nobility from the beginning took an active part in colonization, but Lisbon never had any school where instruction could be obtained for colonial administration, and no public body existed to provide information about the affairs of India.

On arrival in Asia, without any knowledge of the history or the customs of its inhabitants, the Portuguese, often without realizing it, created a deplorable impression. It seemed to them quite harmless to enter, booted and spurred, into the churches, to bury therein their dead, as in the sanctuaries of Portugal, to spit on the floor, and to brush others rudely out of the way. Each of such actions was to the Hindu an abomination. The *Prangui* or *Frangui*, that is to say the Portuguese, the eater of beef, would never pay serious attention to the ancient customs of India by which distinctions of caste had for centuries been dictated. The same ignorance prevented them from understanding the history (by no means clear) of the Christians of St. Thomas, whom they treated with a crude lack of consideration.

In this attitude there was no racial prejudice, no contempt for the natives. With a remarkable facility the Portuguese made themselves at home among the people of the country, and such familiarity, since the days of Albuquerque, had met with the approval of the Indian Government. In 1518 a grant of land at Goa was promised to Portuguese who married native women. We have already mentioned that old Albuquerque was accustomed to marry off his staff officers to the daughters of the great rajas, first baptizing them, and had assisted with due solemnity at the marriage celebrations. Never has it been possible to find among these conquerors, proud as they were, and touchy in affairs of honour, the slightest encouragement of that colour bar which has been the curse of Anglo-Saxon colonization. A native, once converted, was immediately accepted as the equal of all the Portuguese of his rank. Here surely is one of the chief explanations of the permanent stability possessed by the tropical colonies of Portugal. A large population of half-castes, combining as a rule the physical constitution of the native with the intellectual powers of the European, grew

up around the Portuguese settlements, and gave useful assistance to the small number of white colonists. These half-castes, along with the natives of their circle, bearing Portuguese names, speaking the language of Lusitania, proud of their origin, became powerful supporters of Portuguese influence in India even when the military power of Portugal collapsed.

It has sometimes been asserted that this inter-racial breeding and this policy of assimilation produced a bastard and degraded race. This is wholly untrue. If the Portuguese colonist, speaking generally, did not reach a very high degree of culture, it is not to a mixture of the races that such a result must be attributed, but to the almost total lack of schools in India. Where such educational institutions existed, as at Goa or at Macao, a satisfactory level of culture was maintained.

Constituted not as a large homogeneous state with all its public services, but rather more as a collection of trading stations, the *Estado da India* naturally suffered from all the vices which readily develop in seaports, amongst a floating population, without its roots in the soil, and without suitable traditions. The senior civil servants, the governors, the viceroys themselves, regarded the Portuguese concession as an opportunity, almost legalized, to make their own fortunes, and administrative abuse was stabilized. The highly centralized organization of the *Estado da India*, directed from Lisbon, did not easily consent to the changes of regulations made necessary by the inevitable evolution of the Portuguese settlement. The courts of justice were atrocious, and such control as was exercised by the agents of the government became purely nominal. Moreover, the growth of business itself was stunted by insistence on official routine. King Manuel had decided that the annual dispatch of six or seven merchantmen was sufficient to maintain traffic between Lisbon and the whole of India. Since Manuel's time the overseas empire of Portugal had been extensively developed. Nevertheless, the same restriction was still applied to the fleet which set out each year. During the sixteenth century the only concession which could be extracted from the royal naval commissioners consisted of a slight increase in the

tonnage of the vessels. The regulation which imposed one fleet only, not exceeding seven ships, could not be altered. Yet Goa was overstocked with merchandise; the warehouses overflowed, and at Lisbon itself piles of goods destined for India were unable to find cargo room in the already overloaded ships. It would have been quite easy either to increase the size of the fleet or to organize a second expedition. To such suggestions the directors of these enterprises would never listen. An absurd system of changeless monopoly, combined with fraudulent practices and with smuggling, produced this paradoxical result, that the finances of Portugal were ruined by the *Estado da India*. Under Sebastian and before the Battle of Al Kasr, the affair was bankrupt.

In spite of all these shortcomings, the history of Portugal in Asia is rich in deeds of heroism and inspired, moreover, by a spirit of chivalry, which the traders of the Dutch and English companies have foolishly tried to render ridiculous. Among the viceroys were some great men whose memory all races can honour. In history, Albuquerque has perhaps too much obscured the reputation of some of his predecessors, men as disinterested and as able as himself. Nuño d'Acunha, who had ruled India for ten years, died penniless, declaring that of other men's property he had kept but six or seven gold pieces, coined by Sultan Bahadur; these he had retained because they were engraved like jewels, and he had intended to present them himself to the king of Portugal. Having fallen into disgrace owing to infamous calumnies spread at Lisbon against him, he died at sea, of a broken heart, on board the ship in which he had paid his passage home because he had not been allowed to embark on any vessel of the royal fleet. He ordered that his body should be thrown into the sea. When his old father, Tristan d'Acunha, along with his grandsons visited the king of Portugal they declared that according to the will of the deceased they had come to hand back to the sovereign the price of the iron shackles by which his feet had been tied when his corpse was plunged into the sea, and that, they said, 'was the only thing that Nuño d'Acunha owed to the King' (1538).

John de Castro, the friend of St. Francis Xavier, Viceroy, Admiral Commanding the Seas, many times victor over hostile fleets, feeling death to be near, called together in his room at Goa the bishop, the governor of the town, the chancellor, the auditor-general, and the financial treasurer. The Father Guardian of the Franciscans and Xavier himself were present at the meeting. John de Castro, having recommended his soul to God, declared on oath, swearing on the Holy Gospels,

that he had never made use, to his own advantage, of any property belonging to the King or to any private individual; that he had never taken presents from any one; that his salary not having been paid when due by the court he had spent his own money in the service of the State, and that he lacked even the bare necessities provided for soldiers at the hospital, that he could not even afford to buy a chicken, which his doctor had advised him to eat, and that in such extreme poverty he begged them to keep him supplied from the Casa de Misericordia, during the short time which he had left to live.

He died a few days later in the arms of St. Francis Xavier (June 1548). He was forty-eight years of age.

Garcia de Sa, his successor, likewise cannot be too highly praised for the integrity of his administration. Indians and Europeans united to pay him honour and respect when he became viceroy at the age of seventy years.

On the other hand, at the extreme limits of Portuguese territory, far from the control of Goa and of the court, atrocities almost beyond description were committed. George de Menezes, governor of Ternate, must be held responsible for the loss of that domain. He had in his possession a Chinese sow, which was killed by some unknown person, no doubt by way of reprisal. Menezes at once put under arrest the Cachil Vaidua, uncle of the ruler of the island and religious leader of the local Mohammedans, and proceeded to rub his face with lard from the sow. For a Mohammedan the affront was a twofold indignity. The natives refused to supply the Portuguese stockade with provisions. Menezes, having organized a raiding and pillaging expedition, seized the chief of Tabona and two of the principal

men of his tribe. The hands of the chief were tied behind his back, the hands of the others were cut off, and they were then set on by two savage dogs, and chased from the beach into the sea where the dogs tore them to pieces. From that date the Portuguese were regarded by the inhabitants of the island as monsters that ought to be exterminated (1527).

The Moluccas were lost by the cruel and senseless conduct of Diogo Lopez de Mesquita, their governor (1549). The ruler, Aeiro, was, like his father, a faithful ally of Portugal. Mesquita and he had sworn, one on the Gospel, the other on the Arms of Portugal, a treaty of friendship, but a few days later Mesquita had him treacherously stabbed by his nephew Affonso Pimentel, during a friendly visit which Aeiro paid him at the citadel, unarmed, 'clothed in a scarlet cloak, wearing a straw hat, and carrying a cane in his hand'. Mesquita refused to hand over the corpse to the widow; he had it cut into pieces, placed in a crate, and thrown into the sea.

To understand how such atrocities were possible it is necessary to remember, not only the remoteness of the Moluccas, but also the system employed in the selection of officials. The functionaries belonging to the first rank of the nobility, and even those who owed their nomination to influence at the court of Lisbon, were able to escape the jurisdiction of the colonial judges and paid little attention to the authority of the viceroy. The concentration in the same hands of political functions and commercial enterprise entirely ruined all administration in India. Crimes which brought in money could pass, lax consciences keeping timidly silent, for services rendered to the king. Moreover, the officials, against regulations, engaged in trading on their own account. Between the duties of their offices and the desire of personal gain there was perpetual conflict.

The administration of justice was always inefficiently organized. The judges were appointed, through influence, at Lisbon. 'They arrived in India', declares that excellent viceroy John de Castro, 'as judges of the High Court, half starved, and solely inspired with the purpose of making money.' They could succeed only by taking bribes.

It is only fair to admit that in Lisbon the Portuguese court put a stop, whenever possible, to atrocities of which information was received. Orders were sent to Affonso de Sousa that he must restore to the pagoda at Coulam the gold vase and the treasure that he had shamelessly stolen (1544).

It has been stated that the court even considered handing Goa back to the Abdul Khan, in some doubt as to whether or not the conquest had been lawful. Garcia Henriquez and George de Menezes, who had been such odious tyrants in the Moluccas, were brought back to Portugal, tried, and condemned (1539). The last named was deported to Brazil. But this far-away justice moved with inevitable slowness, and measures taken against the criminals did not help to repair the immense wrongs suffered by their victims.

It has been often repeated that Portuguese colonization was ruined by the introduction of a spirit of religious fanaticism into the proper conduct of business. This assertion cannot stand beside an examination of the facts. Portugal, wherever she was truly Christian, not only succeeded but triumphantly maintained her position, and Goa to-day is still the patriarchal see of India.

CHAPTER II

THE DUTCH IN ASIA

SINCE the day when William Beeckhelz had discovered, in 1416, how to salt herrings the development of the fishing industry had stimulated naval construction in Holland, and considerably increased the wealth of that country. In 1560 the Italian Guicciardini estimated that from 800 to 1,000 ships were owned by the single province of Holland (Zeeland not included). At the same period the whole of England did not possess a fleet half that size. Evidently the sailors were not all engaged merely in fishing for herring. Many Dutch ships (trading vessels) were dispatched to load at Lisbon the produce of the East Indies and thence chartered for northern ports and even as far as the Baltic. The Portuguese fleets never sailed farther north than the mouth of the Tagus. Troublesome times in the Netherlands under the government of Philip II were followed after 1560 by the rapid decline of Antwerp, with a corresponding advantage to the ports of Holland and Zeeland. In 1585 Antwerp was taken by the duke of Parma; many of its commercial firms established themselves in the United Provinces, which already in 1581 had renounced the authority of Philip II and broken off relations with Spain.

Amsterdam became the head-quarters of maritime commerce. From 1580 Spain and Portugal were united under the personal sovereignty of Philip II, who, in revenge for the revolt of the United Provinces, closed the port of Lisbon to ships from the Netherlands. This move threatened disaster. As a counter-stroke only one thing could be suggested. Now that ships could no longer fetch the products of the Indies from the banks of the Tagus, they must bravely adventure farther afield and make straight for the Asiatic trading stations. The naval power of Spain had been greatly shaken by the defeat of the Grand Armada (1588). Refugees from the Southern Provinces, who had emigrated to the provinces in revolt from Spain, brought with them something that up to then had been

lacking—technical knowledge of deep-sea navigation and seamanship. A few Englishmen, such as Will Adams, the first Englishman to reach Japan, were enlisted as pilots. Excommunications threatened by Popes, Bulls granting to the Crown of Castile exclusive domain over 'lands yet to be discovered', the rights claimed by the king of Spain over America or India, did not worry Dutch Calvinists. Attempts, however, were at first made to avoid collision with the Hispano-Portuguese fleets by seeking a passage to India by the extreme north of Europe. The names of Moucheron and Barentz have earned fame from this adventure.

In 1592, on the strength of a favourable report from Cornelius and Frederick Houtman, who had spied out information from the Portuguese at Lisbon itself, a trading company was founded—the *Compagnie van Verre*, i.e. Company of Distant Lands, with the object of getting into touch with India by the Portuguese route round the Cape of Good Hope. The capital subscribed by the merchants and citizens of Amsterdam amounted to 290,000 florins. Four vessels were equipped carrying 248 men and armed with 64 guns. The crews were recruited without care; the sailors rude and undisciplined. A Spanish writer, Francisco Coreal, wrote, a century later: 'I have never in America seen such coarse savages as the inhabitants of the Dutch Isles, nor any with such unpolished and disagreeable manners.'¹ Along with the sailors were embarked as midshipmen a few young gentlemen whose parents wished to see them safely out of the country. These good-for-nothings were dispatched 'in the hope that the voyage would either make men of them, or that they would never be seen again'.² The fleet started from the Texel on the 2nd April 1595 under the command of Admiral Keyser, who died on the way out and was replaced by Cornelius Houtman himself. The first contact with the natives of Java was disgraced by such brutality that, the reputation of the Dutch having preceded their arrival in all

¹ *Voyages aux Indes occidentales* (1666-99), translated from the Spanish, Amsterdam, 1722, t. ii, p. 150.

² Rogge, *De eerste nederlandsch handelsonderneming op Oost-Indie*, p. 408.

other ports, they were obliged to return to the Texel on the 14th August 1597 without a full cargo. The *Compagnie van Verre*, however, with confidence still unshaken, expecting great profits, set about the equipment of another fleet. At the same time new companies were formed. From 1598 to 1602 thirteen fleets crossed the Indian Ocean to Java; the Moluccas, Sumatra, Ceylon, and the peninsula of Malacca were visited and in spite of the general lack of organization, and the loss of one ship, which had to be abandoned for want of navigators, the financial results proved most satisfactory. Those who had subscribed a capital of 290,000 florins received a dividend of 87,000 florins. Other companies at once entered into business. The attraction of quick profits could not be resisted, and of course a fierce competition arose between all these rival firms. They were determined, by hook or by crook, to get a full load of spices and return safely to Holland. Thus it happened that an admiral of the new *Brabançonne Company*, Paul van Caerden, failing to obtain with sufficient dispatch the quantity of pepper for which he had bargained, calmly seized in the harbour a number of native trading ships and commandeered their cargoes. After that incident the inhabitants of Achin looked upon the Dutch as pirates. None of these commercial fleets, however, were fitted out for war. Their captains were men without experience of naval tactics, and, in order not to waste useful tonnage, defensive armament had been reduced to a minimum.

Nevertheless, when the question of monopolies came to be discussed with native chiefs some of these, fearing reprisals from the Portuguese, insisted, before doing business, that the new-comers should promise to defend them in case of attack. We have no desire, they said, with much good sense, to get into serious trouble in order to provide you with a trading monopoly from which we derive no benefit. The quarrels of our customers must be settled among themselves, and not at our expense.

Always eager to conclude an advantageous bargain and to bring their adventure to a successful conclusion, the Dutch captains promised to help with their ships and with their men

against Portuguese reprisals. But they were most careful, after having been supplied with produce, not to expose themselves to the risks of battle. They had instructions ordering them to avoid all warlike action; their crews were averse to the very idea of a naval combat. When the Portuguese arrived, accused the native princes of 'treachery', and proceeded to avenge the alleged infringements of their rights, the Dutchmen sailed away with their cargo of spices. So it happened in 1602, when in spite of a formal and often repeated promise to defend the inhabitants of Amboyna, Admiral Harmansz allowed the Portuguese to inflict the most atrocious reprisals upon the unfortunate islanders; burning, ravaging, and massacring were necessary 'to make an example'. The Dutchmen did not stir a finger; they were not going to run any risks with a valuable cargo safely stowed away.

The disadvantages of this system of allowing complete freedom of action to private companies, not perhaps obvious to their directors, were clearly perceived by the political leaders of the Dutch States. After protracted negotiations, hindered by the suspicious and individualistic attitude of the parties concerned, the States-General adopted the proposal of Oldenbarneveldt and granted a charter to the United Company of the East Indies (20 March 1602). This charter gave the company not merely commercial privileges but also, by implication, a definite right of sovereignty; for it placed practically the whole colonial development of the United Provinces in the hands of the company.

The States-General were not able, or perhaps did not intend, to exercise over that association anything more than a vague and not at all embarrassing sovereignty.

What then was the policy of the company? There was no desire to create an overseas empire. With merchant directors and a purely commercial spirit, the plan was to make profits and enrich shareholders. Leaving ideals aside, and proceeding always on the principle of 'safety first', the essential point was to buy as cheaply as possible manufactured goods and produce in India to sell at a high price in Europe. War, whether on

land or sea, is an expensive business; it must therefore be avoided and by means of peaceful conventions an understanding must be reached with the native chiefs. The general instructions sent by the directors to their agents in 1609 (art. 21) declare that 'friendly relations with the princes of India provide the best protection for trade'.

It was probably this attitude of circumspection—inspired by no philosophical or humanitarian motive—which saved from destruction the Spanish colonies and the Portuguese settlements in the East. Had the Dutch ventured to undertake an energetic military campaign, the Spanish and the Portuguese strongholds could easily have been captured. The company, however, was content to occupy the Banda Islands and those of Amboyna, to safeguard the trade in cloves and nutmegs, and to establish a small garrison at Ternate.

When the twelve years' truce was signed between the Republic of the United Provinces and the King of Spain (9 April 1609) the territorial acquisitions of the company were therefore not extensive. On the other hand, a large number of trading-stations had been founded in the island of Java, and friendly treaties signed with the rulers of Calicut, Kandy (Ceylon), Macassar (Celebes); successful negotiations had also been conducted with the sultan of Achin (Sumatra), with the chiefs of Patani, Johore (Malacca), and even the Japanese of Hirado.

As early as 1599 the commercial success of the Dutch in India had been foreseen by neutral observers. Buzenval, a French envoy, wrote in his report: 'You will soon see that the riches of the East will take the road to Holland, and be lost to Portugal who has enjoyed them, and kept the key, for more than a hundred years.'¹

And so, indeed, it happened; during the early years of the seventeenth century the head-quarters of trade in spices shifted from Lisbon to Amsterdam, and it was in that town that quotations were made for the most important colonial produce, and there the European retailers went to obtain their stocks. By the formation of a united company for all the East Indies,

¹ Van der Chys, *de Stichting der Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie*, p. 86.

trouble had not been entirely avoided. Two reforms which came actually later began to appear more and more urgent.

First of all it was necessary to co-ordinate on the spot all commercial business. This became absolutely indispensable when the Dutch, astute traders, had quickly realized the importance of *local* trade in the Far East. Between Japan and India, China and the Moluccas, the Persian Gulf and Java, Javanese, Arabs, Chinese, Malabaris trafficked in spices, silks, fabrics, cinnamon, even horses, rice, copper, &c. The Dutch designed, not to supplant, but to control all this commerce, by occupying key positions on the lines of communication, by giving direction to the traffic, by imposing import and export dues. For success it was essential, so much was clear, to have some kind of central organization. What Albuquerque had seen a hundred years earlier, the Dutch had now come to realize. The post of governor-general over all the stations of the company was created, with head-quarters, modestly proposed at first to be a rendezvous for the fleet and a commercial clearing-house. The States-General ratified this initial move on the 1st September 1609. Pieter Both was appointed governor. Narrow-minded and animated solely by a spirit of commercialism, he failed to carry out the prescribed programme. He attempted, by force, to obtain for the company a monopoly of the nutmeg trade, ravaging the islands of Banda.

Governor Real, nominated by the Indian Board in 1616, found himself faced with serious difficulties. The British, with whom the Republic of the United Provinces had formed an alliance in Europe, were becoming in India most dangerous competitors. The Dutch directors suggested to Real that he might provoke some local incident which would serve as a pretext for destroying these rivals. Real pretended not to understand. On the other hand, under orders from the board of directors, he completely ravaged, and even depopulated, several of the nutmeg islands: a proceeding which increased beyond measure the hatred of the islanders for European invaders.

The successor of Real, Jan Pietersoon Coen, was the real founder of Dutch power in the Far East. It was he who realized

the importance of the second reform essential to the maintenance of the company's position, and here again it was still the example of the Portuguese that had to be followed. Under Coen that position ceased to be purely commercial and became colonial (1619).

While still only financial director-general of the Javanese trading-stations, Coen had realized that nothing could be permanently safe in India so long as occupation was confined to mercantile factories, even if each was protected by a fortress. These factories contained, indeed, no European population beyond the clerks and officials of the company. All local trade, all agriculture, all real estate, remained in the hands of the natives. Provisions for the European staff had to be brought from Europe in the company's ships.

Coen decided that it was sound policy to hold that colonization comes before trade: that a considerable European population might be settled in the neighbourhood of the factories, occupy land, cultivate it with the assistance of natives and Chinese, trade without hindrance, and thus compete with native pedlars. He foresaw the formation of truly productive colonies, where the white colonist, the *vryburgher*, would become the overseer of native labourers, would himself exploit the resources of the country, would create an enormous market, including buyers and sellers, and would thus assist in relieving the company of the expensive burden of its monopoly. The Dutch directors never completely accepted these views. They could not see the advantages of such a system. The *vryburghers* were not regarded by them as auxiliaries but as dangerous rivals, whose initiative must be cramped, and whose profits must be whittled down by every possible means. To form an independent market in India, would not that reduce by so much their own trading profit? Coen asserted that this independent market would increase the buying power of the Indian settlements and increase also the annual turnover of the company; but these results were to be in the future—the board could see only the present.

In spite of these differences of opinion, Coen was in agreement

with the directors to establish head-quarters in Java, and indeed at Jacatra, the future Batavia. With the sultan of Jacatra the Dutch experienced the same kind of difficulties as the Portuguese had encountered with the Zamorin of Calicut. In 1619 Coen attacked Jacatra, drove out the inhabitants, burnt the place to the ground, and on the site of the native quarter built the Dutch town which was destined to become the capital of all the settlements belonging to the company.

It would be wrong, however, to suppose that Coen was anything more than a merchant, tight-fisted, and with a heart as hard as a stone. He ravaged once more, most systematically, the unfortunate islands of Banda (1621-2), delaying his attack until the moment 'when the natives, weakened by the winter, would be unable to offer resistance'. Almost the whole male population was killed, the women and children reduced to slavery. The islands of Pulo Run and Rosengain suffered the same fate. In a letter to Herman van Speult, governor of Amboyna, Coen himself coolly gave an account of his exploits. This governor, to whom Coen had recommended determined hostility to the English, was warned on the 23rd February 1623, by a Japanese soldier that the manager of the English store, Gabriel Townson, had started an intrigue against him. Nine Englishmen, nine Japanese, and one Portuguese were arrested, tortured, and executed; and Great Britain nearly declared war.¹

At Java itself the situation was by no means peaceful. The violent conduct of the Dutch governor twice brought the army of Susuhunan, the ruler of the greater part of the island, under the walls of Batavia; the assault, however, proved unsuccessful. After the death of Coen (1629) there was a pause. The directors of the company, always dominated by the idea of immediate profits, sent instructions to their agents in India, recommending them to avoid as far as possible every occasion of conflict, to fight only in defence of commercial interests, and to accept every kind of humiliation if it could be turned to financial

¹ Cromwell, in the settlement after his war with Holland, successfully demanded from the Dutch a payment of £300,000 to the descendants of the English victims of the 'Amboyna Massacre'.

advantage. This policy of timid pacificism, tried by Hendrick Brouwer, did not succeed in restoring peace even to Java. In 1636, therefore, the directors put in charge a vigorous soldier, Antoon van Diemen. Under his rule Coen's system of aggression prevailed, and Batavia rather than Amsterdam now controlled the policy of the company. Van Diemen organized cruises all along the coast of Malabar as far as Goa. The ruler of Ceylon, Raja Singa, in order to get rid of the Portuguese, decided to invoke the assistance of van Diemen, 'the viceroy of Jacatra'.

In 1638 Batticaloa was captured by the Dutch and the raja concluded with Admiral Westerwolt a treaty by which he granted them a monopoly of trade in the island, exemption from all custom dues, and promised to expel, at his own expense, and with the assistance of the Dutch forces, all other Europeans from the country. Malacca was taken (14 January 1641) after nearly a year's siege. This victory considerably increased the prestige of the Dutch throughout the whole of the Indian archipelago, and facilitated the conclusion of commercial agreements with the native princes. The sultan of Djambi conceded a monopoly for pepper. Cambodia was once more open to agents of the company. At Java peace was established in the end, but the unfortunate natives of Amboyna and the Spice Islands were visited with fresh punitive expeditions. In 1660 a treaty bestowed on the company sovereignty over three important maritime states of the Moluccas: Ternate, Tidore, and Batchian. In 1656 the capture of Colombo left Ceylon at the mercy of the Dutch. Two years later the last Portuguese garrison surrendered at Jafnapatam. Next it was the turn of Malabar. Coulam, Cochin, Cranganore, in spite of an obstinate resistance, were taken from the Portuguese. On the other hand, the settlement of Formosa was lost in 1661; Commander Coyet was overwhelmed by Chinese pirates. In Hindustan the company held, with Hugli, the mouth of the Ganges, and established trading centres up country at Benares and Patna.

The logic of events had always prevailed over the ideas of men. The directors wished only for commercial settlements; but it

was first necessary to protect these with forts, then to secure the producers' market by means of treaties concluded with native princes. To obtain these treaties they had to promise to protect these natives against their competitors: wage war, occupy territory, exercise everywhere a protectorate, a sovereignty, or a supervision. Political and military action had followed trading enterprise and at the end of about eighty years the Dutch system led to the formation of a kind of Indian Empire not very different from that of the Portuguese. Batavia was modelled on Goa; the governor-general was, for the native, 'the viceroy of Jacatra'; the company was no longer an ordinary trading association but had unwillingly been turned into a sovereign power, with all the burdens and all the responsibilities of kingship. To undertake such responsibility the company was much less fitted than Portugal, which from the beginning had acted throughout India in the king's name. The burdens of sovereignty were always hateful to the directors in Amsterdam, who did their best to modify or avoid them. It was impossible to govern an empire in the interests of both its inhabitants and of the shareholders of the company. And so the directors did not allow themselves to be disturbed by any humanitarian considerations. As the Empire developed and the Dutch Indies began to take political shape, the company, increasingly ill fitted for its position, correspondingly weakened. The expenditure imposed by sovereignty is not productive, and where profit is a predominant consideration will certainly be avoided.

It was this confusion of political requirements with commercial advantage which created a complicated situation in Java and brought to the island seventeen years of war—a war of prolonged atrocity (1740–57). Since the establishment of Batavia (1619) the Dutch had permitted Chinese to settle in the capital and in the various trading-stations of Java. The number of these immigrants had considerably increased. They became, in spite of the strict commercial monopoly, dangerous rivals. Restrictive legislation was tried in 1730, by which all Chinese not provided with a permit of residence were to be deported to the Cape of Good Hope. The law at once became a dead

letter, for all the administrators, including the governor himself, began to sell such permits to the Chinese. Constantly harassed by the agents of the company, squeezed for money under a pretext of taxation, the Chinese became increasingly troublesome. Van Imhoff suggested transporting them all to Ceylon, where they might be made to cultivate cinnamon. The prisons were first of all filled: the administrator of Batavia interned those who had money, threatening to ship them to Ceylon unless they paid ransom. The conduct of these gangsters provoked the inevitable result. The Chinese fled into the interior and opposed a stout resistance to the troops sent after them. Panic-stricken, the Indian Board of Directors (9 October 1740) decided that Batavia must be 'purged'. Without warning the Chinese of Batavia were put to the sword: men, women, and children. On the following day an order was issued to kill all who were in prison. The order was obeyed, and intended by the authorities to include the hospitals. All sick people who looked like Chinese were massacred. During the whole day of the 11th October, pillage of property belonging to the victims continued. More than 10,000 Chinese were thus 'bumped off'; but it had proved impossible to kill them all. The Dutch authorities offered rewards to encourage the murder of such Chinese as had escaped the general massacre, and the campaign of slaughter lasted up to the 22nd October.

At Samarang also the Dutch authorities, inspired by this example, gave orders that all Chinese be put to death. The Javanese, roused to fury by such cruelty, attacked the stations of the company, and the whole island became involved in a war which lasted till 1757. As a result of the conflict the company obtained recognition of absolute right over the territory and an addition to its possessions by the acquisition of Madura, Surabaya, Japara, and their dependencies.

In Ceylon, owing to the patience of the governors, who endured all the affronts of the raja and yielded to his capricious requirements, conflict was for some time postponed. Nevertheless, disputes about cinnamon-producing districts led to war in 1765. The Dutch took possession of Kandy and became

masters of all the coast-line and the cinnamon region. Obsequious enough to native authority, in accordance with instructions received from Amsterdam, the governors and their agents were not so careful in their treatment of the common people. One governor, named Vuyst, was actually condemned to death and executed by the authorities of Batavia (1730) because he had killed a large number of Cingalese with the sole object of seizing their property. Another governor, Versluys, was recalled and prosecuted. He had pushed up the price of rice to such a figure that the inhabitants were dying of hunger, while he put into his own pocket the difference between the normal rate and the price he had fixed.

About the middle of the seventeenth century the Dutch Company, apparently at the height of its power, in reality had never been so incapable of strong action. Such prosperity as there was, with extensive territories insufficiently guarded, had no solidity. The company had not even been able to reoccupy Djambi, whence the revolt of the natives in 1690 had driven the tiny garrison which supervised the pepper monopoly. In Sumatra and in Borneo, where the field of action was restricted, the trading-stations were inactive. The company, moreover, had on the spot no warships worthy of the name. The scattered settlements could give each other no help. No assistance could be hoped for from the natives, who had everywhere been alienated by outrageous exploitation. At the first encounter with England the weakness of the company became apparent. Lord Clive had recently brought Bengal under English influence (1757). The governor of Batavia, who should have put the Dutch settlements of Hugli (Calcutta) in a position of defence, was only able to send to the mouth of the Ganges seven ships carrying 840 soldiers, including less than 400 Europeans, and the orders given to the commander of this flotilla were so vague that he did not know whether he had to negotiate or to fight. One thing is certain, the sight of three enemy ships sufficed to put the whole squadron to flight and prevent it from entering the river. On the 10th December 1780 England, learning that Amsterdam was contemplating an alliance between Holland and

the United States, then in revolt, declared war on the Dutch and captured from them Negapatam on the Coromandel coast. When peace was signed (Treaty of Paris, 20 June 1784), it became evident that the interior organization of the company was so defective and its finances so embarrassed that radical reform was essential. An inspector-general was sent out. The prestige of the company had vanished. The native ruler of Java refused to see the inspector. Events in Europe now hastened the denouement. In 1794 the Netherlands were invaded by the revolutionary armies of France, and the Batavian Republic was founded. This meant war with England. The prince of Orange, who had taken refuge at Kew, near London, in order to prevent the Dutch possessions in India from falling into the hands of the French directed the colonial governors to welcome the English as allies. Such an order, issued by a man who had no real power, led to the surrender of nearly all Dutch settlements in India to the English fleet. Ceylon and Cochin were the only places where a defence was made. In 1796 the Dutch flag had everywhere (excepting at Java and Ternate) been replaced by the Union Jack. Thus came to an end the first period of Dutch colonization; the board of directors of the company was dissolved.

We must now look at the outstanding characteristics of this colonial enterprise, which lasted for two centuries and has sometimes been spoken of with an exaggerated admiration.

A study of the organization of the Dutch settlements in India reveals at once a striking fact, their almost complete independence of the government of the United Provinces. This policy is in strong contrast with that of Portugal or Spain. After 1632 the company appointed governors-general without any reference to the home government. On the 17th March in the same year important regulations were laid down regarding the whole policy of the company in India without any advice being asked from government offices. And the company went even farther. The board informed the States-General 'that colonies in the East Indies must not be regarded as acquisitions made by the State, but as the property of private individuals' who have,

therefore, complete authority and right of ownership and 'may sell them if they wish, to any one, even to the King of Spain, or any other enemy of the United Provinces'. The States of Holland did not venture to protest against this claim, and silence was taken for consent. It would have been difficult to emphasize more clearly the private, non-official, individualistic character of the enterprise.

As an inevitable consequence of its independence of State control, Dutch colonization aimed only at making money. Not only the directors but also the staff kept always before their eyes the prospect of quick and profitable returns. It is known that, in spite of the oath administered to the agents of the company, whereby they undertook not to do business on their own account, from the very beginning they all attempted to make, and some succeeded in making, a fortune from forbidden trading. The salaries paid by the company were not sufficient to enable their agents to keep up a proper standard of living in India, and yet the governor-general van Dam retired in 1710 with a fortune of 9 million florins; a governor at Ternate could make, in four or five years, about 250,000 florins. Many of the employees endeavoured to justify such misappropriations on the ground that the company, making enormous profits from monopolies, would not be seriously injured by a little embezzlement.

Dishonesty invaded all departments. For a certificate of leave the beneficiary paid 6 florins to the company and 25 to the secretary who signed it. At Samarang (Java) the employees extracted from the local chiefs more than 200 lb. of produce when the official levy was only 125 lb. They pocketed the difference. A new vocabulary was needed to define the various kinds of fraud: there was the *morshandel*, trading for private account; the *stille winsten*, profits on a monopoly; the *overwichten*, *mingewichten spillagies*, the frauds of short measure; the *contributien*, presents received on behalf of referees; the *homages*, presents extracted from the natives, &c. And, in the end, it was, of course, the native who had to pay the cost of all these transactions, the native who was squeezed without scruple. For instance, at Cheribon, the company provided the resident with

a sum of 117,000 rixdales, to buy 17,000 peculs of coffee from the natives. The resident kept half of the money for himself, 64,000 rixdales, and insisted, moreover, on getting an extra 1,000 peculs for his own use. The company had adopted from the beginning a system of selling produce in restricted quantity at a very high price. The one thing feared, as indeed among the Portuguese, was to see an ample supply lowering prices on the European markets. Monopoly indeed, far more than a privilege, was first of all a means of controlling production.

Hence it became urgent to restrict, even by measures of violence, the output of native agriculture. This matter was effectively attended to. In Ceylon, Amboyna, in all the Spice Islands, the agents of the company supervised native plantations in order to limit production. They did not hesitate to break up cultivated land, and even to destroy the crops if they proved in excess of the small quantities permitted by the government. In 1808, the price of Moka coffee having risen in Europe, coffee trees were planted at Java, evidently by special order; but in 1735, fearing over-production, the company tore up more than half the plantations in the neighbourhood of Batavia. A century later the same thing happened with the sugar-cane. At the Moluccas the natives were in a hopeless situation. They were compelled to grow certain produce, and to sell it at a price fixed by the company, without the right of bargaining; any surplus not bought had to be destroyed, without indemnity, and, in addition to all this, the unfortunate Indian peasant was crushed by illegal impositions. The governor of Ternate extracted from the islanders more than 90,000 florins yearly, for his own profit.

As the Dutch settlements in India were nothing more than the development of a private company, it was never possible to induce thither a flow of emigration from home. On three occasions, at the recommendation of governors, the directors at Amsterdam attempted to settle on their lands a peasantry of white race. Coen, who had exterminated the population of the Banda Islands, intended to start the cultivation of nutmegs with colonists (*vryburghers*) served by slaves or convicts, but the

strict monopoly made it impossible for these colonists to derive any profit, and the island of Banda, which they were not allowed to leave, came to be regarded as a kind of penal settlement. Under Governor Maersuycker (1653-78) an attempt was made to establish white men in Ceylon to grow tobacco. The company refused to buy their crop, and would not allow them to sell it to any one else. Starvation soon compelled almost all of them to abandon the enterprise. In 1742 van Imhoff succeeded in promoting another experiment up country, in the district of Batavia, but the number of planters who were settled was very small.

From Holland itself very few people went to settle in India. The number of those who left up to 1780 works out at an annual average of 3,000, from which must be subtracted about 2,000 sailors belonging to the fleets and all those who came back home after a more or less lengthy tour in the East. Moreover, the number of Dutchmen employed by the company began to decrease. About 1778 two-thirds of their agents were of foreign birth, many German, nearly all very poor. It is therefore wrong to attribute the decadence of Dutch influence in the East during the eighteenth century to a weakening of the United Provinces as a consequence of excessive emigration; India did not in any way influence such movements.

Since the company had not, and did not wish to have, anything more than a purely commercial contact with the people of Asia, Dutch civilization made little impression on the East in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. To this fact language is a witness. In Batavia itself, at the end of the eighteenth century, Portuguese was almost the only tongue in use, and Cook, who called there in 1770, judged most of the colonists to be of Portuguese origin. Some by-laws dealing with this question, most of them rather puerile, had indeed been introduced; such for instance was the order forbidding slaves in Batavia to wear hats in the street unless they could speak Dutch, and the requirement that those in Ceylon who showed the same ignorance must shave their heads (1659). But even the agents of the Company, recruited for the most part in

foreign lands, did not speak Dutch, or spoke it very badly. So that in India, until the end of the eighteenth century, the only civilization that took root, in spite of the military disasters of Portugal, was that which came from the Iberian peninsula.

As we have already pointed out, a purely commercial interest led to political exactions and to a somewhat inhuman treatment of the natives. Under a system of monopoly they were thoroughly exploited, and never regarded as customers of the company. Ideals, whether patriotic, humanitarian, or religious, were completely lacking; nothing was looked for but the prospect of profits. The administration of justice remained always inefficient, and the company, not having the constitution of a public body, was never in a position to have its agents tried and their crimes punished by the tribunals of the Netherlands. The guilty could be sure of impunity for any offence committed against a native.

And finally, although religious indifference might well have been expected from people who were ruled solely by commercial greed, the Calvinism of the company exhibited a determined intolerance towards Catholics. Not only were Catholic priests in Ceylon subject to the death penalty; not only were churches in Malacca destroyed, but Catholic natives in Ceylon were put to death merely for the crime of having heard Mass. The company, having failed to establish Protestant missions of any importance, was, however, able to destroy, in many places, the Christianity so laboriously built up by the Portuguese. On the 16th September 1658 the Dutch governor of Ceylon decreed the penalty of death for any person who should give shelter to a Catholic priest. In 1690 Hendrik van Rhee ordered that some Catholic natives guilty of secretly hearing Mass on Christmas Day should be flogged to death. No further reference need be made to the numerous instances of cruelty.

CHAPTER III

THE SPANIARDS IN THE EAST

AFTER touching at islands then called Lucayos, now the Bahamas, and having skirted the northern coast of Cuba, Christopher Columbus dropped anchor at Haiti, which place he claimed in the name of God and of Castile. He thought he had reached Japan—that he had discovered the island of Zipangu—and expected by pushing on towards the West to arrive at the mainland where the great Khan of Tartary ruled. He determined to obtain from the court of Castile letters of introduction to the Mongolian ruler.

The admiral brought back a different problem. On the 4th March 1493 Columbus arrived at the mouth of the Tagus and declared to King John of Portugal that by sailing towards the west he had reached the eastern extremity of the Indies, and taken possession in the name of the queen of Castile. John II asserted this territorial claim to be an infringement of the rights of Portugal as laid down explicitly in the Bulls of Martin V, Eugenius IV, Nicholas V, and Sixtus IV, and he fitted out a squadron to prevent the Castilians from continuing their exploration. Spain perceived the danger. She could not venture on a naval war where defeat was certain. An ambassador was sent to Lisbon on a mission of pacification. Action was meantime taken at Rome, where the Pope, Alexander VI, a Borgia, was a Spaniard. Events moved quickly. Columbus had returned in March 1493. On the 3rd May a Papal Bull granted to the Spanish sovereigns, over all the lands and islands which Columbus or other of their subjects might discover, the same rights that Portuguese sovereigns had been granted in the regions 'of Africa, Guinea, and del Mina'. This was the Bull *Inter Cetera*. Without any one really knowing why, the Pope repeated the grant in another Bull, *Eximiae devotionis*, dated the same day.

As a precaution against quarrels, a third Bull was promulgated the following day, handing over to Castile all lands found

or to be found, beyond an imaginary line, drawn between the poles, a hundred leagues from the Azores, subject to the condition that such lands, on Christmas Day 1492, had not been already in possession of a Christian prince. This was the famous Bull of Demarcation. The lands claimed by Castile were now safe. Portugal made a protest, but Alexander confirmed his Bulls by a final document dated the 26th September. After negotiations between Lisbon and Madrid it was agreed, by the Treaty of Tordesillas, to move the line of demarcation farther west, 370 leagues from the coast of Cape Verde (7 June 1494).

This line, it should be noted, was traced, not on a terrestrial globe, but on a plane chart. It stretched between the poles as if the earth had been a level table. But since the earth is round, explorers by going far enough west were bound to end up in the east, and this is what happened.

Magellan was a Portuguese. He had already served in Africa and in the Indies, but he had quarrelled with King Manuel over the increase of his monthly salary. He claimed that the Crown owed him ten crusadoes a year more, and when the claim was disallowed he offered his services to Castile, to Charles V, and set forth to conquer the Moluccas. He sailed from Seville on the 10th August 1519 with a fleet of five vessels. In conformity with the decisions of the Papal Bulls he made west and went round South America. On the 16th March 1521 the expedition arrived at the 'archipelago of St. Lazarus', afterwards known as the Philippines. On the 1st April they reached Masava. There, on Easter Sunday, Magellan ordered Mass to be solemnly celebrated. On the 14th April at Cebú, 'before Mass', Magellan persuaded the native chiefs to accept baptism, and before the end of the week the whole population of the island, without an effective preliminary instruction, had become nominally Christian. On the 17th April Magellan was killed in a skirmish at Mactan, but he had then taken possession of the archipelago. The expedition went on to the Moluccas and concluded treaties with the kings of Tidore, Gilolo, and Poluan, &c., and a cargo of spices was obtained. On the 7th September 1522 the expedition returned home to the port of Sanlucar.

Out of 265 who had joined at the start only 18 were left, but for the first time a voyage round the world had been achieved. Portugal, knowing the Moluccas to be one of her most lucrative possessions, did not look favourably on this Castilian raid. Negotiations were opened in Europe. The Conference of Badajoz in 1524 led to nothing, but Charles V, in need of money for his military campaigns, signed in April 1529 a treaty abandoning his claim in return for payment from Portugal of 350,000 gold ducats. The Cortes of Aragon showed great dissatisfaction with this surrender. In effect, judging from the terms and the geographical references in this treaty there is no doubt that it handed over to Portugal not only the Moluccas but the whole archipelago of the Philippines.

In the reign of Philip II Spain raised the question again; instead of negotiating, it was thought wiser, without paying too much attention to the question of rights, to send an expedition in the direction of the islands of the occident (*Islas de Poniente*) those islands of the West, which the Portuguese, on the contrary, regarded as islands of the Far East. Already in 1542, in the reign of Charles V, Ruy Lopez de Villalobos had left the west coast of Mexico with six ships and reached the archipelago. From that time, in honour of the heir apparent, they were called the Philippines, but this proved to be the only benefit achieved by the expedition, which at once became involved in a conflict with the Portuguese. Antonio d'Almeida ordered the Castilians to clear out. Lack of proper food and equipment compelled them to surrender to the Portuguese, who in 1548 sent them all back to their own country by the route of the Cape of Good Hope.

By this failure Castilian ardour was for the time being modified, but in 1570 Legazpi wrote to the viceroy of Mexico to ask whether he might, in conformity with the wishes of the court, take possession of the Moluccas, using as a base of operations the island of Cebú. If, on the other hand, approach from the north along the Chinese coast was advisable, the proper base would be Luzon.

Among all these proposals, what had become of the Bull of

Demarcation and the Treaty of 1529? What had the Portuguese paid the 350,000 gold ducats for, if they had now no claim to the Moluccas or the Philippines, and only enjoyed the rights common to all first-comers? It must be admitted, to the honour of Spain, that the question was discussed at great length, and that the best geographers, among others, Fr. Urdaneta, an Augustinian, were consulted and that, in spite of the defective arguments employed, a more or less plausible justification was produced for the Castilian claim which restricted the Portuguese zone to the meridian of Malacca.

Now that the legal point had been settled an expedition could be fitted out. It sailed from the harbour of Navidad (New Spain) on the 21st November 1564: 5 ships, 380 men, 5 religious, including Fr. Urdaneta, under the command of Miguel de Legazpi, a Basque, fifty years of age, a man of remarkable personality and wide experience.

The instructions given to Legazpi in the name of the Crown throw light on the spirit which inspired Spanish colonization; they show, moreover, how unfairly Spain has been calumniated by her rivals. They consist of sixty-seven chapters, forming a veritable code of laws, of high moral and humanitarian value. The natives must everywhere be protected, and must never be treated with violence. As interpreters and as advisers the missionaries are to be present at all deliberations held with the natives, whose goodwill must be secured. The use of slave labour is forbidden, and no one is to be compelled to work for the benefit of any private individual. Soldiers are not allowed to enter the huts of the natives or to deprive them of anything whatsoever. Chapter 56 explicitly declares: 'You know that His Majesty desires above all things the spread of our Holy Christian Faith and the spiritual salvation of the natives,' and it enjoins that everywhere and in all things the requirements of the missionaries must be supplied.

On the 20th January 1565 Legazpi took possession of the *Islas de los Ladrones*, and on the 5th March reached the island of Cabalian. There proof was given that the royal instructions were taken seriously. The supply of provisions failed. The

natives would give nothing and exchange nothing. A discussion took place about the conscientious difficulty which thus arose, and Fr. Urdaneta decided that they might take thirty pigs *in exchange for a payment of cash*, even if the natives refused to make such a bargain. The same difficulty arose when off Bohol, where a small cargo of rice was taken in exchange for a cash payment. After Bohol, Cebú was occupied, but here, the natives refusing to barter and showing fight, some shots had to be fired before a landing could be made. On the 8th May the first settlement at Cebú was founded, and after some difficulty the chief of the island gave permission for a fort to be constructed.

The occupation of the archipelago continued progressively and methodically: Zulubu in January 1570, Simalara in February, Poro, Luban, Mindoro, Helin, in March. On the 24th May 1571 Legazpi himself founded Manila. Following their American colonial tradition, the Spaniards were not satisfied, like the Portuguese, merely with building fortified trading-stations. They occupied the country. The undertaking was facilitated by the fact that in the archipelago there does not seem to have been any form of centralized monarchy, and consequently no military force capable of opposing European armaments.

Three dangers, however, threatened and nearly overthrew Spanish sovereignty.

Towards the north, in the direction of Manila, the Chinese were numerous. Like the Japanese, they had become accustomed to consider the island of Luzon as a kind of prolongation of Formosa, and for many years past their junks had traded there. They quickly realized that this trade would be lost if the Castilians were permitted to make a permanent settlement. In the year 1574 a Chinese pirate, Li-Ma-Hon, appeared in command of sixty-two junks before the harbour of Manila, and attacked the place vigorously. He was repulsed, thanks to a heroic defence, in which the natives joined forces with the Spaniards. This was by no means the only incident which troubled relations between China and Spain. Chinese traders in ever-increasing numbers began to settle at Manila; they were

known as the Sangleyes. A peace-loving people, but with a keen eye for money, they were often able to snatch good business from the Castilians; their conflicts with the natives and with their Japanese rivals were the cause of incidents which gave some concern to the Spanish authorities. Moreover, just as in the ghettos during the Middle Ages, the residents were always ready to suspect them of plots, and of raising the price of produce, or spreading epidemics. A sanguinary outburst against them took place in 1603. Spaniards, natives, and Japanese joined together to settle accounts with the Chinamen. Intervention by the clergy restored peace, for numbers of these Sangleyes were Christians. In 1639 the same process was repeated; but worse happened in 1662. The pirate Kochinga (Chang-Cheng-Kung) had taken Formosa, massacring the Dutch, and utterly destroying their settlements in the island. His son, Cheng Ko, deciding to follow the triumphant exploits of his father, appeared suddenly before Manila. This was enough to provide the panic-stricken population with a pretext for an act of atrocious barbarity. It was decided that all the Chinese who were suspected of being in league with the enemy should be exterminated, and several days were devoted to the sack and slaughter of the Sangleyes.

In the south danger threatened from the Mohammedan sultanates. An attempt was made to subdue the large island of Mindanao which had been won over to Islam. Pedro de Acuña de Figueroa, who succeeded in occupying part of the island, was driven away again by the Mohammedan islanders. Having formed an alliance with the natives of Jolo, the people of Mindanao chased the Castilians far out to sea and for a long period continued to maintain an independence which proved very dangerous, even to Manila.

To such danger from exterior sources must be added attacks by the Dutch and quarrels with the Portuguese. These latter successfully held off the Spaniards from the Islands of Spices, the Moluccas, which were captured later by the Dutch. Practically the whole of the Philippine archipelago remained in the possession of Spain.

The work accomplished in these three thousand islands, of which eleven only are of any size (Luzon, Samar, Leite, Mindoro, Panay, Negros, Masbate, Cebú, Bohol, Mindanao, and Palawan), may be examined from three aspects.

From a religious point of view it was an immense success. It cannot be denied that zeal for the propagation of the faith had been the predominant motive which inspired the colonial enterprise of Philip II. In the regulations laid down by the king every facility was provided for the missionaries, who were financed, for the most part, by the Treasury. Father Urdaneta, who had acted as technical adviser to Legazpi, took over the organization. The work was divided, maintaining as far as possible unity of method, between various religious orders such as the Augustinians (from 1565), the Franciscans (1577), the Dominicans (1587), the Jesuits (1581), and others. The institution of a hierarchy soon followed. The bishopric of Manila was created as early as 1579; and three suffragan sees in 1585. The number of missionaries was relatively large. They arrived in throngs from Mexico and from Spain. An official list gives the following statistical information over a period of about twenty years. In 1575, 40 Augustinians with Fr. Herrera; in 1577, 20 Franciscans with Father Alfaro; in 1578, 12 more Augustinians with Governor Ronquillo; in 1597, 20 Dominicans along with 6 secular priests accompanied the new bishop, Domingo de Salazar; in 1580, 30 Augustinians with Fr. Ortega; in 1580, 28 more Franciscans; in 1586, 40 Dominicans; in 1590, 24 Augustinians; in 1592, 60 Dominicans; in 1593, 50 Franciscans. In 1594, at the earnest request of the bishop, an expedition of 100 missionaries was dispatched: 25 Dominicans, 25 Jesuits, and 50 Franciscans.

An exodus on such a scale presupposes, not only zeal, but also the provision of encouraging facilities. And here the action of Philip II shows him to have been, not only completely disinterested, but to a surprising degree, idealist. At a time when the Royal Treasury was carrying the burden of European wars, when the Grand Armada had just been destroyed, the king, out of his own purse, or out of Crown revenues, financed the whole

cost of evangelizing the Philippines. The right of patronage conceded by the Holy See had its corresponding duties. These the king of Spain never attempted to shirk. He paid the whole cost of dispatching missionaries to the islands, and to provide for their maintenance surrendered his right to ecclesiastical tithes.

Houses, convents, churches were nearly all built at the expense of the Crown, and in addition the work of constructing hospitals and schools was subsidized from the king's purse. An exact account was kept of all this expenditure, the extent of which can to-day be realized from an inspection of the official documents. The results obtained were in proportion to the efforts made; hence it is clear, not only that much money was spent, but that it was spent in the execution of a well thought-out scheme. The successful progress of Christianity in the Philippines can be compared only with the results obtained in Mexico. In 1585 the number of neophytes had already reached 400,000. Six years later they were nearly 700,000; by 1620 they exceeded 2 millions. So that in less than forty years, without any armed force behind them, the Spanish missionaries had succeeded in christianizing the whole archipelago. Tribes in the interior of Mindanao and the Mohammedans of the south remained, however, unapproachable.

There are many reasons which help to account for such successful results. In the first place the Philippines never experienced any such thing as a gold-rush, or suffered from an intensive exploitation of native production by commercialism. The poverty of the archipelago proved to be a blessing in disguise; it protected the native peasantry, their village life, and the patriarchal character of their institutions. The inhabitants of the Philippines, until the nineteenth century, lived happy lives, they were not hustled and distracted by trading companies, and they enjoyed the powerful and constant protection of the Spanish Crown, and of the missionaries.

Moreover, the Philippines had the good fortune to be governed by a long line of far-seeing administrators, men of sound merit, who were good Christians. Conflicts due to clash of interests

were no doubt frequent; the Spaniards have a tradition, and almost a delight, in quarrels. And so it happened that Salcedo, in 1663, in a fury with the bishop of Manila, threw him into prison, and ordered a *Te Deum* to be sung at his funeral. He was himself, however, put in irons by the Inquisition and sent back to Spain. But the example given in the beginning by Legazpi gained recognition as a precedent. Governor Figueroa founded with his own money the college of Manila; Pedro de Aguilar that of Cebú. The evangelization and education of the natives were always prominent features in the programme of most governors, and if their zeal sometimes led them to make mistakes, such as happened when they tried to penetrate into Japan, it saved them at least from becoming unscrupulous traders.

Moreover, the method of evangelization adopted by the missionaries must be admired as a model of wise adaptation to circumstances. The peoples of the archipelago were of mixed type, with a variety of dialects, practising everywhere a cultus, either animistic, or purely fetishistic, except of course among the Mohammedans of the south. They had no temples, no collective religious observance, but were well supplied with diviners, sorcerers, and priestesses, who seem to have been chiefly devoted to the magical practice of telling, or pretending to influence, fortunes. They had also reached a comparatively advanced stage of ancestor worship, with offerings and prayers, and cherished an incalculable number of domestic fetishes, all of which were regarded by the Castilians as 'idols'. Without making any profound study of ethnology, at a time indeed when even the method of that science was unknown, the Spanish missionaries, with a kind of instinctive sympathy, realized how these people might be attracted to the Catholic Faith. A striking affinity can be observed between Spanish Catholicism and the temperamental predilections of the Philippine islanders. The native dances were judged by the Franciscans to be sufficiently respectable for liturgical use, as at Seville. Decorative religious ceremonies, with almost continuous chanting, appealed to a people extremely musical;

processions, confraternities, pilgrimages, an abundance of holy pictures, a profusion of statues and images, and pious practices adapted to every action of daily life—all this gave to the towns and villages of the Philippines an appearance so genuinely Spanish that foreign travellers could easily believe they were in the Spanish peninsula. We will refer presently to the educational achievements of the missionaries. It is sufficient meantime to point out the profound realism which in the Philippines, as in Mexico, associated religion with every detail of daily life, and equally well answered to the aspirations of simple minds and to a sense of duty among educated men. The Spaniards, having no prejudice against coloured people, did not object to rubbing shoulders with them in religion, and so avoided turning the Church into a kind of club, with all the tiresome formality of a club. Nowhere, perhaps, was the mission so successful as in the Philippines in presenting the Christian message as a gospel of joy, and in brightening the lives of the faithful with the cheerfulness of children.

We have said that the Philippines were poor. They were so poor that a proposal to abandon the colony was several times put forward. How did Spain, and in particular how did the king of Spain, appreciate this aspect of the situation?

Two important questions were raised and became the subject of carefully thought-out decisions. The first was concerned with slavery. On their arrival in the archipelago the Spaniards had found slavery established there, and Legazpi put the question to Madrid whether he might be allowed to retain as slaves Moors who hindered the conversion of the natives. The colonists at Cebú went farther. They asked for permission to buy, in up-country markets, slaves sold by the natives to all and sundry who would be better off in the service of European masters. The Escorial replied on the 16th November 1568 that no Indian, native of the islands, might be enslaved, whether by capture or by purchase, even if he were a Mohammedan; but permission was granted to treat as slaves Moors, not natives of the archipelago, who had come there for a warlike purpose and had been captured as prisoners of war. To the colonists at Cebú, on the

5th November 1573, the king replied: 'No Spaniard may in any way whatever keep or acquire an Indian as a slave, and if he should possess one, must at once set him free, for We, the King, We grant him his freedom.' The king's edict aroused consternation among the colonists. They were now faced with the problem of obtaining manual labour. They tried to get execution of the decree postponed. On the 16th October 1581 the bishop, at the request of the governor, held a council in conjunction with the Superiors of the Dominicans, the Augustinians, and the Jesuits. These religious unanimously agreed that freedom belonged to the Indian by natural right; that this right could not be abrogated; that the royal edict merely recognized this right, and that it must, therefore, at once be obeyed under pain of mortal sin. The only concession made was to delay execution of the edict for thirty days. The angry colonists raised a protest. But the clerics were unmoved and refused to give absolution to slave-owners, who appealed to the king. After the whole question had been gone into the reply came that the edict must now be put into execution without further delay and without modification. Not for the first time, Catholic theology had protected the freedom of natives. Yet an historian (Worcester) who has been followed by many others (by, for instance, H. C. Morris), ventured to write that all the revolutions in the Philippines were due invariably to the tyranny of the priesthood or to excessive taxation: statements which simply are not true.

Freedom assured to the Indians, even though retaining the *encomienda*, could not even yet guarantee commercial prosperity. Here also was a thorny problem. Cultivation, on a commercial scale, of tobacco and the sugar-cane had not yet been introduced; trading was the only business in the archipelago, but in all the islands, among Indians who were primitive, and colonists who were poor, there could be very little purchasing power. The only trade was that of merchandise in transit, between New Spain (Mexico) and China. Chinese junks touched frequently at Manila. And Chinese traders had settled in quarters of their own encircling the Spanish town. By allowing free trade

between the Philippines and China it might have been possible, with great difficulty, to promote a flow of exchange. But the principle of the royal monopoly made all such attempts impossible. All Spanish trade had to be carried by the official fleet and could be controlled only by Seville. Difficulties were increased by the fact that the Chinese, having nearly all they wanted in their own country, bought nothing in the Philippines. They sold, however, to the islanders silks, high-class fabrics, metal goods, and foodstuffs, all of which had to be paid for in cash. Instead of an exchange of produce a perpetual flow of coin to China was taking place. Goods bought from the Chinese when not absorbed by the tiny markets of the archipelago were shipped on the royal fleet and, by Acapulco and Mexico, arrived at Seville. A certain amount was taken by Mexico.

Complaints now echoed from every side; cheap Chinese wares (fans, parasols, small hand mirrors, odds and ends of all kinds) invaded the markets of Seville, where silks from the East were driving out home manufacture. Every year Mexico was drained of coin by such transactions. Owing to the rubbishy character of this Chinese merchandise, it was not worth the trouble of putting it on board the royal fleet. A proposal was made to forbid the entry of Chinese goods into Mexico. This would have meant an immediate end to all trade in the Philippines. The Escorial replied by leaving the decision to the viceroy of Mexico. The report sent to Spain by this official throws a strong light on the real motives by which Spanish colonial administration was inspired at this period.

The question here at issue concerned a conflict of interests between Mexico and the Philippines. The viceroy could see beyond this limited range:

We have already spent more than 3 million pesos in these islands in order that the natives should be taught our Holy Catholic Faith and to recognize the authority of the king. We have there [1580] six Spanish settlements, more than forty convents, several native Christian villages. So rapid is the progress of this mission that in a short time it may be hoped both Islam and paganism will have disappeared.

Chinese in large numbers come to these islands and are there converted, thus providing a beginning of contact with that great empire. All this will come to an end if trade is paralysed. For the natives, no longer able to live like Christians, will go back to paganism; if there are no more colonists, the mission can no longer be supported, and there will soon be no more colonists if they cannot find some means of earning their daily bread. *Even should the Philippines cost the Treasury more than they bring in, they must be preserved for the benefit of Christianity and for the sake of educating the Indians.*

This decision met with the approval of the Spanish king. The auditor of the *Audiencia* at Manila wrote in 1585 to Philip II:

I recollect that when I was in Mexico the Viceroy, Don Martin Enriquez, informed me that he had written to your Majesty advising that the Philippines should be abandoned as they cost more money than the place was worth. Your Majesty replied that such a proposition could not be entertained for a moment: that even if the whole wealth of the Indies did not suffice to meet the expenditure, your Majesty was prepared to utilize, on behalf of the islands, the resources of old Spain itself.¹

From the broad point of view of humanity and civilization Spanish colonization of the Philippines, until the nineteenth century, must without any doubt be regarded as a success. Whereas the Marianne Islands, situated on the trade route of ships sailing from Acapulco, and occupied by Spain in the seventeenth century, witnessed the decay, or rather the extermination of the native Chamorros, the Philippines were able to acquire a true civilization, and the people had not to suffer, as was so often the case elsewhere, partial extermination as the price of progress. The Spanish Government, desirous of uniting the scattered and subdivided groups of natives, had wisely instituted a local native militia, composed of units fifty to a hundred strong, which under a single administration acted as local police, and established local courts of justice. This method of bringing the natives together facilitated the building of

¹ Extract from the Archivo General de Sevilla, l. 67.-6-6. Letter of the auditor dated the 30th June 1585, quoted in Montalban, *Das spanische Patronat und die Eroberung der Philippinen*, p. 6, note.

schools and churches, and the creation of larger villages with their own native aristocracy.

Instead of suppressing the Tagal language, the missionaries, who had realized its utility, were able to give it a literary form. The missionary printing-presses were the only ones known in the islands during the whole of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The first one, dating from 1590, was installed by a Dominican, Fr. Blancas, with the assistance of a Chinese printer. A considerable number of books printed in Tagal were put on the market.

The missionaries also presented the Philippines with a theatre. Before the arrival of the Spaniards nothing of the kind was known, and it is wrong to ascribe, as some have done, the development of theatricals in the Tagal language to Chinese, Indian, or Malayan influences. The theatre was so readily accepted by the natives that from the very beginning dramatic plays, written in Tagal, formed part of the repertory, and native authors themselves were writing plays as early as the middle of the seventeenth century. Plays were acted in the churches. *The Beauty of Rachel* was performed in the cathedral of Manila. To uproot an almost indestructible superstition in the island of Bohol, the missionaries put on the stage *The Martyrdom of St. Barbara*, a play where the malpractices of magic are exposed. This proved an immediate success.

In all the Far East the Philippines alone became wholly Christian. Methods of taxation, however, remained always archaic, and to such defects, and not to the machinations of 'the monks', must be traced the serious troubles encountered by the Spaniards in the nineteenth century. Had it not been for the missionaries, the Philippine people would have been exposed to all kinds of danger from abroad, and would have succumbed to colonial greed.

CHAPTER IV

JAPAN

THERE has been much discussion about the date of the first arrival of Europeans in Japan, and about the names of the Portuguese who first reached that country. Antonio Galvao asserts that in 1542 three Portuguese—Antonio Mota, Francisco Zeimoto, and Antonio Peixoto¹—driven out of their course by a storm, instead of landing at Liampo in China, landed on an island that was called Japan, and which was assumed to be the Zipangu of ancient writers.

Couto, Sousa, Maffei, Charlevoix, and others have all repeated the assertion of Galvao, but it is as well to point out that this writer, in the year 1540, was already back in Portugal, that he died in 1557, and that his work (*tratado*) is posthumous. Regarding the discovery of Japan he is, therefore, in no sense an eyewitness: he only knows what he has heard from the Portuguese in Portugal.

Fernão Mendez Pinto affirms, in his *Peregrinação* (ch. 33), that he himself had discovered Japan along with two other Portuguese, Diego Zeimoto and Christovao Borralho, in the year 1543. He gives us many details. He landed on the island of Tanegashima. He says that the Portuguese harquebuses gave the Japanese their first notions of fire-arms, and that the newcomers, distinguishable from Chinese by their beards and general appearance, were at once taken to be inhabitants of Chenchicu, that is to say of India.

It is difficult to admit that there had been two Portuguese expeditions almost at the same time. The occurrence of the name of Zeimoto in both narratives seems to suggest that Galvao, when telling rather vaguely the story of the expedition of 1543, had made some mistake. Without going into the almost endless detail of this controversy¹ we can be satisfied with the

¹ A complete discussion of the question, together with an extensive Bibliography, will be found in Schurhammer, *Fernão Mendez Pinto und seine Peregrinação*, *Asia Major*, vol. III, pp. 71, 194 (1926). The author concludes against Pinto.

fact that the first contact between Europe and Japan dates from 1542 or 1543, and that it was made by adventurous Portuguese traders who used Malacca as their base.

Since about the year 1150 the government of Japan had been a kind of dyarchy; the Emperor left both administration and all real power to an official who was generally given the title of Shogun. After 1338 the office of Shogun had become hereditary in the Ashikaga family, and it was only in 1573 that they lost a power which had endured for fifteen generations. The Shogun resided at first at Kamakura and afterwards at Yedo, which is now Tokio. The Emperor, who was kept almost invisible, remained shut up in his palace of Miyako (to-day Kyoto). The word 'palace' is indeed not the right one. In reality, up to about 1580, the imperial palace differed in no respects from the humble cottage of a peasant. It was not even enclosed by a wall, but merely by a bamboo hedge strengthened with some small shrubs. In 1549 the Emperor Go Nara was reduced to poverty. The imperial princesses, dying of hunger, begged for sweet potatoes from the street-traders, and implored them to throw roots over the hedge into the garden. Surrounded by relatives as poor as himself who treated him with an almost paralysing respect, the Emperor had, indeed, made a complete disappearance, like a relic put away in a corner of the sacristy. The Ashikaga themselves were no longer efficient rulers. With a slackening of the central power, law and order could no longer be enforced in the provinces, and the small daimios, lords of the provinces and chiefs of the armies, had acquired such an appearance of supreme sovereignty that all the Portuguese treated them as kings. They were often fighting among themselves. The habit of making and unmaking treaties, and of incessant intrigues, took all political stability from Japan, which as early as 1550 was already weakened by the rivalry of local chiefs.

The moral fibre of the people declined under the rule of the last members of the Ashikaga dynasty, when foreign fashions began to find their way into Japan. Buddhism was almost everywhere on the decline. Moreover, when provincial rulers wanted to carry on war or to build a palace they could not do

without money. The Portuguese traders arrived just at the right moment to satisfy these requirements.

A clear distinction must be made between European influence in Japan on the coastal regions and in the interior of the islands. Portuguese trade never reached beyond a very restricted territory round such privileged ports as Hirado, Nagasaki, and Sakai. All the work of penetration was carried out by Catholic missionaries. It is fair to admit that these were powerfully helped, and helped in a most disinterested way, by the Portuguese traders.

A word must now be said about this twofold activity and the results which followed.

We will first of all deal with business affairs. Japan was a market of eager purchasers, and for this reason was regarded by the Portuguese as immensely more important than the Moluccas, and even than China. Francis Xavier had noticed this in 1549 and, anxious to maintain communication with India on behalf of the missions, he sent the governor a clear and detailed report. The port of landing in Japan ought not to be, so he wrote, Kagoshima, where he himself arrived, and where he lived in 1549. That port, and also Satsuma, was too far south and had no local advantages. It was to Sakai that the fleet should be directed. This, in the sixteenth century, was the busiest port of Japan. It enjoyed, like the Hanseatic towns, a large measure of autonomy and many fiscal privileges. It possessed, moreover, an important fleet, and the most powerful trading companies of Japan had settled there. The prosperity of the harbour had begun to decline, however, after 1585, when Toyotomi Hideyoshi (the Taico-Sama of the missionary records) founded the port of Osaka. As an additional advantage Miyako, the historic capital of Japan and the residence of the sovereign, was situated in the immediate hinterland.

Xavier recommended that shipments should consist chiefly of pepper, the famous pepper of the Moluccas then unknown in Japan. The cargoes should not be too large, so as not to cheapen the merchandise; eighty 'bahars' at the most, that is to say, about 16 tons. Great profits could thus be made; and the Japanese were ready to pay in coin.

Later on Chinese silks and cloth from Europe chiefly supplied the Japanese markets through Macao. Hideyoshi himself asked a Jesuit, Father Rodriguez, to obtain for him such materials, and for several years profits derived from these transactions helped to fill up deficiencies in the finances of the mission.

Over the question of business a serious problem arose. In order to pay for Chinese silks the Japanese offered in exchange, not only coin but slaves, and the Portuguese, always short of labour for their settlements in India, were glad to take them at a high price. On the 4th September 1598, at Nagasaki, the Bishop, Louis de Sequeira, a Portuguese Jesuit, set apart a dozen of his religious including Fathers Valignani, Organtino, and Carvalho, who were certainly among the most competent, to study how these abuses could be prevented. Taico-Sama, who disapproved highly of such traffic, had forbidden, under penalty of death, the exportation of slaves. He had crucified the Japanese owner of a barque which carried on this trade, and ordered several native agents to be put to death. The governor of Shima promulgated the prohibition in his territory, adding that the measure applied to foreigners as well as to nationals. In spite of the prohibition, profits were so great that not only the Chinese but the Siamese and the Malays came to look for slaves in the Japanese market. Even the servants of the Portuguese, Kaffirs or Malabaris, bought on their own account. The war which Hideyoshi was then waging in Korea had brought to Japan 'an infinite number' of Korean prisoners, sold as slaves at a low price throughout all the provinces. Agents ransacked the country-side to buy and resell them to the Portuguese at Nagasaki, who for several years traded them by sea to Macao. From this traffic the Portuguese made enormous profits and, moreover, they treated the slaves with great cruelty, 'like dogs' declare the *Consultores*, who were eyewitnesses.

It was unanimously decided that an excommunication be launched against all sellers, buyers, or procurers of slaves in Japan, and, moreover, that men engaged on long-term contracts for work in foreign lands would also be regarded as slaves. In spite of these severe prohibitions the abuse was not entirely

suppressed and remained for the Japanese authorities a serious ground of complaint against European traders.¹ Nevertheless, during the sixteenth century, generally speaking, commercial relations between the nations of Europe and Japan—Portugal at this period was almost alone—were cordial, and it was only very occasionally that trouble arose. We shall see presently how suddenly those cordial relations came to an end.

The evangelization of the country had begun in 1549. On the 15th August Francis Xavier landed at Kagoshima with his two companions, Fr. Cosme de Torres and Br. Fernandez. He was accompanied by a Japanese who had been baptized by him in Malacca and whose name, Hashiro, had been changed to Paul of the Holy Faith, and by some other passengers. Katsuro Hara, in his *History of Japan from the Beginning to the Present Day*,² blames the Catholic missionaries for having treated the Empire of Japan 'as an Eldorado inhabited by primitive and intellectually backward tribes among whom they thought themselves called to play a glorious part'. He adds that these missionaries were merely audacious adventurers, and that Japan had been misunderstood by these pioneers of Western civilization, who were unworthy of their undertaking. It would be difficult to accumulate in few words a more complete misrepresentation of the facts. It is true that Katsuro Hara is not merely inventing; he is simply copying what certain Western writers long ago asserted with equal thoughtlessness. Rundall, in the introduction to his *Memorials of the Empire of Japan in the 16th and 17th Centuries*,³ wrote about the Japanese: 'They have had intercourse with degenerate ecclesiastics, no less crafty than arrogant and ambitious. They have had intercourse with governments animated by a wild spirit of aggression, to which every principle of right, humanity, justice, and honour, was sacrificed.'

In opposition to these rhetorical assertions, which are wholly without foundation, let us place the facts.

The Catholic missions in Japan were never, in any way, repre-

¹ The authentic act passed by this council has been published by Pagès, *History of the Christian Religion in Japan*, part ii, pp. 70-9.

² Paris, Payot, 1926.

³ London, Hakluyt Society, 1850, p. 32.

sentative of the sovereign power of Portugal. They were, no doubt, dependent on the *Padroado*, that is to say that for financial requirements the help of Portugal would be available, a help which, as a matter of fact, was never very efficacious, and that for the foundation of bishoprics and the nomination of bishops, the king of Portugal, in accordance with pontifical concessions, intervened personally.

But, at the very moment when he is on the point of starting for Japan, Xavier, writing a long letter to John III of Portugal in which he speaks of Java, India, and Malacca, does not say a single word about his own plans. The viceroy of India did his best to prevent Xavier from undertaking this expedition; the governor of Malacca threw all possible obstacles in the way of his departure, and even forbade any Portuguese vessel to take him on board, and so it was that he had to make the voyage in a Chinese junk.

He carried with him no credentials; he was charged with no official mission; he had received no financial assistance. The inspiration of his enterprise was purely religious.

A second distinctive feature of the Japanese mission, very different from, and indeed opposite to, what happened in Africa, in the Moluccas, and on the coast of the Pescadores, was that it drew inspiration, not in the slightest degree from any underestimation of the Japanese, but from an admiration in every respect sincere. It was indeed the good qualities of the Japanese themselves, and not the defective civilization of the Ashikaga, which roused the enthusiasm of Xavier and his first companions. Praise of Japan can be found in all his letters, both after and before the 15th August 1549. Apart from a few justifiable reservations, all the missionaries agree in describing the Japanese in most flattering terms. Fr. Organtino, an Italian from Brescia who had lived at Kyoto, wrote in 1577 to Rome in a private letter:

It must be realized that this people are in no sense barbarous and that, excluding the advantages of religion, we ourselves, clever as we think we are, in comparison with them are really utter barbarians (*siamo barbarissimi*). I can honestly say that from the Japanese I

learn something new every day and I am sure that in the whole universe there is no nation so well provided with Nature's gifts. Your Reverence, therefore, must not assume that candidates for the mission who are no use at home would be of any use to us here.

Fr. Alexander Valignani, inspector of missions in India, reached the same conclusion. The Jesuits had no hesitation in accepting the Japanese as novices and in admitting them to the Society from the earliest years of their arrival in Japan. Lorenzo, a street singer, was the first Japanese admitted into the Order, in 1563, by Cosme de Torres; a catalogue of the Jesuit province of Japan (1593) gives the names of thirty-five Japanese who had taken final vows in the Society.

The history of the Japanese missionaries shows that the work was inspired by a high regard for the natural virtues of the people they were evangelizing. Results, moreover, confirmed the good opinion they had formed of their neophytes. What Xavier had begun in 1549 at Kagoshima was continued by his successors, Cosme de Torres, Froes, Organtino, Fernandez, Vilela, d'Almeida, Coelho, Gago, de Cespedes, Cabral, &c., but the number of missionaries was never very great. There were only six of them in 1561, eighteen in 1577, seventy-five in 1582, of whom fifty were Japanese. Zeal for the conversion of their fellow countrymen had been noticed by Xavier to be one of the distinctive marks of the Japanese neophytes. Consequently the propagation of the Christian faith, facilitated by such a tendency, proceeded in certain districts almost automatically. In the province of Arima *before* the arrival of the first missionary more than fifteen hundred catechumens had already been instructed and baptized by Japanese Catholics. Xavier said of his Christians of Yamaguchi (about three thousand in 1550) that not one of them regarded himself as a true son of the Church 'unless he was doing his best to gain his neighbours to the Faith'. The statistics of conversions reach such a high figure that they might well be doubted were they not confirmed by multiple testimony and based on a list of the names of those who were baptized. About 1582 the number of baptized exceeded 150,000 and 200 churches had been built, small churches no

doubt, not very different in appearance from the small houses of the Japanese. In two years one single Jesuit missionary testified that he had baptized 70,000 people. At Kyoto from Lent to the 21st September, that is to say, in seven or eight months, Fr. Organtino had placed on his register the names of 7,000 converts. The progress of Christianity was especially noticeable in the south of Japan, particularly at Kiu-shiu; but in 1620, owing to the discovery of auriferous deposits in the island of Yezo and the consequent immigration thither of gold seekers, Christianity with Fr. Carvalho penetrated as far as the Ainos of the extreme north.

No accurate estimate can be made of the total number of Christians about the year 1620. Authors who speak of several millions are wildly wrong, but it is difficult not to conclude that the Christians at that time numbered about 800,000, to which number should be added 400,000 catechumens, more or less officially enrolled

Such a success is all the more remarkable since it was not, as in Mexico, facilitated by government support. Without doubt many Christian daimios, those of Omura, Arima, and Bungo for instance, applied political pressure to ensure the conversion of their subjects, but political instability was such, until the rise to power of the Tokugawa, that nothing substantial could have been founded merely upon the favour of these princelets.

Oda Nobunaga, who was the first to re-establish order in southern Japan and who placed no obstacles to the spread of Christianity, was destined himself to come to a sudden end at Kyoto, a victim of the treachery of one of his own people, Akechi Mitsuhide (1582). It often happened that, when the Portuguese fleet altered its habitual route and settled upon some new harbour, the daimios, deprived of the prospect of large profits, acquired suddenly a changed outlook upon Christianity.

As early as 1582 Fr. Valignani had decided to send a Japanese embassy to Lisbon and to Rome. This, however, was not the first time that the Japanese had set foot in the West. The embassy had been preceded by a man named Bernard, the second convert of Francis Xavier, who had been his companion during

all the time he was in Japan. He died at Coimbra in 1555, after having asked and obtained permission to become a Jesuit.

The history of the Japanese embassy to Rome shows more clearly than any long argument what Europe thought then about Japan and what impression the reports sent home by Jesuit missionaries had created on Europeans.

The ambassadors were mere youths. They were about sixteen or seventeen years of age. In Europe they were taken to be 'the sons of kings', but as a matter of fact the lord of Bungo, Sorin, had sent his grandnephew, Mancio Ito, the lords of Arima and of Omura had chosen one of their relatives, Michael Chijiriwa, and had added to the group two other members of their own family, Julian Nakaura and Martin Hara. The embassy left Nagasaki on the 20th February 1582, arriving in Rome by way of Goa, the Cape of Good Hope, Lisbon, Madrid, Pisa, Florence, and Siena on the 22nd March 1585. They were back again at Goa on the 29th May 1587, and at Nagasaki on the 21st July 1590. In Italy, after leaving Rome, the embassy had been entertained at Venice, Mantua, Milan, and Genoa.

Everywhere the Japanese were given a magnificent and enthusiastic welcome. At Goa the viceroy had loaded them with gifts and spent two thousand ducats to provide comfortable accommodation for the voyage. In Portugal the duke of Braganza sent his own coach to meet them; and the duchess, in order to provide them with a surprise, tactfully dressed her son Edward as a Japanese. In Spain Philip II received them in audience at the Palace of the Escorial; at Alcala the University proceeded with the formalities customary in the case of royal visitors. The feasting was so prolonged in Italy that Gregory XIII, who felt his end approaching, besought the Japanese to make all haste that he might have the consolation of seeing them before entering into eternity. The solemn audience took place in the Throne Room. The Japanese wore their Samurai costume with two swords.

Three weeks later the Pope was dead. His successor Sixtus V proved to be not less prodigal of favours to the Japanese. He created the whole four of them Knights of the Golden Spur, and

spurs were ceremoniously bestowed by the ambassadors of France and of Venice in person. The Pope, by a special brief, gave them permission to be present at the consistories, an honour usually reserved for sovereigns only. The Senate received them at the Capitol, where they were honoured with the title of Roman citizens and patricians. In Venice Tintoretto was paid two thousand scudi to paint their portrait, which signed by their own hands was to be placed in the Palace along with the pictures of the Doges. Philip II fitted out, at his own cost, the ship which took them back to India and provided them with four thousand scudi for pocket money on the journey. Japan could now understand what hospitality meant in Christian lands.

Fear had been expressed that so much honour might turn the young men's heads. But when they reached Japan all four asked to be received into the Jesuit novitiate. One of them, Julian Nakaura, was afterwards martyred at Nagasaki on the 18th October 1633. When he had received from the hand of Pope Sixtus V the Sword of the Knights of the Golden Spur, he had then sworn to defend the Catholic faith even at the price of his life.

In Japan itself the Christian settlement had begun to take shape. The Jesuits started colleges, and also printing-presses, thus providing a people already to a very large extent literate with translations and original works in Japanese. The novitiate was well supplied with recruits, and the genuine character of their faith was tested later on by martyrdom.

Yet, in spite of all this, the Japanese Church was soon to collapse¹ and the time was not far distant when Japan would refuse all intercourse with foreigners. How can this reaction be explained?

Three decisive factors can be distinguished which contri-

¹ It may, however, be noted here that their isolation from the Catholic world did not prevent thousands of Japanese converts clinging to their faith. On March 17, 1865, the existence of this hidden Christian community of several thousands was discovered, and the day is now celebrated in the Churches of Japan as the feast of the 'Discovery of the Christians', the beginning of a great revival of the Catholic missions of Japan.

buted to precipitate the catastrophe. The situation grew more and more unfavourable from the days of Hideyoshi (d. 1598) and Iyeyasu (d. 1616) to those of Hidetada (d. 1623) and Yemitsu (d. 1651).

The first element of trouble was brought by the Castilians from the Philippine Islands. In order to ensure unity of method in the apostolate and to avoid offending the susceptibilities of the Portuguese, Gregory XIII had stipulated that only Jesuit missionaries, dispatched from Lisbon and approved of by the king, would be allowed to work in Japan. Such a monopoly was regarded with strong disapproval by the Franciscans, the Augustinians, and the Dominicans in the Philippines, who looked upon Japan as a field open to their zeal and as a possible link with China. The numerous Japanese who had settled at Manila stimulated the enthusiasm of these apostles. And so it happened that, long before the monopoly of the Portuguese missionaries had been suppressed by the Holy See, many religious, especially Franciscans, in spite of the ecclesiastical prohibition had penetrated into Japan. Their method was the Spanish method as employed in Mexico, in Peru, and in all the West Indies. They did not understand, and they even despised, the necessity of prudent compromise; they were often provokingly adventurous; in fact the ardent faith of these Spanish friars urged them to aspire too ardently for martyrdom, without troubling much about the consequences which might follow for native Christianity. The bishops of Japan, Martinez and Sequeira, have written some very clearly worded memoirs on this subject.

The affair of the *San Felipe* added a new complication. This was a Spanish galleon which, on its way from Manila to Mexico, was driven by a typhoon on to the Japanese coast. The pilot of the ship, de Landa, tried to impress the Japanese by exhibiting a map of the world on which Spanish possessions figured with an exaggerated prominence. He boasted about the redoubtable armies of his king and, when the agent of Hideyoshi, Masuda, asked him how the Spanish monarch had managed to become owner of so great an empire, the Castilian bombastically

replied that their method was first to send missionaries to preach, and then the Spanish troops who, with the assistance of the converts, were able to subdue the whole country. This conversation was of course repeated to Hideyoshi, whose suspicions, even before listening to such tales, had already been aroused. The conquest of the Philippine Islands was a recent event. At Manila a landing in China had been discussed. Later on the Spaniards had made some advance into Cambodia. Behind all the Japanese 'persecutions' we find always in Japan the fear of 'people from Manila'. Hideyoshi, angry at learning that in spite of his prohibition some Franciscans from the Philippines had come to preach in Japan, ordered six of them to be crucified at Nagasaki, the 5th February 1597. To these were added, although they had not been included in the condemnation, three Japanese Jesuits and about twenty Christians.

Under the government of Philip II, who united the Crowns of Spain and Portugal, the Portuguese were regarded by the Japanese with the same distrust. It was impossible to make Japanese statesmen, accustomed to the exercise of supreme and personal power, understand that a unity of sovereignty was compatible with duality of government. As subjects of the same king the Portuguese and Castilians must now be regarded as one and the same people. The Spanish missionaries continued to behave with a clumsy imprudence culminating in the rash enterprise of B. Luis Sotelo, who took it into his head to lead in person, by way of Mexico, an embassy from Date Masamune, daimio of Sendai, to Madrid and to Rome. They left Japan in October 1613 and were received by Philip III at Madrid in 1615. Letters from Masamune proposed an alliance with the king of Spain. Warned by information received from missionaries in Japan and knowing that Sotelo was not supported by his own superiors, the king of Spain was careful to make no definite reply. At Rome in October 1615 Paul V loaded the ambassador with gifts, appointed Sotelo bishop of Sendai, and presented him with his portrait as a present for Date Masamune. Sotelo, however, was never consecrated. When he returned to Japan in 1620 he was in time to be present at the disaster which

his own imprudent proceedings had provoked. The Shogun Hidetada, furious that one of his subjects should have dared to suggest an alliance with the king of Spain, had threatened Masamune with instant punishment and the latter, at the very moment when the Pope was sending his portrait as a gift, prohibited the practice of Christianity in his territory. When the ambassador, returning by way of Mexico, landed at Nagasaki, a Samurai was waiting for him and handed to the sixty Japanese of the company an order to abjure Christianity on the instant. They all apostasized at once.

As early as 1613, indeed, Christianity had been forbidden, the churches destroyed and the missionaries banished. Hidetada decreed the death penalty for all foreign priests found in Japan and condemned to the stake every Japanese who should give him shelter, and also his five nearest neighbours (1616).

To the blundering pride of some of these Spaniards from the Philippines must be added the intriguing hostility of the Dutch and of the British, who between them finally destroyed all Japanese confidence in Europeans. Apart from Protestant hatred of the Catholics, the only motive of their ferocious hostility was fear lest trade should remain in the control of the Portuguese or the Castilians. The Dutch forged letters to make the Shogun believe that the Christians were conspiring with the people from the Philippines. They declared, and the Englishman Will Adams repeated the assertion, that the monks were only an advance guard of an army.

Richard Cocks, in a letter dated the 1st January 1616, describes how he himself sowed the seeds of grave suspicion in the minds of the secretaries of state of the Shogun. The king of Spain, he said, is only waiting for some *papistical tonno*, that is to say some Japanese Christian prince, to start a revolution; all the other Papists will then come to his help; they will capture some stronghold and there await reinforcements. 'So in this sort I cried quittance with the Spaniards.'¹

¹ *Diary of Richard Cocks, cape-merchant in the English Factory in Japan (1615-22), with correspondence*, Japanese edition, with additional notes by N. Murakami, 2 vols. (Tokyo, 1899), vol. ii, p. 283.

A third factor now intervened to confirm the apprehensions of the Shogun and to precipitate the crisis in which Japanese Christianity was engulfed: this was the statute of Nagasaki. The Christian daimio of Omura, in order to carry on a war against his rival Takanobu, had asked the Portuguese at Nagasaki to supply him with arms and ammunition for which he had no money to pay. He borrowed, therefore, from the Portuguese, 100 *kwamme* of silver. The Portuguese insisted upon security and the daimio handed over the taxes of Nagasaki and of the neighbouring villages of Urakami, Yamatazo, Fuchi, &c. He leased Nagasaki to the Portuguese for 300 *momme* of silver. Fr. Coelho, provincial of the Jesuits, agreed that an ecclesiastical tithe should be levied on the sums produced by these taxes. The Portuguese collected the taxes themselves, were in control of all public finance, and exercised for all practical purposes the rights of sovereignty. Nagasaki had all the appearance of a Portuguese town and submitted to no effective authority other than that of the Portuguese. In spite of all prohibitions the Portuguese disembarked guns and put the port into a state of defence, anxious above all things to protect themselves against sudden attacks from the Dutch. The more far-seeing among the missionaries realized that the situation was dangerous. Fr. Pasio wrote on the 20th January 1588:

the Emperor [Hideyoshi] is inclined to believe that we have no other object but to make preparations for the conquest of his kingdom. If we take any part in warlike affairs, if we provide the Lords and the Christian princes with weapons and with artillery, he will be convinced that under pretence of preaching the Gospel we are carrying out some worldly designs.

The following year Fr. Organtino wrote from Nagasaki itself:

Portugal, since the edicts of persecution have been published, is thinking of fortifying Nagasaki. This will prove the ruin of our Christianity, for it ignores the precept of Our Lord Jesus Christ who came that the faith might be planted by suffering. Such action, moreover, fails to take into account the resources of the Japanese people, who are far more war-like than the Chinese, and will lead to the humiliating defeat of Portugal. The Japanese cannot be defeated.

As for ourselves, we take no part in the affairs of the kingdom and the Emperor would not tolerate it.¹

The villagers who lived in the suburbs of Nagasaki were, however, well satisfied with the new régime. Taxes were very light and, moreover, were stabilized, and security was guaranteed by Portuguese guns. Other villages in the neighbourhood begged the favour of such privileges. When the conquering Hideyoshi crossed Omura and realized the situation at Nagasaki he became extremely alarmed. He ordered that the town 'should return to the State' and sent Asano Nagamasa (June 1588) to promulgate an edict of banishment against all missionaries.

People have sometimes, very often indeed, attempted to explain the ruin of Japanese Christianity as due to purely political events. The chief cause of the Christian disaster is alleged to have been a victory of the northern clans over those of Kiushiu² in the Civil War which ended with the Battle of Sekigahara (21 October 1600). The Christian daimios from the south, so it is said, joined with Hideyori, whose defeat by Iyeyasu led to reprisals. Steichen, as long ago as 1904, showed that this legend was groundless.³ In reality out of more than twenty Christian daimios who were then in Japan only three came out openly on the side of Hideyori and suffered, along with him, public disgrace and defeat.

The great majority of them took sides with Iyeyasu in spite of the injustice of his cause. The victorious usurper was joined by the Christian daimios of Arima, Omura, Goto, the two Kuroda, father and son, Hashisuka, Yukinaja, Takatomo the sons of Prince Hosokawa, the Ito, the Tsugaru, the Gamo, &c.

On the 27th July 1614 Iyeyasu published an edict ordaining the suppression of Christianity throughout Japan. At the same time he ordered all the daimios to concentrate the missionaries of their territory in Nagasaki, to demolish all the churches, and

¹ Delplace, *Le Catholicisme au Japon*, vol. i, pp. 268 and 269, from the archives of the Jesuits.

² Grousset, René, *History of Asia*, vol. iii, p. 433 (Paris, 1922). This work contains, however, many serious errors.

³ *The Christian Daimios*, p. 269 (Hong Kong, 1904).

to compel the converts to apostasize. On the 8th November in the same year the missionaries were embarked for Macao and Manila, but the Japanese native priests remained in their country, most of them at once adopting some disguise. Persecution growing more violent under Hidetada and under Yemitsu, the situation of Christians in the peninsula of Shimabara became intolerable. There they were subject to the tyranny of the daimio Matsukura, who invented the torture of the heated and sulphurous water of Mount Unzen.

After 1630 Shigetsugu succeeded his father Matsukura, and proceeded at once to extract money from all his subjects, whether pagan or Christian. When the peasants refused to pay up he ordered them to be burnt in their straw coats. These excesses were for some time endured by the people, but in December 1637, as a result of even more revolting cruelties, a revolution broke out. Thousands of peasants, Buddhists as well as Christians, attacked the town of Shimabara, without succeeding, however, in capturing the citadel. Meantime the fishermen of the islands of Amakusa rose against their tyrant Terazawa. The rebels, knowing that the army of the Shogun was marching against them, concentrated in Hara at the end of a well-fortified promontory where they stood a siege. Matsudaira, who commanded the government troops, ordered the Dutch of the trading-station in Nagasaki to lend him their artillery. Koeckebacker, the manager of the station, arrived with a ship, the *De Ryph*, and bombarded the besieged party. The official report of the Dutchman has with commercial precision given the details of this operation: 'During the fifteen days, from the 25th February to the 19th March, there were thrown into the camp of the enemy, 426 cannon balls from the twenty guns of the ship *De Ryph*.'

The rebels were on the verge of starvation. Large numbers of the Buddhists deserted. Matsudaira announced that no quarter would be given to Christians. At last the position was carried by assault. All the combatants were killed, but Matsudaira offered to spare the lives of the women and children if they would apostasize. All asked as a special favour to be

allowed to share in the fate of their husbands and fathers, and all without exception were massacred.

Christianity could no longer inspire fear among the rulers of Japan. Nevertheless, in 1639 Yemitsu ordered all Portuguese to leave Japan for ever under pain of death. In 1640 a solemn embassy sent from Macao to negotiate a renewal of relations was put to the sword, with the exception of thirteen sailors who were sent back to Macao that they might there tell the story of the fate that had befallen their compatriots. The British since 1623 had left Japan of their own accord, owing to the pinpricks and the intrigues of the Dutch which had rendered their position untenable. In 1636 Yemitsu published his famous Edict of Closure whereby penalty of death was inflicted on every Japanese who attempted to leave the country or, having left it, attempted to return. The foreign trade of Japan, which had been so flourishing and so full of promise under Iyeyasu, was now destroyed.

All Japanese junks capable of sailing on the high seas were ordered to be scuttled. The Chinese alone were able to keep up some trade under a narrow supervision, at Tsushima; and the Dutch kept their trading-stations at the extreme point of Deshima near Nagasaki. They obtained this concession at the price of much humiliation and the never-ending payment of money.¹

With great heroism a few missionaries, both Japanese and European, attempted to penetrate into this empire now hermetically sealed; Fr. Francisco Marques, whose mother was Japanese, Fr. Meczinski, Fathers Pedro Marques, Cassola, Vieira, a Japanese, Father Sidotti, &c., were nearly all at once arrested by the Japanese police and put to death. The Tokugawa organized a kind of inquisition to destroy, even in written books, every reference to the visit of the foreigners. At the same time edicts against Christianity, exhibited in every village, were enforced with the utmost rigour, and the inhabitants were compelled to take part in sacrilegious ceremonies.

¹ They were forbidden to observe Sunday or to date their documents according to the Christian era. They should destroy the houses in front of which were inscribed their dates, &c.

Was it really the Catholic religion against which all this hatred was directed? This can reasonably be doubted when one thinks of the story told about a Chinese arriving at Tsushima who was at once ordered by the Japanese authorities to tread a crucifix under foot. The Chinaman asked why they wished to force him to outrage in such a way the image of a man who had never done him any harm, and he inquired, moreover, who was this personage? The Japanese answered, pointing to the crucifix, 'He is the man from Manila.'

CHAPTER V

CHINA

CHRISTIAN Europe in the thirteenth century was already trying, by means of missionaries who were also ambassadors, to establish relations with the Mongols of central and eastern Asia. The names of John of Piano Carpini, of Lorenzo of Portugal, of André de Longjumeau, of William of Rubruck, of Barthelmy of Cremona are associated with these attempts, but their mission was restricted; they had no instructions to set up any permanent institutions in Asia, and they came back, like the Polos of Venice, with a large amount of contradictory information.

In the fourteenth century John of Monte Corvino was able to settle at Cambaluc (now Peking). He was even appointed Archbishop in 1307. A few years later he was followed by an additional number of Franciscans. Three episcopal sees were founded. John of Monte Corvino hoped that he might be allowed to baptize the Great Khan himself. The Franciscans indeed met with European merchants, Slavs or Venetians, even in the remotest parts of Mongolian China. Odoric of Pordenone, who crossed China (1320-30), has left a record of his journey; and contemporary evidence is available for all that missionary activity from John of Marignolli who resided as Papal Legate at Peking (1342-6). After his date the veil of history falls on the Far East. The Catholic mission disappears from view. The fall of the Mongol and the succession of the Ming dynasty (1368), hostile to all foreigners, the advance of Islam in central Asia, and the tremendous difficulties of inter-communication, are perhaps a sufficient explanation of that disappearance. With the arrival of the Portuguese in India contact was renewed. At Malacca they had already met Chinese traders with whom they had been able to come to a good understanding. On reaching Japan in 1549 Francis Xavier had noticed that at the end of every reply in doctrinal discussions the Japanese always fell back upon the same final argument: 'If your religion was true

it would have been known to the Chinese; they are as well informed and as clever as you are; from them we get all our knowledge and they have never spoken to us about your teaching.' As a result of such conversations Francis Xavier finally made up his mind to go to China, and it was when on the road to that country that he died at Shang-ch'uan, near Canton (1552).

The Chinese market was of too great value not to tempt the Portuguese. In accordance with their political system of commercial treaties they began by asking permission to settle at Macao. The exact date of occupation is unknown (1549 or 1557), but it is certain that the Chinese were already suspicious. In 1575 they fenced off the Portuguese settlement and left it in complete isolation from the rest of Hiang-shan. The Portuguese did not become complete masters of Macao. They had to pay tribute, in addition to port and landing dues. They enjoyed only one commercial advantage: their goods were placed on the same footing as Chinese produce and were therefore not subject to extra duty.

China had forbidden the Portuguese to build a fort at Macao. In order to provide some defence, especially against the Dutch, who sometimes came to steal cargoes in the port itself, and also against Chinese pirates, they had evaded the prohibition by fortifying and placing guns on the terraces of some of the most substantial buildings. These precautions proved useful when the Dutchman, Cornelius Reyersz, in June 1622 proceeded to bombard and attempt to take Macao by assault. The gun-fire of the Portuguese exploded the powder-casks of their assailants, who had to retire, leaving three hundred men on the field.

Macao, a bishopric since 1575, became almost the only available port of entry for trade between Europe and China until the end of the eighteenth century. The attempts made by the Spanish and the Dutch at Formosa, by the British at Canton (1689), the negotiations entered into by Alan Catchpool at Shang-ch'uan (now Liampo) in 1700 to procure the establishment of a station at Ning-po were all unsuccessful and nearly all ended in tragedy. In France the Royal Company of China

(1706) had no better fortune. Their ship, the *Grand-Dauphin*, returned to St. Malo in October 1713 with a heavy cargo of Chinese silks, but was arrested on arriving in the harbour. By a proclamation of the 28th February 1716, confirming three previous decrees (1709, 1714, and January 1716), the king 'with the object of protecting the manufactures of his kingdom and being of opinion that nothing is so harmful to them as the introduction and the sale of linen . . . muslins . . . and similar fabrics from India, from China and from the Levant' ordered that the whole cargo of silks should be burnt. This proved of course to be the end of the Royal Company of China.

The Spaniards of the Philippine Islands, fascinated by the exploits of their conquistadors in South America, and extremely ignorant of the real situation in the Empire of China, dallied for some time with the idea of a military expedition into that country to establish their sovereignty. In 1583 the bishop of Manila urged Philip II to abandon Flanders and to reserve his strength for the conquest of China, suggesting that the General of the Jesuits might be approached in order to obtain from him the co-operation of Japanese missionaries in such an enterprise. The governor Ronquillo wrote letters to the same effect.¹

These plans were not regarded favourably by the king of Spain, and with the exception of one expedition to Cambodia, which indeed had no unfortunate history, the Spaniards were not able to obtain any footing on the Asiatic continent.

A real contact, however, between Europe and China was established by the Catholic mission, which alone was successful in penetrating into the interior of the country, in settling at Peking, and in acquiring a moral and intellectual influence, thus providing a link between the East and the West. The undertaking was indeed arduous. Under the Ming dynasty (1368–1644) Chinese suspicion of foreigners had increased, and at the same time, with the coming of native rulers, the influence of Confucianism was dominant in official circles. Between those two facts there was no doubt some connexion. According to the teaching of Confucius the land is not primarily the property

¹ Letters from the Archives of Seville, quoted by Montalban, *op. cit.*, p. 102.

of the living owners; it is the sanctuary of ancestors, and the living men, their descendants, who occupy it on a most precarious tenure, should more properly be regarded as trustees. The soil of the country, therefore, must be kept as a sacred trust. To open up the land to all comers, to treat the country as a kind of meeting-place, or merely as a corridor, or as a market, open to the world: such ideas were regarded as sacrilegious. The conscientious Chinaman of the sixteenth century would no more facilitate the entry of strangers into the Empire than a European of the twentieth century would permit them to sit at his table or take shelter in his house. All Chinese thought was dominated by this family and domestic point of view by which both government and religion were directed. So that suspicion of foreigners was inspired less by the fear which they aroused than by the respect due to Chinese soil; and it was not incompatible with a genuine esteem. A false judgement has almost always been passed on what is called 'the incredible pride' of the Celestials. The existence of a deep hypocrisy has been suspected in the humble phraseology which they use in speaking of themselves, and in the haughty arrogance with which they repel foreigners. But such a contradiction is only apparent. It is not to foreigners that the Chinese are opposed, but to foreigners *in China*. It is to the presence of the foreigner on ancestral soil, and not to his personality or to his character or to his manner of living, that objection is made. And so it happens that even when protected by treaties the foreigner is still an intruder, and he can only cease to be so by becoming so Chinese himself that he ceases to be a foreigner. Foreigners could have no status in China in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, unless, as in a family, by a kind of *adoption*.

This deep-rooted source of Chinese opposition to the entry of foreigners had been discovered by the sympathetic understanding of the early missionaries. They had to deal with a problem not of politics but of psychology and philosophy. Methods of force or intimidation, they realized, would never have any effect on China.

These explanations also account for the fact that the China-

man, very suspicious of foreigners when he is in China, is easy to deal with as soon as he is outside his own country, and can adapt himself so readily to circumstances.

The Portuguese had come into contact with Chinamen at Malacca in 1509, when Diego Lopez de Sequeira was warned by them against Sultan Mahmud Shah, who was there in command and who was preparing an ambush. They had offered their services to Albuquerque, who in 1511 came to avenge the affront on Sequeira and to free the Portuguese prisoners. After the town had been captured (15 August 1511) the captains of the Chinese ships came to congratulate the victor.

But when Portuguese, such as Simon de Andrade (1519) wished to establish themselves, illegally, at Tamao; or when they added to their exactions, as Pereira had done, the massacre of a whole village at Liampo (1545), the Chinese, as is told by the Dominican Gaspar da Cruz, called them 'foreign devils' (*fankwi*) and in some cases fell suddenly upon these Portuguese settlements and destroyed them.

Chinese law, according to the reports of the early missionaries, allowed foreigners the right of entry into China on three grounds only. Any subject of a tributary country might be authorized, at certain fixed periods, to come and pay the money due to the Imperial Treasury; but must at once return home when this business was completed. On a pretext of paying the tribute it was sometimes possible to do a little trading in the interior, but such commerce could not be permanent. It consisted in the exchange of imported produce for currency to be paid to the Treasury; a merely provisional transaction, conducted for the purpose of transferring a tribute of goods into a tribute of cash. When the business was concluded and the tribute paid the trader had to leave the country. Nevertheless, and here we are referring to the system of tacit adoption mentioned above, a few foreigners were allowed to reside in China if they came there 'attracted by the odour of Chinese virtues' and were desirous of becoming naturalized Chinamen and of thus taking advantage of the ancestral civilization of the Empire. It is clear that in order to avoid suspicion of disloyalty

such candidates had to take up permanent residence, and to show by their behaviour that they appreciated the favour of being in China and the excellence of that country's institutions.

When Fr. Alexander Valignani, appointed inspector-general of missions in the East, arrived at Macao about the year 1578, he could often be seen in his room, at an open window holding up his arms and exclaiming: 'O rock, when wilt thou be opened! When wilt thou be opened, O rock!' His idea of attempting the conversion of China seemed ridiculous to the missionaries who were stationed at Macao; they declared that 'the Chinese cannot be converted'. At this period they knew nothing at all about the interior of China, and the population of traders, of pirates, and of coolies in the ports that they did know could not very well have given them a good impression of the great empire. Valignani, however, remembered that one of his former novices, born in 1552 at Macerata, after having completed a part of his theological course of study on the ship which carried him to the Indies, had taught rhetoric at Goa. He brought him to Macao. This was Father Matteo Ricci. He was not yet thirty years old. At Rome he had studied mathematics and astronomy under Fr. Clavius. In a few months he learnt some Chinese. Ultimately he was able to write and to speak the language as well as the classical writers of China. A quarrel between the Portuguese of Macao, who claimed the exercise of legal jurisdiction, and the viceroy of Fukien, who opposed such a claim, provided the occasion for the dispatch of ambassadors to China; the party was joined by Ricci along with another Jesuit, Fr. Ruggieri. He obtained authority to settle at Chao-king and afterwards at Chao-chau. He reached Nan-chang, Nanking, and finally, having entered China in 1582, he was able to visit Peking on the 28th January 1601.

The petition which he presented to the Emperor shows that he was completely familiar with his strange surroundings. He brought as gifts a few religious images, a cross with some relics, two chiming clocks, a glove, and a spinet.

Your servant [said he] understands perfectly the use of these celestial globes and knows geography, geometry, and mathematics.

With the help of his instruments he can observe the stars. His methods are entirely in conformity with the ancient wisdom of China. The Emperor should not reject this ignorant and incapable person, but should permit him to make use of the feeble talents he so earnestly desires to put at the service of so great a prince.

Before answering this petition the Emperor as usual consulted the Tribunal of Rites, which, first of all inspecting the 'precedents', delivered its opinion. It condemned Ricci. 'Europe has nothing to do with us and does not accept our laws. The presents offered by the European are not of great value. Han Yu of olden time laid down the ruling that novelties must be rejected. Li ma-teu [this was the Chinese name of Ricci] must be sent back to his own country.' In spite of this unfavourable decision the Emperor accepted the presents and granted Ricci permission to reside at the court and begin the reform of the Chinese calendar. He died at Peking on the 11th May 1610, when he was not more than fifty years old. As a result of the veneration in which he was held by all parties, permission was given that he should be buried in Chinese soil and from this fact the mission, to which his burial ground had been conceded, obtained a permanent settlement.

The method employed by Ricci provides an example of gentle and patient adaptation to circumstances. Directed by an always perfect courtesy, he was inspired with a feeling of genuine respect for the Chinese people. Ricci had realized from the very beginning that he must change his religious habit, the appearance of which produced some confusion with the dress worn by the Buddhist bonzes, who were then powerful, but profoundly despised by learned men and by all servants of the Chinese government. He adopted the costume of the literati, a class of persons who were regarded with great honour and who supplied officials to every rank in the administrative hierarchy. The literati were the only nobles of China, a striking difference from the situation in Japan. The test of examinations and not a privilege of birth opened the door to the office of Mandarin.

At the same time Ricci always refused to take any part in popular preaching. The Chinese of those days disliked noisy

meetings and preaching to crowds. Such methods of discussion did not suit the taste of the cultivated lettered class. They preferred to hold private meetings, to converse among themselves, and to hold friendly discourse where questions could be freely asked and answered.

In a country where tradition was supreme it was essential not to present Christianity as an entirely foreign doctrine. Ricci undertook a study of the Chinese classics in order to prove that, behind the atheistic materialism of the modern school, it was possible to find an older, and the only authentic, monotheistic tradition. And it was on this tradition that he built. Christianity, he pointed out, corrects the mistakes of the ancient wise men of China and completes and clarifies what they had obscurely foreseen.

Confucianism had everywhere popularized the ideal of moral duty and of wisdom. With books written in pure classical Chinese, Ricci represented Christianity as the embodiment of the perfect moral law of wisdom in a sense truly divine.

More important still was his success in utilizing his scientific knowledge to support the teaching of Christian doctrine. With this object he had drawn a large map of the whole world. In this map his Chinese friends showed a great interest and at once began looking for their country. They were very surprised to discover that China was not the whole universe and that the country, in spite of its enormous dimensions, would have to allow for the existence of nations as big as itself. On the map Ricci had underlined the position of certain towns with some emphasis. 'What are these special marks for?' asked the literati. 'Here,' said Ricci, 'is Jerusalem', and he went on to explain the origins of Christianity, without any appearance of forcing a discussion, but by supplying information, according to the custom which is observed among well-mannered folk. 'And this other town?' they asked. 'Ah!' exclaimed Ricci, 'the name of that city is Rome', and he proceeded to explain the organization and the growth of the Church without in any way ruffling Chinese susceptibility.

He had the good fortune to convert a famous member of the

literati, Siu-Kwangki, who afterwards became Colao, that is to say, Chief Imperial Secretary. This was the man who laid the foundations of Christianity in Shanghai, and his work was continued afterwards by his daughter Candide Siu. The Colao was entrusted in 1629 with the reform of the calendar, a work of the highest importance in China, where the distinction of lucky and unlucky days decided all public and private action. To help him in the scientific part of his work Siu co-opted the Jesuit missionaries, who thus acquired an official status and consequently were able to make a large number of converts in the immediate *entourage* of the Emperor. The Empress Helen dispatched Fr. Boym, a Polish Jesuit, to Alexander VII, with a letter of filial submission. The Emperor Yung Li, his wife, his mother, and his son were baptized. In the district of Kiang-nang alone, ninety churches and forty-five chapels had already been built. A religious congregation of literati had been founded.

The missionaries from the very beginning had intended to utilize the art of printing in China, and they were successful. They worked in the Chinese way, using wooden blocks and not movable type. The process had the advantage of being cheap. Candide Siu financed, among other works, the translation by Fr. Buglio of the *Summa* of St. Thomas into Chinese.

Fears might have been entertained that, in relying so exclusively on Imperial favours, the mission would decline with the fortunes of the Ming dynasty (1644). There was, indeed, some trouble and Fr. Adam Schall was condemned to be sliced into small pieces; but the execution did not take place, and, owing to the prestige of their science, the missionaries of Peking recovered before long the goodwill of their new Manchurian masters. When K'ang-hsi (1672-1722) came into power it appeared for the moment as if Christianity was to triumph throughout all China. In 1692 the Emperor published two decrees in favour of the Christian religion, on the 17th and 19th March. The texts are as follows:

The men of the West have restored the proper calculations of the calendar; during the war they repaired our old cannons and cast

new ones.¹ They have thus with much labour done their best for the good of the Empire. As for the Catholic religion (the religion of the Lord of Heaven), which contained nothing evil or against tradition, its adherents must be allowed to continue as before to practise it freely. We order the annulment of memoranda and deliberations against the said religion previously made by the Tribunal of Rites . . . To this pay honour.

Two days later a second and even more explicit decree was published:

The members of the Tribunal of Rites after due deliberation had previously agreed to maintain the existing churches of the Catholic religion throughout the provinces and to allow to the men of the West [the missionaries] freedom to practise their religion. We have already welcomed the suggestion and now these men, after having rectified the calendar, and when war came, having repaired old guns and manufactured new ones, serving the Empire with all their might, have been recently attached to the military expedition against Russia,² and in the final settlement preserved the whole of the Empire. Moreover, in the conduct of these missionaries there is nothing evil or against order. If, then, their religion were to be regarded as that of a perverse sect and prohibited, the innocent would suffer. To this pay honour.

Yet the Chinese whether under K'ang-hsi or under his successors in the eighteenth century, were never freely permitted to accept Christianity. Even Christian preaching was never officially authorized. The foreign missionary was tolerated but with severe restrictions. He was admitted to the Court of Peking in the name of Science; as an astronomer, or as president of the Tribunal of Mathematics; or as engineer or architect, for instance at the Summer Palace of the Emperor K'ien-lung; or as an artist, such as the lay brothers Castiglione and Attiret; or as expert in the manufacture of artillery such as Verbiest. The Chinese, nevertheless, could not embrace Christianity without

The reference is to Fr. Verbiest, S.J., who had constructed field artillery for K'ang-hsi.

² The reference here is to the Treaty of Nertchinsk (6 Sept. 1689) between the Russians and the Chinese which delimited the Russian frontier from the Amur to the Selenga. Fathers Gerbillon and Pereira, Jesuits from Peking, were attached to the Plenipotentiaries and the discussions took place in Latin.

incurring a suspicion of disloyalty and without breaking the law. K'ang-hsi himself, in his Grand Imperial Edict, read on the 1st and 15th of each month to the people, prohibited 'foreign religions', and the official commentary indicates that the reference is to Christianity.

All religious propaganda depended, therefore, entirely on the personal credit of the missionaries with the Emperor himself. Such security was indeed precarious: the troubles which might follow from imperial successors, the unpredictable whims of a king, the ceaseless intrigues of the court, might at any moment, lead to a catastrophe.

And it was for this reason that bold and ardent missionaries such as Couplet and Rougemont urged the immediate and extensive creation of a Chinese native clergy, trained, not in Latin but in Chinese. The Roman liturgical books, Missal, Breviary, &c., were translated into Chinese. Negotiations were entered into with Rome. But for various reasons, many of which are still obscure, the plan was never carried out.

Under the Manchu dynasty (which succeeded the Ming dynasty in 1644) China, far from becoming intellectually and socially emancipated, became more firmly fixed than before in the classical tradition. Her new masters had brought from the Northern Steppes no form of literature, no art, and not even the elements of a new religious system. Like all new-comers they whole-heartedly accepted the Confucian culture which they found in possession. The system of classical examinations, a preliminary test for all public office, was successful in turning all the literati into men of mere book learning and hidebound tradition. The missionaries realized that in such stagnant surroundings freedom of action for themselves could scarcely be expected. Yet their attitude towards China remained until the eighteenth century remarkably friendly. The Portuguese and the Italians were at one in praising a people 'so well disciplined'.

Administration wholly in the hands of the literati seemed to them the ideal government by philosophers, of which Plato had dreamt. They boldly held up China as an example to European countries. Fathers Couplet and Intorcetta in their *Confucius*,

Sinarum Philosophus, studying with patient ingenuity abstruse and apparently grotesque doctrines, finally concluded that when 'rightly interpreted and properly understood' Confucius is no farther from the truth than Aristotle. They evidently hoped that the ancient Chinese philosopher would come to play in his own country the part that the Stagirite had taken in the intellectual development of Western philosophy. Fr. Maghalaes, a Portuguese, wrote with quiet insistence:

The Chinese must be regarded as superior to other nations . . . they have a wit so lively and well sharpened that they easily understand . . . the most subtle and most difficult problems of mathematics, of philosophy and of theology. This may perhaps seem incredible, but I am convinced that nothing is more certain, for I have myself known some Christian literati, and even pagan ones, who clearly understood, as could be seen from their speech, the questions concerning God and the Trinity, which they had read in the first part of the *Summa* of St. Thomas, translated by Fr. Buglio.

Fr. Trigault, who in 1618 returned to China taking with him forty-four missionaries, and who worked in conformity with instructions left by Ricci, tried to show 'how well disposed are the minds of these people to accept the Christian faith since they are accustomed to discourse so aptly on sound morality'. China he said, is a 'kingdom so well ordered that it is in no way inferior to, and in some points even surpasses, the republics of Greece and Rome'.

The favourable reports which the missionaries sent to their correspondents in Europe aroused in the eighteenth century a passion for everything Chinese. The manufacture of porcelain¹ is a Chinese industry. The influence of decorative Chinese architecture can be seen in the rococo style of palaces and churches in Europe, and here, if Jesuits have often led the way, it is because they were in closest contact with the Far East. It has even been alleged that the custom of wearing wigs, which suddenly became fashionable in Europe during the seventeenth century, was copied from the Manchurians. There is no doubt that the work of the French Jesuits, missionaries in China, had

¹ Introduced into Europe in 1709.

a considerable influence on the literary world of Europe. *Les Mémoires de Trévoux*, *l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres*, *le Journal des Savants* have included a series of important articles on the subject. Voltaire, writing his *Orphelin de la Chine*, borrowed from a Chinese play published by Fr. du Halde in volume iii of his *Description of China*; Leibniz and Mencken were interested in Chinese philosophy; attempts were also made with the help of the missionaries to introduce into Europe the processes of Chinese manufacture.¹ Under K'ang-hsi and K'ien-lung, China aroused more interest in the West than at any time during the nineteenth century. It is true, however, that governments and traders had not yet come on the scene.

If Christianity did not succeed in winning China, and if relations between Europeans and Chinese became strained from the beginning of the eighteenth century, there is no need to look for an explanation beyond the rivalries, the intrigues, and the deplorable quarrelling of the Europeans among themselves. In a few years they succeeded in making their own situation untenable. Fr. Couplet in 1680 summed up in the following words the state of affairs before these quarrels broke out:

After 100 years of Apostolate we have now but 24,000 Christians, throughout 13 Provinces, in a population of 200 million. We have churches in 71 towns, but in China the towns number more than 2,000, and the whole of this missionary activity can be brought to an end simply by a decree of the Emperor ordering all foreigners across the frontier.

There can be neither progress nor stability in the evangelization of China, he concludes, unless a large body of native clergy is immediately created. The example of Japan, where Christianity had been wiped out under Hidetada and Yemitsu, was always present in the minds of the far-seeing missionaries. The situation, therefore, called for the exercise of tact and prudence, and all the more so since China depended in fact, though not in right, on the Portuguese Padroado. Any delegation of that

¹ For instance the making of artificial flowers, cf. *Mémoires de Trévoux*, January 1732, p. 160.

authority would inevitably arouse the opposition of Portugal and the hostility of Macao.

On the other hand, in 1650, Portugal could make no efficacious move towards the evangelization of China, and Macao was strongly prejudiced against the idea of a native Chinese clergy; Fr. Couplet, who knew this prejudice only too well, speaks of it with indignation.¹

France was then in the full bloom of a Catholic revival. And it was to France that proposals were made from China, by Fr. de Rhodes, through Couplet and Verbiest. The consequences were twofold. On the one hand, the Holy See (1658) appointed as vicars apostolic in Asia Monseigneur Pallu, Monseigneur de la Motte Lambert, and Cotelendi, while a few years later the Seminary for Foreign Missions in the Rue du Bac was established in Paris. On the other hand, in 1685 Louis XIV sent to Siam and to Peking a group of Jesuit missionaries with the title of Mathematicians of the King, who were to work in China in the interests 'of religion and of science', which were regarded as 'in sympathy with those of France'.² Of these six Jesuits, Fr. Tachard remained in Siam; Fathers de Fontaney, Gerbillion, Bouvet, Visdelou, and le Comte reached Peking and were welcomed there by K'ang-hsi, 'the Louis XIV of China'.

At once discord broke out on the missionary front. The Portuguese protested against what they called a violation of their rights. The vicars apostolic had not ventured to sail round the Cape of Good Hope, for the Portuguese would have stopped them on their first call at a Portuguese seaport. They had to travel on foot through Persia and the interior of the Asiatic continent; the adventure had convinced them that by such a route communication with France could not be safely established. An attempt was made to float a trading company which hoped to reach the Far East via Madagascar. Organized upon information received from Monseigneur Pallu, the company,

¹ He affirms that those who are opposed to a native Chinese clergy are not worth answering: 'nec responso quidem dignos arbitror.'

² Cordier, *Histoire Générale de la Chine*, vol. iii, p. 313. Louvois, the duke of Maine, and Fr. de la Chaise organized this expedition.

however, lost the only ship it possessed on the 19th December 1660, together with the 420,000 livres subscribed by the shareholders. The jurisdiction of the new vicars apostolic extended, not only to Siam, to Tonkin, and to Cochin China, but even to the provinces of China Proper. They were under the direct authority, not of Lisbon, but of the Congregation of Propaganda. They were never able to obtain recognition from Portugal and consequently deplorable quarrels took place on the question of jurisdiction.

At Peking the French Jesuits did not agree any better with the Portuguese. An echo of these disputes reached the Philippines. There it was said that the Portuguese bishop had excommunicated the French Jesuits, who had taken no notice of that measure. It became necessary to separate the religious into two completely distinct houses.

In addition to all these causes of disunion and ill feeling a new source of trouble was provided by a quarrel about rites. With reckless audacity, Monseigneur Maigrot, who had been appointed vicar apostolic of Fukien, issued on the 26th March 1693 an order by which he revoked on his own authority permits which had been formerly granted to the missionaries by Pope Alexander VII (23rd March 1656) regarding certain Chinese customs. Maigrot asserted without proof that the information supplied at that time to the Pope by Fr. Martini was false and that the permits in question were therefore invalid; that the traditional honours paid to Confucius, and ceremonies carried out before ancestral tablets, could not be tolerated among Christians. The action taken by Maigrot coincided with a campaign of fierce opposition in Europe against the methods of the Jesuits which did not help to restore peace. The controversy spread like wildfire and raged with that excessive fury which is so often a feature of ecclesiastical quarrels.

K'ang-hsi, at the request of the Jesuits, officially declared that the condemned ceremonies had a civic and not a religious significance. This declaration was denounced by the adversaries of the rites as *ultra vires*; the authority of K'ang-hsi, the Pagan, so they said, was placed in opposition to that of the

Pope. The controversial warfare continued with a renewed vigour to the great scandal of the Emperor of China.

In 1702 Clement XI appointed Charles Maillard de Tournon, patriarch of Antioch, as apostolic visitator and legate in China. The choice was not a happy one; Tournon had no knowledge of Chinese affairs. In poor health and misled by bad advice from Maigrot and from the Vincentian Appiani, he made a bad impression upon K'ang-hsi. He succeeded in arousing the hostility of the Portuguese, of course, and also of the French and the Chinese. Finally he was ordered by the Emperor to leave the country. From Nanking he issued on the 25th January 1707 a vigorous public pronouncement in which he condemned the methods of the missionaries at Peking. When he arrived at Macao he was thrown into prison by the Portuguese, and there he died on the 8th June 1710.

After that date the mission remained stagnant. On the 11th July 1742 Benedict XIV officially confirmed almost everything Tournon had said. After that date not one of the literati was ever converted. K'ang-hsi, embittered and scandalized, became more and more suspicious of the missionaries. Under his successor disaster followed with hastening steps. Persecution began with Yung-cheng (1723-35). Christianity throughout the provinces was wiped out and the missionaries sent back to Canton and afterwards to Macao (1732). Those at Peking were alone able to remain; but their activities were limited to scientific work. Propagation of the Christian faith was now impossible. But even there a final disaster awaited them. On the 15th November 1775 the Brief *Dominus ac Redemptor* of Clement XIV, suppressing the Jesuit Order, was published at Peking. This publication, far from pacifying the situation, stirred up fresh trouble. Macao, the French mission, and the officials of the Propaganda could not agree as to how the property of the suppressed Order should be divided. And the situation in 1780 had all the appearance of a schism.

In all these quarrels of the European over the corpse of the Chinese mission the Chinese themselves took hardly any part. In 1784 a fresh persecution had broken out in the provinces of

Fukien and Sze-chwan. For many years to come the source of missionary recruits was dried up by the French Revolution.

Of those melancholy days there remain to us, however, volumes of *Memoirs concerning the Chinese*; the *Account of Chinese Chronology* by Fr. Gaubil; a *History of China* by Fr. de Mailla, and other works of scholarship, in which a high regard and sympathy for the great Empire are never found wanting.

CHAPTER VI

BRITISH INDIA

THE immense peninsula which stretches from the slopes of the Himalayas to Cape Cormorin had never been included under one name before the arrival of Europeans, and the somewhat vague title they gave it was not confined to that territory alone. India, or the Indies, included not only the America of Christopher Columbus but also the Philippines and Malacca. The phrase 'British India' is even more inaccurate. It covers no single ethnographic group, no single geographic region. It is employed here in its historical significance to describe the relations between England and the inhabitants of the great peninsula up to the beginning of the nineteenth century.

The first Englishman who visited India was not a trader but a Jesuit, Father Thomas Stephens, born in the diocese of Salisbury in 1549, a student of New College, Oxford, who entered the Jesuit novitiate in 1578 and arrived on the 24th October 1579 at Goa. There he spent forty years and became Rector of the College of Salcete.

Some of his letters reached England, where they aroused emotions which were not those of ambition for the kingdom of God. Four adventurous traders set out for the Indies, passing by Aleppo, Syria, and the overland route. One of them, the artist James Story, remained in a monastery at Ormuz; William Leeds, a jeweller, entered into the service of the Emperor Akbar; John Newberry, at first imprisoned by the Portuguese, when set free started business at Goa; Ralph Fitch continued his journey on a Portuguese vessel and reached Burma.

On the 7th September 1592 Sir John Burrough captured off the Azores a Portuguese vessel, *La Madre de Deos*, on her way back from India. The cargo was valued at £150,000 sterling. The British now knew the secret of Portuguese commercial navigation.¹

¹ See the detailed description in *Hakluyt's Collection of Voyages*, new edition, 1810, vol. iii, pp. 9-14.

In 1599 the Merchants and Adventurers of London decided to found a company to trade in the East Indies with a capital of £72,000 sterling, with the authorization of Queen Elizabeth. In 1600 a Charter of Incorporation was signed at Westminster in favour of the Company of the East Indies under the name of 'The Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading into the East Indies'. It was called the London East India Company and sometimes the old Company until its absorption in 1708 by the grand 'United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East'.¹

The first expeditions were in no sense of the word commercial; they cannot be described as anything else but piracy, whereby the names of James Lancaster, Henry Middleton, and others have earned distinction. The activities of Middleton in 1609 can scarcely be regarded as commercial. He had been sent to Bantam. He preferred, however, to block the Strait of Bab el-Mandeb, to confiscate the cargoes of all passing ships, to select such produce as he wanted and to give in exchange, at his own valuation, such merchandise as he did not require himself. It is clear that this procedure must have proved extremely profitable. The founders of the East India Company had declared that they proposed to trade only 'upon a purely mercantile bottom'. The profits were sufficiently large to justify a second charter by which an exclusive and perpetual monopoly was granted to the company 'as long as they could be continued without prejudice to the interests of the nation'. This charter was granted by James I on the 31st May 1609.

An historian of the East India Company has written:

The great structure of our Indian Empire has been reared as no human intellect would have designed, and no human hands would have fashioned it. It has been reared for us as for a chosen people, and mighty is the responsibility which a trust so imposed upon us, entails. The more we consider all the circumstances of the Rise and Progress of British Power in the East, the more palpable and obstinate appears the scepticism which would attribute so

¹ The earlier official archives of the East India Company were kept at the company's offices in London. It is strange that they should have been scattered or destroyed. Fragments of them can still be found here and there at the present day.

stupendous and mysterious a movement, to anything but the special interferences of an Almighty Providence for a purpose commensurate with the grandeur of the design.¹

The very human note of the story does not seem to harmonize with the theological speculations of this enthusiast. Founded 'upon a purely mercantile bottom', the company evidently intended to do better than its predecessors, the Portuguese and the Dutch. The Portuguese had been interested in the spread of religion, a work which brought no profit to the shareholders. But the company had no missionary plans; they did not intend to interfere with the customs or with the religion of the Indians. The Dutch had almost everywhere maintained their monopoly by force of arms and had constructed forts and built armed fleets. The company decided that war is an expensive undertaking. There would be no war. They would manage to make money without proceeding to violence. But facts, stronger than all these theories, led the East India Company to adopt a policy which independent critics have been compelled to describe as hypocritical. Instructions given to the governors were sufficiently equivocal or even sufficiently contradictory to provide an excuse when military enterprises were not successful, and to make the best of success when they had obtained it.

This is what happened when hostilities were undertaken against Aurangzeb, as we shall presently see.

To carry on trade at all in India it was necessary after the early buccaneering adventures to settle accounts with Portugal. The Portuguese had prevented Middleton from landing at Surat; in 1612 Captain Thomas Best was able to force his way in and turn them out. This was the first permanent trading-station of the company in India. To strengthen their position the company appointed a resident preacher, Mr. Leske, in order that he 'may oppose the Jesuits, who are busy there'. In 1622 an alliance was formed with the Shah of Persia in order to replace the Portuguese at Ormuz. Since 1630 the latter, ruined by the attacks of the Dutch, were no longer regarded as serious rivals.

¹ J. W. Kaye, *The Administration of the East India Company, a History of Indian Progress*, 2nd edition, 1853, p. 64.

In 1662 Bombay (Bom Bahia in Portuguese) came under the Crown of England as part of the marriage portion of Catherine of Braganza, the wife of Charles II. The island had then upon it only a small fishing village and it was let by the Crown to the East India Company at a yearly rent of £10 sterling.

The Dutch proved a harder nut to crack. The massacre of Amboyna (1623), to which we have referred above, provoked an outburst of fury in England, but the English did not venture to attack the Dutch in Europe, for the mother country could not be held responsible for the actions of a private company. It was only much later at the Treaty of Breda (1654) that a small indemnity was obtained. And, as a matter of fact, a division of spheres of influence in India was arranged by tacit allocation. The company took over the Indies as far as Malacca while Holland kept the Malayan archipelago.

The situation of the company was, however, seriously threatened when the Frenchman Dupleix made a daring attempt to found an empire in the peninsula. Dupleix kept closely in touch with Indian affairs through his wife, a baptized native, the Begum Jeanne d'Albert. But Dupleix got no sympathy from the government in Paris. In 1754 his policy was repudiated and he was called home. In 1757 the Battle of Plassey, where Clive gained an easy victory, secured for the company the sovereignty of India.

And what, it may be asked, was happening to the people of India while the Europeans there were thus fighting among themselves?

After the death of Akbar, the 15th October 1605, the Mogul Empire had reached the climax of its power in India. Fourteen provinces each governed by a Nazim assisted by a collector of taxes, known as the Diwan, formed a more or less uniform whole. The successor of Akbar, Jahangir (Lord of the World), did not inherit the qualities of his father, and drunkenness was included among his lesser vices. After his death the Mogul Empire in India rapidly declined under Shahjahan (1627-58) and Aurangzeb (1658-1707). These kings were the first to have dealings with the East India Company.

A British commission headed by Sir Thomas Roe visited Jahangir at Delhi. Sir Thomas did not take long to realize that large profits could not be secured by trading only. Under the Mogul Emperors India was indeed rich, but wealth was not in circulation. Enormous sums of money were squeezed out of the peasantry, the *ryots*, in the shape of a land tax and more still in the shape of fines or compulsory presents, but this money was invested by the rulers in jewellery and articles of luxury. Sir Thomas insisted that the whole enterprise of the company was 'a mistake', and that the only sensible way of doing business was to come to an understanding with the Indian Princes and to share in the profits of their administration by doing them some service. Such service could only be of a military character.

This good understanding with the Mogul sovereigns nearly came to an end under Shahjahan, for it happened that in England there was opposition to the company's monopoly, and a high price had to be paid for the privileges conceded by royal charter in 1609. The Duke of Buckingham, who was Lord High Admiral under James I, extorted £10,000 from the company before he would allow the fleet to sail. Charles I, having need of money, bought on credit a whole consignment of pepper belonging to the company, sold it again himself to private individuals, and did not pay a single penny. In 1635 he hit on another ingenious method of making money. He proclaimed by a royal edict that:

The East India Company had neglected to establish fortified factories, or seats of trade, to which the King's subjects could resort with safety; that they had consulted their own interests only, without any regard to the King's revenue, and in general, that they had broken the conditions upon which their charter and exclusive privileges had been granted to them.

Consequently a charter was granted to Courteen's Association (afterwards named the Assada Merchants) and the king reserved a large number of shares for himself, for which, as usual, he paid nothing.

These new adventurers set off upon an expedition of irresponsible buccaneering in the Indian Ocean. They captured two

ships belonging to the Shahjahan himself, tortured the crews, and took possession of the cargo. The Mogul king could make no distinction between the old company and this great chartered party of interlopers, and his displeasure extended to all the British. It became necessary to send an obsequious mission to Delhi and to promise an indemnity, but even this apologetic attitude would not have been successful if Gabriel Boughton, a naval surgeon, had not been able to cure one of the Indian princesses who was suffering from severe burns. As an honorarium for his services the doctor secured on behalf of the company a right to trade throughout the whole of Bengal and to found trading-posts at the mouth of the Hugli and at Balasor, in Orissa.

Sir Thomas Roe had insisted that the Portuguese had 'never made an advantage of the East Indies since they defended them' and that 'the Dutch, who had sought plantations by the sword had found "that their dead pays consumed all their gain"'.

The company boasted that 'territorial acquisition and military defence formed no part of their policy'. Nevertheless, when Aurangzeb in 1683 was fighting with the Maratha and attacked the still independent sultanates of the Deccan, the company decided to use force against any Indian prince 'who should interfere with commerce'. Thus war was declared in order to keep the peace. In fact, from that time onwards the company determined, with the object of increasing its profits, to take the place of the native princes and to gather the harvest of taxes and fines. From a mere trader's point of view it would have been sheer folly to declare war on customers in order to prevent them from fighting among themselves. A fleet of ten ships carrying artillery, and seven companies of infantry, received from Sir John Child, admiral and governor of the Indies, an order to attack the states of Aurangzeb from the east and from the west. Hugli was bombarded and several ships were captured conveying Mohammedan pilgrims on their way to Mecca. Troops were landed. Aurangzeb was furious and issued an order that all the British were to be driven out of his dominions.

Masulipatam, Vizagapatam, and Surat were captured, the agents of the company imprisoned, and Bombay itself threatened. In order to gain time the British opened negotiations, but before they were concluded an order was given to Captain Heath to renew hostilities. So violent was the fury of the Indians at such disloyal conduct that the agents of the company abandoned their posts and fled for their lives. The disaster was complete. The company, therefore, decided to repudiate the governor-admiral and, placing on his shoulders all responsibility for what had happened, proceeded to offer an ample apology to the Emperor, and paid a heavy fine. The lesson had been a sharp one; Governor Charnock and all the agents of the company had been obliged to flee from Hugli and to take refuge in an island of marshy swamps at the mouth of the Ganges. These reprisals for the British attack on the Sultan have been described by some historians as 'an active oppression of the English factories'.¹

As soon as peace was made with Aurangzeb the factories were restored and in 1700 the son of the Emperor, Azimshah, presented the company with Kali-Ghat, the future Calcutta. The greater part of the eighteenth century was spent in fighting against the French, but these battles belong rather to the history of Europeans themselves than to the story of their contact with Asia. Robert Clive, who took so active a part in this struggle, carried out on an enormous scale the policy which the company had always intended to put into action. Careful to leave a nominal sovereignty and all the responsibility of power to the native princes, Clive did not fail to make them pay for the privilege of holding their honourable positions. The British themselves acted as collectors of the revenue and insisted on obtaining substantial concessions on every fresh accession of a prince to his throne. The policy, in short, was to make sure of the profits without assuming the moral obligations incurred by the possession of supreme power. A few facts will suffice to illustrate the procedure. After the Nawab of Bengal Suraj-ud-Daula had taken Calcutta (1756) and allowed 123 out of 146 Englishmen

¹ Cf. *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, 1909, vol. II, p. 459.

to die of suffocation in the prison afterwards known as 'The Black Hole', Clive and Admiral Watson set out for the Ganges to recapture the settlement. The Nawab submitted and paid a large indemnity. But hostilities had broken out between the British and the French. Acting as if he had been the lawful sovereign of the whole country, Clive took by assault the French post of Chandernagore. The Nawab, furious at this conduct, entered into an immediate alliance with the French. Clive came to a secret understanding with Mir Jafar, who was one of the Nawab's lieutenants, and promised to put him on the throne if he would betray his master during the war. The plot was successful. After the famous Battle of Plassey (23rd June 1757) Mir Jafar was named Nawab of Bengal and made all arrangements for putting his vanquished predecessor to death. He had to pay enormous sums of money to the company. Clive himself received 2 lacs of rupees as commander-in-chief and 16 lacs as a personal remuneration. Moreover, he was allowed to collect all the land taxes and the public revenue of a large district around Calcutta which was afterwards known by the name of the Twenty-four Parganas. In 1759 his supreme authority was officially recognized.

Next year (1760) Clive was back in England 'with his fortune'.¹ He was granted the title of Baron Clive of Plassey in the Irish Peerage, and secured a seat in the British House of Commons. He bought an estate and seemed inclined to settle down at home. 'He has left no system of government in Bengal, but merely the tradition that unlimited sums of money might be extracted from the natives by the terror of the English name.' The system, indeed, was clearly remunerative. When Mir Jafar showed some signs of independence a repetition was made, this time at his expense, of the operation which had set him on his throne, and he was replaced by his nephew Mir Kasim. Generous gifts were once more showered upon all the agents of the company, which received in addition a present of the districts of Chittagong, Midnapur, and Burdwan with revenues estimated at 50 lacs of rupees. All these transactions, in which there was

¹ James Mill, *The History of British India*, 1820, vol. iii, p. 259.

no longer even a pretence of commerce, were merely the operations of an all-powerful band of *condottieri*. Mir Kasim was not inclined to be submissive, and he complained, somewhat naively, that his authority had been reduced to nothing, and that the natives, in order to avoid paying custom dues, declared that they were all in the service of the company, which was exempt from all payment of duty. The troops of the Nawab opened fire on an English ship which was suspected of smuggling. This was the signal for a general revolt and about 200 British were massacred in Bengal. Mir Kasim, powerless against the regular army of the company, fled to the Nawab of Oudh who refused to hand him over to the British and formed an alliance with Shah Alam, one of the successors of Aurangzeb. This coalition was defeated at Buxar (1764) by Major Munro. In order to quell a mutiny among his own native troops this officer had tied twenty-four of his mutineers to the cannon's mouth and had blown them to pieces. It was said by way of excuse that this was 'an old Mogul punishment'. It is true that at Calcutta, after 1763, Mir Kasim had been once more replaced by Mir Jafar, and on the death of the latter his son was allowed to succeed him.

When Clive landed in India in May 1765 the allies had been defeated in the Battle of Buxar in Bihar (October 1764). Mir Kasim was a fugitive and the Nawab of Oudh and Shah Alam were asking for peace at any price. Mir Jafar had been reinstated as Nawab of Bengal, after Mir Kasim's revolt, but had died, leaving in his will a legacy of £70,000 to Clive. Vansittart had accepted the succession of Mir Jafar's son, the new Nawab paying gratuities amounting to £100,000 to the officials. It was perhaps as a step towards clearing the way for reform that, as soon as he took over the government, Clive devoted Mir Jafar's legacy to founding a fund in aid of European officers and soldiers invalided in India, and pensions to the widows of those who died in the company's service, leaving them scanty resources.

Clive made peace with Oudh on condition of the Nawab paying a heavy contribution to the cost of the war and restoring

to the Mogul Emperor some territory ceded to Oudh a few years before. Shah Alam had to purchase peace by signing, at Benares on the 12th August 1765, a firman which practically handed over to the company Bengal, Bihar, and Orissa, making some 30 millions its subjects. The Nawab of Bengal became little more than a nominal ruler. The company was to levy all the taxes of these territories, paying to the representative of the Mogul Empire a fixed sum in lieu of any balance left over each year—a payment which Shah Alam represented to his subjects as a tribute. By further decrees he recognized the company's right to its possessions on the Carnatic coast, and granted to it the lieutenancy of his empire in southern India. It is true that this last concession had little if anything more than an honorary value. The conquests of Aurangzeb—the last really powerful sovereign of the Mogul line—had been partitioned among the Mahratta chiefs of central India, and Shah Alam himself owed his succession to the imperial dignity to the friendship of the Mahratta ruler of Gwalior, whose descendants are still Princes of India. Nevertheless, it was a gain for the coming rulers of the land thus to link their authority with that of the imperial line, and when the impending conflict with the Mahrattas began they were regarded by many as the champions of a venerable dynasty against lawless rebels.

Though Clive was now only in his fortieth year, his health was declining and he must have realized that he could not remain very long in India. He devoted all his energies to consolidating the company's position. He reorganized the army. Hitherto on the coming of war its forces for the field had been formed by collecting detachments from various garrisons in haphazard fashion. He formed three brigades made up of units permanently kept ready for active service, under commanders selected to supervise their training. He ended the tradition, that had become an established custom, of officers drawing in peace time the higher rate of pay and allowances originally granted to them while on war service, but he agreed to grant a moderate increase in the regular rates of pay. He followed this up by an order that officers were not to engage in

business transactions directly or indirectly and were not to receive gratuities from native or European business men. The same restriction was imposed on all civilian officials and employees of the company. He had to face protests from many quarters, and an organized opposition in which some 200 officers were concerned and which reached the verge of open mutiny. His fearless determination, his warning that if need be he would have recourse to the strongest measures against the malcontents, and also the mutual suspicion of many of these that they might be abandoned by their leaders and colleagues in the agitation, led to the collapse of the movement. Among the civilian officials there was general submission to the new orders, but it was impossible to prevent the regulations being secretly evaded. Yet something was gained in this first effort of reform. Clive himself set an example by refusing gifts of any kind and drawing upon his private fortune to meet expenses of his position that were beyond his salary and allowances from the company. It was said that when he left India in the early spring of 1767 he was not so wealthy a man as when he arrived at Calcutta two years before.

In England he found himself attacked in the House of Commons by a coalition of enemies, who represented him as having sought chiefly his own personal gain in India and, after he had made an ill-gotten fortune, sacrificed the privileges of the company's servants to a grasping scheme of reform. A Select Committee of Inquiry was appointed to examine into his Indian record. He complained that he was examined by it as if he was a sheepstealer before a country justice. The committee's report, while acknowledging that he had rendered immense services to England in India, noted also that he had accumulated a fortune of £234,000 during his first term of office, but did not venture to give any judgement on the methods by which he secured this wealth. Yet even the bare statement suggested that his proceedings were open at least to suspicion. Broken in spirit, and already suffering from a painful malady for which opiate remedies were prescribed by his doctors, he ended his life by taking a strong dose of opium, in

one of his fits of acute depression, on the 22nd November 1774. He was in his forty-ninth year.

For five years after Clive left India the company's affairs were controlled by two feeble and incompetent governors at Calcutta. In 1770 a terrible famine swept Bengal, carried away one-third of the population, and by the enormous loss of revenue that resulted brought the company by 1772 to the verge of ruin. It also suffered heavy loss through the dishonesty of its officials. The financial situation had to be restored. The task was assigned to Warren Hastings, a veteran servant of the company (now in his fiftieth year) who had spent most of his life in India and for some years had been a member of the council at Madras. In England the board of directors were clamant for money. Hastings decided, at the suggestion of the board, to reduce the amount that the company, in conformity with a treaty, paid to the Nawab of Bengal, who was then a minor; instead of 53 lacs of rupees which Clive had promised to Mir Jafar, the Nawab now received only 16. Trading in manufactured articles and in produce did not lead to sufficiently large and immediate profits. Hastings decided to sell territory, and especially territory which did not belong to the company. Allahabad and Kota had been handed over to the Emperor Shah Alam, who had been obliged to surrender them to the Mahrattas. Hastings *sold* these places to the Nawab of Oudh for 50 lacs of rupees, and, without notification, he stopped payment to the Emperor of the 26 lacs, the annual tribute due for the concession of Bengal.

After these business deals were concluded the question of fines was next tackled. The Raja of Benares was a rich protégé of the British. Hastings tried to force him to pay for the upkeep of military troops which he did not require. He refused. He was attacked and deprived of his states, which were transferred to a nephew who, of course, had to pay a considerably increased tribute. The Begum (Queen Mother of Oudh) was accused of having supported the *rebellion* of the Raja of Benares. The same accusation was made against the widow of the Nawab of Oudh. Their only crime was to have

inherited 10 millions of rupees from the defunct Nawab, an inheritance which had been ratified by the Council of Calcutta itself. The two women were thrown into prison; they resisted to the best of their ability. Finally, by methods of unexampled violence, the desired result was obtained and the rupees were secured for the company.

In 1773 the British Parliament passed an Act to 'Regulate the control of India'. The governor at Calcutta was to be entitled 'Governor General of Bengal', and to have a controlling voice in the policy of the governors of Bombay and Madras, who had been inclined to disregard directions from Calcutta as to the management of their minor territories. His own action was to be subject to the votes of a council of four nominated members. The meetings of the council began next year and for some time Hastings found his action hampered by three of his colleagues opposing his proposals and suggesting that he had his own personal gain in view. It was some time before he obtained real control of his position. A dangerous war crisis and the need of decisive military action gave him a free hand, and the eventual success of the company's forces gave him the authority of a victorious ruler. In 1774 an injudicious attempt of the governor of Bombay to interfere in the succession in territory under the influence of one of their chiefs led to the first war with the Mahrattas. The news of the revolt against the English in America encouraged the Mahrattas. When France became the ally of the insurgent colonists, Hyder Ali, the warlike Moslem ruler of Mysore, made a devastating raid into the Carnatic and menaced Madras. But the final victories were won by the company's generals. The Mahrattas made peace in 1782, when the negotiations for an end of the war were in progress in Europe. The definite treaty between Britain and her opponents was concluded in the following year. Hyder Ali had died in December 1782 and his son Tippoo Sahib, deprived of French support, made peace with the English.

In 1784 Pitt carried through Parliament the New India Act (24 George III, cap. 25). Its object was the better government and management of the affairs of the East India Company.

The proposal was that the company should not be superseded but controlled; that it should keep all its commercial privileges and all its territorial acquisitions; but that a board of commissioners should be established in London on which one of the Secretaries of State and the Chancellor of the Exchequer would have a seat, with the right of examination and control of the company's business. They would have the right to inspect all documents, and all the correspondence with India was to be at their disposal. In short, the position of the company remained unchanged but it was now officially supervised and for all its operations Great Britain was now responsible.

It is perhaps this *imperium in imperio* which facilitated even more than before the existence of abuses, for now it was possible to shirk responsibility for injustice; the commissioners declared that the company acted independently and the company replied that they had no longer full freedom; many abuses continued much as before, the slowness of all exchanges of correspondence between London and Calcutta making any interference from the British Government tardy and ineffective.

The system indeed was peculiar; the whole fiscal resources of these native peoples were absorbed by a foreign organization which had a free hand in expenditure. Such payments can scarcely be distinguished from a war indemnity or perpetual tribute such as is bound, in the end, to impoverish a whole country. The tribute was levied in the name of the native ruler, and this practice was maintained because, as Clive wrote to the Select Committee of Inquiry in 1767, to alter it 'would be throwing off the mask'; and in that case 'complaints referred to the British Court might be attended with very embarrassing consequences'. The power of the native sovereign, he said, 'is totally, in fact, vested in the East India Company. Nothing remains to him but the name and shadow of authority. This name, however, this shadow, it is indispensably necessary that we should venerate.' In this way an excellent alibi was available. The shadow was responsible for everything; upon the shadow all blame was cast for vexatious enactments; but the profits went to the company.

Lord Cornwallis, who succeeded Warren Hastings as governor-general (1786), substituted for the traditional annual assessment of the tax a general assessment of the company's possessions, subject to a revision every ten years. A drawback of this system of assessment for several years to come was that it entailed serious difficulties and disputes over claims for concessions in case of a bad harvest. Further sources of revenue were found by the company (shielding itself behind the Nawab of Bengal) obtaining a monopoly for the sale of cotton at a price to be fixed by itself. Native weavers were now forbidden to work for any one else. To the protests which made themselves heard in the mother country, an answer was made 'that Bengal was very much unlike England, and that what was a hardship in England was not a hardship in Bengal, and that "riches" was, after all, only a comparative term'.

In order to put an end to the granting of concessions, to the embezzlements, and the illicit profits of commercial agents, the company had already decided under Warren Hastings that salaries might be increased. But it was above all things essential not to lay a hand on the profits. Some additional taxes had therefore to be found, and on top of the land-duties they imposed a salt tax. Since salt was a prime necessity it was realized that by imposing a tax on it even the poorest people would be compelled to pay something to the company. Salt was therefore declared to be a State monopoly; its manufacture was prohibited and it was subjected to an import duty. It provided, indeed, a most useful ballast for English ships and was sold at a high price.

And finally, after 1799, came the monopoly of opium. This could not now be cultivated without a permit from the company, whose officers purchased the whole crop at a price fixed by themselves and then sold the opium in China. To pacify any scruples that the sale of this poison might have aroused it was sufficient to observe 'that the objections which may be raised against it have little bearing upon the question of the happiness of the people in India'. A case of opium weighing 164 lb. cost the Government 280 rupees and at Calcutta was sold to the

Chinese merchants at a minimum price of 900 rupees. In the year 1849-50 the profits from this trade amounted to more than 3 million sterling. We shall see later how it led to complications with China.

A situation both paradoxical and immoral, where power was held without any recognition of corresponding duties, compelled the company to tolerate and even to protect, until 1827, the most inhuman customs and crying abuses such as suttee (the burning of widows), and the practice of religious suicide. Lord Amherst, the governor-general, after lengthy deliberations on the subject of suttee, wrote that he was 'not prepared to recommend an enactment prohibiting suttee altogether. . . .' Lord Bentinck was the first who had sufficient humanity and courage to insist on total prohibition.

Towards the Christian missions, whether Catholic or Protestant, the company showed no better feeling. Profits might suffer from Christian preaching; and it was feared that the interests of the company and the security of its officials might be affected. Consequently, when William Carey with the first Baptist missionaries announced their departure for India, an order was dispatched that they should be held up and sent back to England. They were compelled to embark upon a Danish ship and to take refuge in the Danish settlement of Serampur.

CHAPTER VII

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY AND AFTER

IT would be impossible here to follow in detail the history of Europeans in the East during the nineteenth century. Merely to draw up a chronological table of the principal events would fill a whole volume, for the nineteenth century was not a period of slow infiltration but the scene of a veritable white invasion into eastern Asia. We are compelled, therefore, to include in our sketch only the most characteristic features in the outline of events.

It would be hard to discover any great difference between the ways of English and of Chinese travel during the eighteenth century. In Asia, as in Europe, the transport of passengers and of merchandise was conducted solely by means of vehicles or boats which, though of various types and differing appearance, are all drawn along or towed, by the same kind of animals, on roads, rivers, or canals. In uncomfortable stage-coaches, rickshaws, or wagons, progress was always slow and irregular along the ill-repaired roads; and on long journeys the traveller was exposed to all the inclemency of the weather and to the discomforts and risks of the roadside inns where he was compelled to take shelter. In 1782 the official French postal service took thirteen days to cover the distance between Paris and Marseilles.

The application of steam power to transport was soon to change all that. In 1825 Great Britain possessed 30 miles of railway; in 1870 more than 15,000 miles. Journeys could now be made at a speed which contemporaries regarded as fantastic, and in such conditions of ease and comfort that people no longer travelled as humble dependants but as fine gentlemen.

On the high seas communications with Asia as a result of steam navigation were transformed in the same way. The Government of India was one of the first to utilize the steamship. While on the 16th April 1825 a vessel of 460 tons left Falmouth to arrive at Bengal on the 7th December following,

after 220 days at sea, we might have seen in 1830 a steamer called the *Hugh Lindsay* crossing from Bombay to Suez in twenty-one days, and the Indian mail taking only a month to reach London.

The Peninsular and Oriental Company was founded in 1837 and in 1842 first utilized a steamship, the *Indostan*, between Southampton and Calcutta. The Messageries Maritimes after 1860 extended their itinerary towards the Far East, and it was one of their ships in 1869 which was the first to pass through the Suez Canal. The Norddeutscher Lloyd, formed in 1857, opened up in 1885 a line to the Far East. The problem of comfortable and easy transport to Asia was now fully solved, and the European travelling from his own home to the seaports of Asia knew nothing of the misadventures and the hardships of the olden days. In fact he took, as it were, his country with him. The postal reform of 1840 provided an exchange of correspondence, at an insignificant cost, throughout the whole world. The development of newspapers, and later the telegraph, kept the most distant traveller in contact with current events. The extension of credit facilities and the growth of banking enabled him to obtain funds wherever he went. It was as if the world had suddenly grown smaller. Distance had been conquered.

At the same time the industrial revolution brought about in Europe by mechanical discoveries had prodigiously enriched the world. The trade in raw materials and manufactured articles, the growth of capitalism, placed within the grasp of individuals and of states in Europe, fortunes, which agriculture in olden times, or even under slavery, had never had any chance of obtaining.

Militarized since the days of Napoleon, Europe able, thanks to Industry, to acquire a formidable armament, now knew her strength. Of the old terror of Islam which had endured until 1683, there remained only the *sick man* of Constantinople. Towns were everywhere brought up to date. The medical science of Europe, which the missionaries in the eighteenth century had considered to be clearly inferior to that of the Chinese, having established its own scientific procedure, now

regarded with contempt the traditional rule-of-thumb methods employed by native doctors in Asia.

In the mid years of the nineteenth century many in Europe hoped for the dawn of a period of peace among nations whose only rivalry would be in the progress of science and the development of industry. International Exhibitions, the first of which, at London in 1851, had attracted 6 million visitors, and the fourth at Paris in 1867 15 millions, created by their brilliancy an impression of European supremacy that could not be challenged.

On the other hand, Asia remained stagnant. In India nothing was left of the great Mogul Empire which the Portuguese had so much admired under Akbar the Great. In China the discredited dynasty of the T'sing, ill served by emperors without ability, could no longer, as in the times of K'ang-hsi, be regarded as worthy of comparison with the Versailles of Louis XIV. Japan remained locked up during the first half of the nineteenth century. It seemed indeed evident that the white race alone held the secret of civilization and, as is always the case, theories were produced to account for that comforting prejudice. A fantastic ethnological belief placed the Biblical personages Japhet, Shem, and Ham on different levels, the black races were conveniently set apart as occupying 'the lowest stage of degeneracy', while the Asiatics of the Far East were regarded as of necessity congenitally inferior to the pure race of Japhet and without any justification whatever were referred to under the designation of 'Semites'.

Catholic theology alone opposed, for a time, this European pride of race, but unhappily the false teaching of the Fideism, condemned by the Vatican Council in 1870, obscured for forty years the orthodox view. Writers, including Lamennais and Bautain, asserted, with the best intentions, that without faith the heart of man is perverse and his intelligence corrupt. Consequently pagans *must* be degraded. It is impossible that they should have any real virtue or anything worthy of admiration. Such opinions were frequently to be found among excellent missionaries even after the Vatican Council. A single example will suffice to make this clear. We have designedly selected one

from the writings of a man who devoted his whole life to the Chinese and who cannot be suspected of not having loved them:

The state of ancient China since time immemorial is one of bestial degeneracy of nearly all the most noble faculties of mankind. In India or China there is no true civilization. Such civilization as there is in China, such as there has always been, is a monstrosity, not only anti-Christian but anti-human. The religions of China are monstrous, absurd and the most ridiculous in all the world. Even the morality of China is vicious. The arts are unknown; they have never existed. As for the rules of art: there is nothing; expression: there is nothing. Aestheticism: nothing; music is mere satanism; they have no notion of the Beautiful; architecture is grotesque, literature childish, painting puerile, without ideas and without feeling; language is nothing but ready-made phrases of sickening banality; philosophy worthless; the language itself has no syntax, no philosophy, no charm, and is merely an affair of memory; natural history and exact science are unknown; the rich are disdainful, imperious, cruel, vicious; the poor abject and grovelling; the human heart bestialized and deprived of all feeling. Friendship is unknown; wedded love unknown; only passion reigns; there is no such thing as gratitude; children are vicious and inoculated with vice from the cradle. . . . There is no industry save an industry which is primitive, comical and changeless. Medical science is a jumble of prescriptions, each one more ridiculous than the next. . . . People speak of their vast libraries, and the encyclopedias . . . but no one reads them and this is just as well, for they can be compared to a 100,000 volumes of the most dull, the most tiresome and the most commonplace type of newspaper that can be imagined; they have not a single precise scientific notion of anything; not a single moral precept well expressed or really profound; not a single tender characteristic; but they have ingenious proverbs. This is Chinese civilization; there you have it such as it is, such as it is found in the works of Confucius and of his disciples.¹

We have travelled a long way from the complimentary appreciation bestowed on the Chinese by missionaries in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It is important to observe

¹ J. B. Aubry, missionary apostolic in Kwei-chow, *The Chinese at Home* (Paris, 1887), pp. 132-8. The preface to this volume contains a letter of approbation from the vicar apostolic of Kwei-chow, Mgr. Lions. Père Aubry wrote in 1876.

that such violent declamation did not meet, at the time, with any objections among the European public. Quite the contrary. Such reading was regarded as edifying and it was in perfect accord with the widespread prejudice of the mob.

The Protestant missionaries employed the same kind of language. Recruited chiefly from among Dissenters, whether Baptists or Methodists, they lumped together all pagans as *Sinners*, and in order to emphasize the necessity of converting them began by asserting that they were all in a state of complete perversion.

The West immensely wealthy, and so powerfully equipped with military resources; the East incredibly weak, helpless, against the threat of European armaments; between these two worlds a clash would inevitably be catastrophic.

In nearly every part of the political and commercial life of Europe, the weakening of Christian idealism had hastened the return to a materialistic philosophy. Theories, imperfectly understood, about evolution and about the *struggle for life*, provided a plausible justification for aggression. In the place of a divine law of brotherly love and a companionship without exception among all the children of God, the law of the jungle, of progress by the elimination of the unfit, was established as a first principle.

Europe began to show some respect to Japan only when it was seen that she was redoubtable and had provided herself with a powerful artillery.

This dream—for it is nothing else—this dream of a kind of racial superiority cherished among our Europeans thanks to a lucky mechanical discovery; this clever transformation of a superiority in the material order into a pre-eminence assumed to be collective and a privilege regarded as permanent, has poisoned nineteenth-century relations between Europe and Asia. Europe has refused, almost unconsciously, to debate on equal terms with peoples who only wanted to be left alone.

CHAPTER VIII

CHINA

ON the 3rd March 1843 some citizens of London saw five enormous wagons, each drawn by four horses and escorted by a detachment of the 60th Regiment, arrive outside the Mint. A crowd of sightseers quickly gathered. The wagons were loaded with boxes and one of these, having been damaged on the journey, could be seen to be stuffed with pieces of strange-looking silver coin. The sight was a comforting one. Applause redoubled when it became known that all this treasure was a first instalment of the Chinese indemnity. China had been obliged to pay 6 millions sterling, and for several years *China money* appeared in the annual budget presented by the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Why had this sum found its way to London? And for what crime was it the indemnity?

We have seen that the East India Company, in order to increase its revenues, had established a monopoly of opium in India. The drug was sold to merchants at Calcutta, by whom it was imported into China through Canton. Chinese law, however, forbade the import of opium and the Emperor Tao Kwang (1820-50), familiar, we are told, from personal experience with the harmful effects of that drug, had decided to prohibit its use throughout his country. A Chinese commissioner named Lin who arrived at Canton on the 10th March 1839, at once insisted, threatening heavy penalties, that the whole stock of contraband opium must be handed over. Captain Elliot who at the time was powerless to resist delivered up 20,283 cases of opium, which by order of Commissioner Lin were thrown into the sea. When the opium had been destroyed Canton was once more opened to foreign trade. Elliot had left the town on the 24th May; a year later he appeared before Canton with 16 men-of-war, armed with 540 guns, and 27 transports with 4,000 troops. The river and the town were blockaded. The Chinese put up a stout resistance. The war spread as far as the Pei-ho River.

A British officer who was an eyewitness declared that the Chinese losses were considerable,

for, when they found they could stand no longer against us, they cut the throats of their wives and children, or drove them into wells and ponds, and then destroyed themselves. In many houses there were from eight to twelve dead bodies, and I myself saw a dozen women and children drowning themselves in a small pond.

From the 5th July 1840 to the 21st July 1842 the loss in killed and wounded amounted among the Anglo-Indians to 520 and among the Chinese from 18,000 to 20,000 according to official report. The British were before Nanking when China realized that all further resistance was impossible. On the 29th August 1842 a treaty was signed on board H.M.S. *Cornwallis* in the names of Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain and the Emperor of China. Ratifications were exchanged at Hong Kong on the 22nd July 1843.

The clauses of the treaty were of draconian severity. Five ports were opened to trade, Hong Kong handed over to the British; 6 million dollars had to be paid for the opium which had been seized and destroyed; 12 million dollars in satisfaction of debts owed by certain individual merchants to Great Britain.

When the news of the treaty reached London the old Duke of Wellington proposed in the House of Lords a vote of thanks to the fleet and to the victorious army.

The whole affair had been strangely handled. In vain the British superintendents at Canton had implored their government to send instructions about the illegal traffic in opium. Captain Elliot warned the government that fraudulent trading in opium had become a scandal, that it was in open defiance of Chinese authority, and that some action against it would soon be taken. From London no reply was given. When it was too late to prevent war, the British Government announced that Her Majesty's Government could not interfere 'for the purpose of enabling British subjects to violate the laws of the country with which they trade', and that 'any loss therefore which such persons may suffer in consequence of the more

effectual execution of the Chinese laws on this subject, must be borne by the parties who have brought that loss on themselves by their own acts'. After having made this pronouncement the fleet and the army were sent to defend the cause of the traders and the Chinese were compelled to pay them an indemnity. In this treaty Great Britain refused to permit the insertion of a clause by which the opium traffic was forbidden for the future.

In the House of Commons a debate took place on the motion of Sir James Graham, condemning the policy of the government which had led to the opium war. Palmerston's Cabinet obtained a majority of only 9 votes. The declarations of Palmerston himself threw a clear light on contemporary ideas about the rights of China. The English Premier contented himself with repeating that China was not sincere in pretending to prohibit opium for moral reasons and because that drug was harmful to her people, and in proof of this he alleged that China herself cultivated opium, and that the real reason was that China wished to protect this cultivation from foreign competition and to prevent the wholesale exportation of her currency. These arguments met with approval. It was agreed that *because* China cultivated opium herself they had every right to declare war on her as soon as she prohibited its importation. The idea that China was a sovereign power and that in her own domain she had the right to prohibit a foreign trade does not seem to have entered anybody's mind. A contemporary has reported the self-satisfied way in which the British opinion of the Chinese was commonly expressed:

There was a general notion that the Chinese were a barbarous and ridiculous people, who had no alphabet, and thought themselves better than any other people, even the English, and that, on the whole, it would be a good thing to take the conceit out of them. Those who remember what the common feeling of ordinary society was at that time will admit that it did not reach a much loftier level than this. . . .¹

By the Treaty of Nanking, the 29th August 1842, a breach had been made. America (1844) and France immediately

¹ Justin McCarthy, *A History of Our Own Times*, 12th ed., vol. i, p. 176.

insisted upon obtaining similar privileges for themselves. The treaty with France stipulated that in the five ports open to commerce (Canton, Amoy, Foochow, Ning-po, and Shanghai) she would have the right to build churches, hospitals, and schools.

To extend the 'rights of foreigners' in China only a pretext was now required. Europe knew that China could offer no effective armed resistance. On the morning of the 8th October 1856 a vessel carrying the British flag, the *Arrow*, was seized by the Chinese authorities at Canton. The crew of Chinese were charged with piracy, committed near San-chan on the 6th September, and it was claimed that the hoisting of the British flag was a piece of fraudulent deception, as the ship's licence had expired on the 27th September. The British Consul, General Harry Parkes, without any preliminary inquiry, called in the help of the fleet and on the 23rd October Admiral Seymour began the bombardment of Canton. To those who pointed out that, since the licence of the *Arrow* had expired the British flag had no right to be hoisted at her masthead, the reply was given that the Chinese did not know this at the time when they seized the ship, and that, therefore, 'if strictly speaking they had right on their side this was merely accidental'.

France also was now 'to find a pretext'¹ for armed intervention. A priest of the Foreign Mission House of Paris, Abbé Auguste Chapdelaine, had been tortured and beheaded on the 29th February 1856 in the province of Kwang-si. M. de Courcy sent a protest on the 25th July to the viceroy of Canton and was not satisfied with the explanations he received. In reality the intention in Paris was not to allow the British to enjoy by themselves the advantages of a punitive expedition, and Great Britain was quite willing to join with France in obtaining 'satisfaction in China'. The mutiny of the Sepoys which broke out in India on the 10th May 1857 compelled Lord Elgin to divert towards Calcutta the troops that had been sent out to China. The allied fleets, however, were able to close the harbour of Canton and on the 29th, after one day's fighting, the town was

¹ H. Cordier, op. cit., vol. iv, p. 44.

taken. When negotiations at Peking dragged on too slowly a gunboat flotilla, conveying an allied expeditionary force, silenced the forts of Taku at the mouth of the Pei-ho, and occupied Tien-tsin. On this menace to the capital, the Chinese Government sent representatives to Tien-tsin, and a preliminary treaty was signed, with a clause providing that the definite treaty would be signed and ratified within a year at Peking. The allied force was then withdrawn (26 June 1858).

The Treaty of Tien-tsin reinforced the one which France had concluded in 1844. At this period the plenipotentiary de Lagrené had realized that, in taking over the protectorate of Catholic Missions, France would be enabled to establish her influence in China, and he had therefore written to Guizot that

since competition with Great Britain in the field of commerce was out of the question, France hoped by undertaking the protection of the missionaries to secure an influence sufficiently important to act as a make-weight against the political influence which the British government had acquired by trade.¹

The Chinese Government was soon anxious to avoid the final ratification of the treaty at Peking, and persistently urged that it might take place elsewhere. The allies insisted on the original arrangement being observed and in mid-June 1859, when the twelve months' delay named in the Tien-tsin Treaty was about to expire, a British squadron under Admiral Hope escorting the allied plenipotentiaries arrived off the mouth of the Pei-ho. It was found that the entrance to the river was blocked with booms and rows of stakes and the forts were strongly held. The Chinese commander of the defences, on being requested to remove the obstructions, declared they had been intended to keep pirates and smugglers out of the river, and promised to remove them. But on the 21st June, when it was found the Chinese were strengthening their barriers of stakes and booms, Admiral Hope sent a warning that if the way were not cleared within three days he would force a passage.

¹ P. Boell, *Le Protectorat des missions catholiques en Chine et la politique de la France en Extrême Orient* (Paris), p. 8 et seq.

No reply came. On the 25th June the admiral himself led into the river the lighter craft of his squadron, eleven wooden gunboats, mounting each four or six guns. It was not till a breach had been made in the first barrier that the forts opened fire, making very good shooting. The larger ships could not enter the shallow channel of the river, but it was expected that, as in the year before, the Chinese resistance would soon break down under the fire of the gunboats. But all the afternoon the Chinese kept their guns in action and of the eleven gunboats six were sunk or all but wrecks, and there was heavy loss of life. Admiral Hope was badly wounded. Towards sunset the fire of the forts slackened and then ceased, and it was hoped they might be stormed by a landing party. Some 600 officers and men were brought in from the squadron, including a party of 60 under an officer from the French frigate *Duchayla*. The tide had fallen, and they had to land on mudbanks extending for nearly half a mile in front of the forts—mudbanks cut up by water channels and pools, mud often so soft that the men sank to the waist. As the advance began the forts opened fire with their guns, and then with showers of rifle and musket bullets and even, here and there, arrows. The loss was heavy, the advance painfully slow. One small party reached the ditch of the nearest fort but failed to reach the rampart. As twilight came on the attempt was abandoned. The Chinese had won the first and only victory they had scored against European opponents. The Emperor of China approved the action taken by the commanders of the forts, and it was this approbation which provided the *casus belli*.

Thus started the third Chinese war. Sir Hope Grant with 13,000 men, the French General Cousin-Montauban with 6,000, were ordered 'to obtain satisfaction'. Between the French and the British there was no good understanding; General Montauban believed that the Government of Napoleon III, whether consciously or otherwise, was playing a part favourable to England. In spite of this lack of harmony between the allies the forts of Taku were taken on the 21st of August 1860, and three days later Tien-tsin surrendered without fighting. At

the beginning of September the advance was continued on Peking. And it is there that took place a serious incident which led to atrocious reprisals. The Chinese asked for peace, but Lord Elgin refused to negotiate until the enemy had retired to Tung-chow. The plenipotentiaries (Mr. Henry Parkes and some French officers) with a small military escort crossed the Chinese lines to open up preliminary discussions. On his way back Parkes perceived large movements of Tartar troops in the neighbourhood of the place which had been chosen for official negotiations, and he sent a warning to the allied headquarters, while he himself returned to ask the Chinese what this show of military force meant. The allies suspected an ambuscade. For a *parlementaire* to make use of his safe conduct in order to provide information for his own side is, technically speaking, a serious offence. But as it happened the plenipotentiaries and their escort were at once seized by the Chinese and cruelly ill treated. Out of 26 British 13 did not return; and out of 13 French 7 succumbed.

The news of this treacherous ambush aroused the indignation of the troops. They marched on Peking, defeated a Chinese army on the bridge of Pa-li-kiao (21 September 1860), and without further fighting entered into the capital on the 13th October. The Emperor had fled to Jehol in Manchuria.

As the allied armies approached Peking they had occupied the Summer Palace of the Emperor, where priceless treasures had been accumulated by the dynasty of the T'sing. Everything was given over to pillage. Handfuls of precious stones were exchanged by soldiers for a bottle of brandy. The general staffs had attempted to keep some sort of order and to preserve the most priceless objects for their respective countries. But the Spahis and the Sikhs could not be controlled. The shameless sack continued for two days. An eyewitness who himself approved of pillage has written:

I saw the piece of ground between the palace and our own camp [French] strewn with silks and precious fabrics, trampled upon and rolled in mud—they must have been worth at least 20 millions of francs; I have seen soldiers lighting their pipes or cooking their

meals with the parchment of manuscripts which were magnificent and perhaps unique; upon our departure, in order to facilitate the transport of artillery and baggage I saw the ruts in the roadway had been filled up with beautiful clocks of masterly workmanship, with sculptured ivory figures and other similar objects.¹

The pillaging had gone on hour after hour during the 6th and 7th. On the 14th October Prince Kung, brother of the Emperor, accepted the allied conditions and hostilities were suspended. In spite of this suspension the Sikhs in particular continued to burn, to pillage, and to steal.² Peace was to be signed on the 23rd October. Lord Elgin wished, without waiting for this period to expire, to bombard Peking and to destroy the Imperial Palace in the city. General Hope Grant was inclined to yield to this suggestion. But the French resolutely refused to take any part in such an operation, not so much on account of the Chinese as for fear of witnessing the collapse of the Manchu dynasty, which would then be replaced by an Emperor who would be 'a creature of Great Britain'. Elgin, who was unable by himself to take any action against Peking, asked the French General Montauban to take part with him in setting fire at least to the Summer Palace, which had already been so thoroughly pillaged. General Hope Grant was charged with the negotiation. Montauban replied with the following letter on the 15th October:

Monsieur le Général en Chef.

I have given careful consideration since this morning to the proposition made by you yesterday, that I should take part along with you in burning the Imperial Palace of Yuen-ming-yuen. . . . I think it is my duty to give you an explanation of the motive of my refusal to co-operate in such an expedition. It seems to me, in the first place, to be prompted by a spirit of vengeance . . . and by a vengeance which does not attain the end proposed.

Moreover, to set the place on fire might frighten Prince Kung and might lead him to abandon negotiations. In this case an attack

¹ Cf. Comte d'Hérissou, *Journal d'un interprète en Chine*, 9th ed. (Paris, 1886), pp. 355-6.

² Testimony of Mgr. Mouly, Bishop of Peking, who described the indignation which these abuses provoked among the Chinese.

on the Imperial Palace of Peking would be essential and the fall of the present dynasty a consequence, and this would be diametrically in opposition to the instructions which we have received. . . . I cannot, therefore, associate myself in any way with your proposed proceeding which I regard as detrimental to the interests of the French government.

General Hope Grant renewed his proposal on the following day, 'for the complete destruction of the Palace of Yuen-ming-yuen. The damage already inflicted', said he, 'can be repaired in a month; something more striking is wanted to avenge the atrocities committed on our prisoners; the British nation will not be satisfied until we have inflicted severe punishment upon the Chinese government, and against such a proposition no argument can be entertained which is founded on sentiments of humanity.' Grant added: 'Lord Elgin wholly shares my views on this question.'

On the same day (18th October) in the middle of the negotiations for peace, and in the middle of an armistice, Lord Elgin sent a column of troops to destroy by fire methodically anything that remained of the Summer Palace. Museums, pagodas, and magnificent libraries were burnt to the foundations and of the precious manuscripts there remained only 'grey ashes scattered by the wind over the first snows of winter'.

Six days later the conventions were solemnly signed at Peking. China ratified the Treaties of Tien-tsin and, of course, was compelled to pay huge indemnities to all the victors: 8 millions of taels to France, the same sum to Great Britain; and more than 500,000 taels for those who had fallen; agreed to the permanent residence of foreign ambassadors in the capital; ceded Kowloon opposite Hong Kong, and allowed the export of an unlimited number of Chinese coolies, those coolies 'whose services are so much required in the colonial possessions of Her Majesty';¹ and with a clause introduced cleverly into the Chinese text of the treaty by the interpreter, P. Delamarre, permitted the French missionaries to buy and build houses 'at their own pleasure'

¹ A letter from John Russell from the Foreign Office to Lord Elgin (9 January 1861).

throughout all the provinces of the Empire (Art. VI). Moreover, 'Catholic churches, colleges, cemeteries, houses, fields and any other property *formerly* confiscated during the persecution, must be handed back to the French ambassador residing at Peking, who will restore them to their rightful owners'.¹ If the clause of this treaty had been fully observed the whole Chinese *cadastre* would have been thrown into confusion.

Freed by the Treaty of Peking from the presence of European armies the Chinese Government had still to overcome the formidable Taiping rebellion.² This was accomplished not by the Chinese armies, which had been defeated again and again by the Taipings, but by a special force of picked Chinese soldiers, recruited by an American officer, and then taken over by Charles Gordon, a British engineer officer, who obtained the services of a staff of other officers mostly from the British army. In a series of campaigns ending with the capture of Nanking in 1864, Gordon put an end to the rebellion which for years had involved whole provinces in bloodshed and ruin. At the same time the European Powers attempted to take in hand the military education of the Chinese and, through Western advisers, to obtain some influence in the administration of China. The organization of the Imperial Customs under European supervision dates from these years. On the 21st June 1870 the population of Tien-tsin, roused to fury by absurd rumours, massacred the French consul and his chancellor, ten Sisters of Charity, and nine other Europeans. The massacre was carried out with atrocious barbarity. The cathedral of Tien-tsin was burnt to the ground. If no punitive expedition followed upon this out-

¹ We quote here the Chinese text. In the French text the reference is only to religious and charitable institutions.

² The Taiping movement had begun some twenty years before in the irregular propaganda of a new religion evolved by a Chinese scholar, Hung Hsiu-chuan, from his study of a Bible Society version of the Holy Scriptures given to him at Canton. For some time Protestant mission reports told of the Taiping movement as a hopeful missionary development, but in 1848 it took a militant form, and organized an armed force to spread by conquest a new politico-religious régime inspired by a mixture of misunderstood passages from the Bible and traditional superstitions. Nanking was captured in 1854 and for ten years was the Taiping capital. Thousands were massacred when the great city fell, for the Taipings regarded their opponents as Amalekites to be exterminated by the new believers.

rage, it is solely because the news of it reached Paris only after the declaration of war against Prussia. The telegraph cable did not then go farther than Ceylon and the news from Tien-tsin was known in London only on the 25th July 1870. China ordered the assassins to be beheaded and paid an indemnity, but in France it was considered 'that the victims . . . had not been revenged, and that the Chinese do not understand the theory of modern philanthropy, and the maxim that might is stronger than right should be strictly applied to China. Otherwise we must clear out.'¹

To create a diversion the Chinese Government sent an official memorandum to the foreign legations on the subject of the Christian missions, in which they complained of the unreasonable demands of certain missionaries, and suggested measures, embodied in eight clauses, which were not at all in accord with the treaties of Tien-tsin and Peking. Some of the missionaries, regarding themselves as beyond the pale of Chinese law, had behaved, through ill-informed zeal, in a somewhat rude and pretentious manner, and this was fully recognized by their protector, M. Berthémy, the French minister at Peking. In the province of Sze-chwan and especially in Kwei-chow the situation had sometimes been strained,² and the Chinese memorandum, although somewhat puerile in parts, makes this clear. The right to reclaim property *formerly* belonging to Christians was bound to become a cause of incessant conflict. The memorandum (Art. VIII) admitted that 'in every province there are houses which formerly belonged to the Church', but added that it should be remembered that many years have since passed, that the Christians have sold these houses and that they may have changed ownership several times. It must also be considered that a house might have been sold in a dilapidated condition and that the new owner might have spent large sums of money for its repair. . . . The missionaries make no allowance for all that. They insist upon restitution and will not offer the smallest indemnity. . . . Moreover, there are people of doubtful character who shelter themselves

¹ H. Cordier, *Histoire des relations de la Chine avec les puissances occidentales*, vol. i (Paris, 1901), pp. 389-90.

² Cf. H. Cordier, *op. cit.*, p. 429.

behind the missionaries and despise the authority of the magistrates. Under these conditions the displeasure of the multitude has grown intense. If the whole Chinese people learn to hate foreigners as much as they are hated by the people of Tien-tsin the supreme authority itself will be powerless.

The French minister, M. de Rochechouart, answered that in every case where an abuse had occurred there was nothing to prevent the Chinese Government from lodging a complaint, and that not one of the eight clauses could be agreed to.

The war between China and Japan (1894-5) was the outcome of rival claims for the suzerainty of Korea. The Chinese Government had sent troops to the south of that country to help in the suppression of a local insurrection. The Japanese Government sent a brigade to Seoul, the capital, to protect its embassy, called on the king to dismiss the Chinese troops, and on this demand being refused by his ministers two Japanese battalions seized the royal palace and the government offices at Seoul. On the 23rd July the Japanese envoys declared they had come to liberate the king of Korea from the domination of a 'lawless faction'. The same day Japanese cruisers were attacking and sinking ships conveying Chinese reinforcements to Korea. The army of Japan was mobilizing, and in August landed in Korea under the protection of Admiral Ito's fleet, the chief strength of which was a foreign-built squadron of up-to-date cruisers. The Chinese forces were driven from Korea and the invasion of Manchuria began. On the 17th September Ito attacked and defeated with heavy loss the Chinese fleet, under Admiral Ting, off the mouth of the Yalu river. Ting with the ships that escaped destruction took refuge in the fortified Port of Wei-hai-wei on the Shantung coast. A second Japanese army was landed in the Liao-tung peninsula and besieged Port Arthur, storming the place on the 1st November. Ito's fleet with the co-operation of a landing force captured Wei-hai-wei and the remnant of Ting's fleet on the 12th February 1895. The war had been an unbroken series of successes for Japan and revealed not only the fighting power of her army and navy, but also their splendid organization and efficiency in every

branch of both services. The collapse of the Chinese resistance strengthened the prevalent idea that China could be treated with contempt.

Peace was concluded by the Treaty of Shimonoseki (17th April 1895) when the Japanese were quite ready for a march on Peking. China ceded to Japan Formosa and the Pescadores Islands, with also the Liao-tung peninsula and the dockyard fortress of Port Arthur, and recognized the Japanese protectorate of Korea (soon to become an annexation) and agreed to pay an indemnity of £16 millions. France, Germany, and Russia protested against the cession of Port Arthur to Japan, declaring that its possession *by any foreign Power* would be a standing menace to Peking. The Japanese yielded the point. But Russia, having lent to China the millions required for the war indemnity, presently arranged with the Peking Government to occupy the Liao-tung peninsula, with Port Arthur for the base of its eastern fleet. Japan was as yet unable to challenge a conflict with Russia, but began years of preparation for her victorious war that ended in the capture of Port Arthur and the complete destruction of the great fleet concentrated by the Tsar in the eastern seas.

Li Hung-chang went to the coronation of the Tsar Nicolas II at Moscow (1896) and travelled all over Europe and America. The greedy merchants swarmed round him like flies. Politicians and leaders of industry had convinced themselves that conquered China would realize the necessity of being up to date and that consequently there would be plenty of good business. Old Li allowed himself to be taken everywhere, accepted all honours and listened to all speeches, visited the arsenals and the factories, but bought nothing. European greed had pictured him as a rich and progressively minded viceroy. In point of fact he had no authority to commit himself to any sort of expenditure; on the 3rd October he was back at Tien-tsin.

The European nations, observing the weakness of China, threw themselves on their prey. The murder of two German missionaries belonging to the Society of the Divine Word, Fathers Nies and Henle (November 1897), provided the pretext

for German aggression. Prince Henry of Prussia left on the *Deutschland*, and his brother Emperor William II at a farewell banquet given at Kiel (15 December 1897) advised him to act in China with a mailed fist (*mit gepanzerter Faust*). The German fleet took possession of Kiao-chow. China had already offered to compensate the murder of the missionaries by paying a large indemnity and to take punitive measures against the guilty officials. The occupation of Kiao-chow was a flagrant violation of international law. The *Kölnische Zeitung* wrote that 'the murder of the missionaries had provided a convenient occasion for Germany to lose patience'.

When in December 1897 Russia obtained permission to settle at Port Arthur on 'a lease', Great Britain followed suit and occupied Wei-hai-wei as soon as the Japanese had left. The evacuation of the Japanese took place on the 23rd May 1898. Next day the Union Jack was hoisted.

France obtained, on a lease of course, the Bay of Kwang-chow-wan (27th May 1898).

China was overwhelmed with demands for railway concessions and for advisory positions in the postal administration and the department of customs. Navigation on the rivers was now free. 'Foreigners' penetrated everywhere, not only in the ports but also in the interior of the provinces. The young Emperor seemed to have been won over to the idea of reform. Every one was convinced that China was about to become up to date 'like Japan', and that the Chinese market would absorb the production of European industry.

These imaginative money-grabbing schemers were brought face to face with reality by the Boxer Rising. The Empress Tse-hi held all real power, and was surrounded by a group of superior officials all hostile to foreigners. The country swarmed with secret societies organizing armed bands of reckless men highly inflamed against Europeans.

Having repeatedly requested the Chinese Government for some guarantee against the increasing audacity of the Boxers (27th January 1900) the foreign ministers of the Peking legations had recourse to the protection of their own troops. Admiral

Seymour tried to reach Peking with a small party, but on coming into collision with a strong contingent of rebels he had to retire on Tien-tsin (26th June). Meanwhile the foreign admirals insisted upon the surrender of the forts of Taku. China as yet had taken no official stand, either for or against the Boxers. On the 17th June the allies attacked and captured the forts of Taku. On the 19th the government replied to this hostile act by informing the legations that the attack on the forts had created a state of war and that all foreigners must leave Peking within twenty-four hours. The foreign ministers, convinced that their safety would not be assured if they left the town, decided to remain. On the 20th June the German minister, von Ketteler, was shot, in his palanquin, while on the way to the Tsung-li-Yamen to announce that neither he nor his colleagues intended to leave. At four o'clock in the evening, the time limit having expired, the Chinese opened fire on the legations. The siege, stoutly maintained by a handful of men, lasted until the 14th August. In the Pei-tang district of the city, in the buildings near the cathedral, the Catholic mission, surrounded on all sides by the Boxers, had to struggle against even greater odds. The allied contingents, Japanese, Russian, British, German, American, Italian, Austro-Hungarian, and French, after having secured the safety of foreigners at Tien-tsin, advanced on Peking, whence appeals from the besieged legations were more and more urgent. Fukushima, the Japanese general, offered to start alone with his brigade, and he would no doubt have been successful, but the other commanders, especially the Russians, did not wish to leave to him alone the honour and glory of the enterprise. There was some delay. Finally, however, the allied troops penetrated into Peking.

During all this time an international expeditionary force was being fitted out in Europe, and the German Emperor succeeded in arranging for a German officer, Marshal von Waldersee, to be placed in command. Although at the moment when these arrangements were being made military operations at Peking had come to an end, no proposal was made to suspend the departure of the expeditionary force, which was regarded as

necessary to keep order, to overawe the Chinese, and to support diplomatic action. The Kaiser advised Waldersee so to conduct himself in China that for a century to come no Chinese would dare to look a German in the face and, with a reference well suited to the occasion, he recalled the memory of Attila.

The conquerors at Peking found themselves in a somewhat paradoxical position. The Emperor and the Dowager Empress had fled into the Shan-si province, leaving the allies to deal with old Li Hung-chang, who had been named viceroy of Chi-li and plenipotentiary. Negotiations begun on the 26th October 1900 dragged on until the signature of the final protocol on the 7th September 1901. China had to pay an indemnity of 450 millions of taels (60 million gold sterling); punish the guilty parties with death; disarm; proclaim death for all those who belonged to any anti-foreign society (Art. X *a*, Edict of 1st February 1901). The international troops, with the exception of the Japanese (who were the best disciplined), the Americans, and to a lesser extent, the British, proceeded to give an example of savage barbarity. Tien-tsin was pillaged from one end to the other; even the houses of foreign residents were not spared. The villages of Chi-li inhabited by inoffensive peasants were systematically burnt. The Russians massacred in cold blood more than 400 defenceless Chinese coolies *who were attached to the British army*, and no one made any protest. Pillage and massacre in Peking continued for several weeks. In most places, on the arrival of the allied contingents, Chinese women, knowing what to expect, committed suicide. Punitive expeditions to destroy the villages and crops were organized throughout the province of Chi-li and the Chinese who survived were left to face the winter without provisions and without fuel. With the exception of the Japanese, who organized relief, none of the allies took any steps to succour the destitute population. The German commander wished to raze Peking to the ground. The foreign consuls at Tien-tsin wanted to see the tombs of the imperial dynasty ravaged and destroyed and the German Government thought that this measure would exercise a salutary effect. General

Wilson, commanding the American contingent, gives the following summary, as an eyewitness, of what happened at Peking:

It was but a few days till the palaces had been entirely despoiled and looted of their valuables. . . much of it with the concurrence and supervision of the officers of the army. The city was occupied and parcelled into sections by the conquerors; temples were destroyed. . . . Every Chinaman, who was seen across a field with even a hoe-handle in his possession, was shot without compunction . . . pillage, burning, rapine and wanton destruction of property, as was the custom of primitive men in times of war, seem to be yet a part of the practice of European . . . armies. . . . It was no uncommon case for women to throw themselves into the well, or into the river, to drown themselves for fear of a worse fate. This was especially the case at Tung-chow, where some of the foreign troops gave unbridled licence to their passion for rapine, robbery, and destruction.

The Japan *Daily Mail* (November 1900) commented as follows on the proceedings of the Germans, who in their punitive expeditions throughout the province of Shantung burnt all the villages in which the Boxers had found shelter:

It must be confessed, however, that this burning of villages, to which all the allied commanding officers resort, British not excepted, seems a terribly cruel method of procedure. . . . Indeed all testimony goes to show that the Boxers are far from being popular, and that their treatment of peaceable citizens is very brutal. On the other hand, the people are unable to resist them. If they come to a village to establish themselves there, what can the inhabitants do to drive them out? Yet on the arrival of foreign troops the village is burned to the ground, and hundreds of women, children, and old people are rendered homeless on the verge of winter. It seems a most inhuman procedure. We know that the Germans merely act in this matter as the rest of the allies act. . . . But . . . must we earn new execration from the Chinese by all our acts?

It must no doubt be regretted that the atrocious and iniquitous method of repression employed by the international troops did not produce a single protest from the missionaries, not a single word of pity for the thousands of Chinese peasants who had been the victims of these punitive expeditions. This silence

may be deplored but it can be explained. The Chinese Christians and their missionaries had been themselves everywhere hunted down and massacred by the Boxers. They could not, therefore, regard otherwise than with approval the foreign troops who had come to their rescue, and the international display of force which provided them with some security. And indeed, among many of the missionaries the idea persisted that the Christian missions could find no security otherwise than under the protection of Europe. Such views were common throughout the nineteenth century. It is difficult to deny that in practice, and quite apart from any question of equity, such a state of mind has proved a serious obstacle to the growth of Christianity in China. To safeguard the present it is never wise to sacrifice the future, and the progress of Christianity in China cannot be made dependent on the support of force from outside, necessarily repugnant to Chinese patriotism.¹

¹ After the Boxer revolt, and while the Great Powers of Europe were marking off the provinces of China into 'spheres of influence' and business enterprises, a republican movement was developing. In the last months of 1911 several provinces declared for the downfall of the once powerful Manchu line. In the winter a republican assembly met at Nanking, and on the 12th February, 1912, the Republic was proclaimed and the last Emperor of the Manchu line, aged 6, abdicated. The new government established at Nanking proclaimed the coming of a new era of peace and progress. Freedom of religious profession was announced, and several Chinese Catholics were given official rank in the public service.

But it was many years before it was able to establish its authority, and its right to rule was long challenged by a Communistic government established at Canton, which at one time was in control of many provinces, and seemed not unlikely to become master of the whole Republic. For many years it had the support of Soviet emissaries from Russia. During the long years of civil war a further peril was the formation of bands of brigands, sometimes small armies, that held whole districts to ransom.

The Nationalist Government (Kuo-Min Cheng-Fu) now rules China. It has done good work in the organization of education, and the construction of roads and railways. It has proclaimed religious freedom.

CHAPTER IX

INDO-CHINA

UNTIL the end of the seventeenth century the coast and its hinterland from Malacca to Macao remained almost unknown to European adventurers. The Englishman, Catchpool, had indeed attempted to establish a settlement at Pulo Condor (1702), but two years later the factory was pillaged and the colonists were massacred by the natives. The Catholic mission which arrived at Tonkin in 1627 proved remarkably successful, especially under the care of Fr. de Rhodes, and the Christian community in 1663 was estimated at more than 300,000. The banishment of the missionaries and a sanguinary persecution did not lead to the extinction of this Christian population. In 1666 Mgr. Deydier, the first vicar apostolic of Tonkin, was able to enter the country, and found the situation of the Christians to be most precarious, as the natives were forbidden by law to adopt the 'religion of foreigners'.

It was not until the end of the eighteenth century that official relations were established between European governments and Tonkin, through the medium of a missionary bishop.

When the rebellion of the Tay Son had driven out the reigning dynasty (1776) the nephew of the late sovereign, a young prince named Nguyen Anh, took refuge on the coast of Siam. There he met with Mgr. Pigneau de Béhaine, who in the interests of his own country decided to help the exile. The French bishop 'spoke to him about the generosity of the French, which he compared favourably with the mercantile spirit of the English, the hard-heartedness of the Dutch, and the pride of the Portuguese',¹ and thus was able to persuade him to send an embassy to the king of France (Louis XVI) to seek for assistance. The ambassador, of course, was Pigneau himself. On the 28th November 1787 a treaty was signed at Marseilles. His Most Christian Majesty undertook to dispatch to the coast of Cochin-China at his own expense four frigates and 12,000

¹ Cf. *Les Missions catholiques françaises au XIX^e siècle*, t. II, L'Indochine, par Adrien Launay, p. 417.

infantry, 200 gunners, and 250 'Kaffirs'. These troops were 'to be equipped with all necessary war material and especially with suitable field artillery' (Art. II). The king of Cochin-China, Nguyen, who at the time no longer owned a single inch of territory and who had never really been actually *king*, transferred to the Crown of France full rights of ownership in the chief harbour of Cochin-China, Touran (Art. III), and the Island of Pulo Condor (Art. V). The French were to have untrammelled freedom of trading 'to the exclusion of all other European nations' (Art. VI); no foreign vessel, whether merchant ship or man-of-war, would be admitted into the ports of Cochin-China unless flying the French flag and supplied with a French passport. Further clauses were added providing for an offensive and defensive alliance (Arts. VIII and IX). In this document, solely political and commercial, to which the Comte de Montmorin and the titular Bishop of Adran, Mgr. Pigneau de Béhaine, affixed their signatures, there was not a single word about religious freedom or about the right to preach the Gospel. Two years later the Revolution broke out in Paris; the treaty was never ratified. It had now clearly lapsed, since the Crown of France had fulfilled none of the conditions of its bilateral contract.¹ The bishop, however, succeeded in fitting out at his own cost two trading vessels from Pondicherry, obtained for them the military escort of a frigate, the *Medusa*, and with the assistance of a few French officers and soldiers helped to place Nguyen in power. Within twenty-seven days Tonkin was captured (1801) and Nguyen changed his name to Gialong. Pigneau de Béhaine, who died in 1799, had not even succeeded in making his protégé a Christian, but the king was personally friendly to the missionaries. Gialong had only one objective, to secure his independence; and he realized that friendship with France (which at this period had no power east of Pondicherry) was bound to lead to a conflict with the British.

Mingmang succeeded to Gialong in 1821. Reversing the

¹ This is admitted by the Duc de Richelieu (letter to Chaigneau, 17 September 1817). It is difficult to understand how Launay could have written that this Treaty formed 'the legal foundation of our future claims' (op. cit., p. 420).

policy of his predecessor he regarded the foreign 'masters of religion', who entered his kingdom in spite of prohibitive edicts, as dangerous emissaries whose disciples could not be trusted.

He saw the British, under the command of Sir Archibald Campbell, invade Burma (1824-6) and capture Rangoon. In 1830 an American agent, Mr. Shilluber, came to ask for commercial facilities in Annam and emphasized the peaceful and purely mercantile character of his proposals, which, he said, were very different from those of 'France and Great Britain', who were always ready to draw the sword and seize by force what they could not obtain by diplomacy.

An edict of persecution was published throughout his kingdom by Mingmang on the 6th January 1833, and a considerable number of missionaries (Gagelin, Marchand, Delgado, Hénares) shared the fate of the Annamites who suffered martyrdom between 1833 and 1841. France, fully occupied in Algeria, took no notice. An embassy from Annam came to visit Louis Philippe at Paris in 1840.

Mingmang died the following year. His son and successor Thientri did not inherit the savage temperament of his father.

Annam as a tributary state of China suffered much inconvenience from the opium war. On the 25th February 1843 a French sloop, the *Héroïne*, arrived in the harbour of Touran, and the captain, Favin-Léveque, attempted, unsuccessfully, to establish commercial relations with the Mandarin.

From secret information provided by Fr. Chamaison, a missionary, he learned that five French priests were detained in prison at Hué. The captain, threatening reprisals, insisted that they should be handed over to his care; the request was granted, but hardly had he sailed away when the Annamite Government took vengeance on the Christians, treating them as 'foreign spies'. For the next forty years this was to be the unfortunate fate of the Catholic Annamites, who, after every fresh intervention by the French, incurred increased suspicion from their own government and were persecuted with renewed vigour. The public utterances and also the public actions of some among the missionaries increased the prevailing confusion. Mgr. Pellerin

announced that 'the Christians looked upon the French as their saviours and would give them a hearty welcome'. Admiral Rigault de Genouilly allowed himself to be persuaded that on the arrival of the fleet (1858) 500,000 Annamite Christians would come over to the French side. Mgr. Retord wrote:

If the Admiral wishes to do something useful and permanent for the glory of France and of religion, he must take possession of the country in the name and on behalf of France, or he must place there a Christian king under the protectorate of France, keeping however the port and the Island of Touran as a French possession.

The vicar apostolic of Saigon, Mgr. Lefèvre, called his neophytes around him to help Admiral Rigault de Genouilly to capture Saigon. He advised them to meet together under the protection of the French flag, and 'in order to show their gratitude to their deliverers they were to make every endeavour to supply the French troops with provisions'. On his advice the Christians acted as escort to food-convoys. Mgr. Puginier was the moving spirit behind the disastrous expedition of Garnier (1873), which was repudiated by the French plenipotentiary himself.

It was only natural that these missionaries, harassed by persecuting edicts, should have wished to put themselves under the military protection of their country and that they should have believed it wise to give such advice to their disciples. Events have proved that this policy was short-sighted, and that the French Government regarded persecution merely as 'a good pretext' for annexing the whole of Annam.¹

If it is easy to understand, without approving, the attitude of the missionaries, it is easier still to understand that of the Annamite Government. The Annamites saw the threatening danger and fought with a fierce determination to keep their independence. We must refer briefly to the principal events in that fatal struggle.

Commander Lapierre, for no valid reason and without declaring war, sank the Annamite fleet (1847). And the following year Tuduc, who had succeeded Thientri, set a price on the heads of foreign 'masters of religion'. In 1856 M. de Montigny, envoy extraordinary of Napoleon III, threatened Tuduc with

¹ H. Cordier, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 257.

the anger of France if he should continue to persecute the Christians. The envoy then returned home. The persecution continued with increasing vigour.

In 1858 a Franco-Spanish expedition captured Touran (31st August) and Saigon (18th February 1859). Warlike operations continued intermittently up to the end of the Chinese expedition which was being carried on at the same time. A rebellion forced Tuduc to sign, on the 5th June 1862, the Treaty of Saigon; yet, during those four years of a war undertaken ostensibly for the protection of the missionaries, two of them (Néron and Venard) and 115 Annamite priests had been put to death and 40,000 Christians had perished, burnt at the stake, cast into the river, beheaded, or tortured. By the Treaty of Saigon, Annam was compelled to grant the Emperor of the French full sovereignty over three whole provinces, Bien Hoa, Gia Dinh, and Ninh Thuong, as well as the Island of Pulo Condor (Art. III), to pay a war indemnity of 4 million dollars (Art. III), and to allow the free exercise of the Christian religion (Art. II). At the same time a French protectorate took the place of the Annamite protectorate over Cambodia.

The annexation of these three provinces was an act of high-handed violence for which no attempt at justification could be or was made. It had nothing to do with the protection of missionaries or of Christians. Nevertheless, three more provinces were annexed by Governor and Admiral de la Grandière, in 1867, without any treaty ratification (Vinh Long, Kiang Rach Doc, and Ha Tien, from the 20th to 24th June).

After the unsuccessful surprise attack by François Garnier on the Delta and on Hanoi (1873), an attempt which had no official authority, the persecution was renewed.

A second treaty, the 15th March 1874, was signed at Saigon by Admiral Krantz. It asserted once again the full and complete sovereignty of France over certain portions of territory; released Annam from payment of the rest of the war indemnity of 1862 that was still owing (Art. VI); and in Article IX set forth fully the rights of the Catholic mission. The text of the

Chinese Treaty of Tien-tsin seems to have been followed closely by the French negotiators, who readily accepted the advice given by Mgr. Colombert, vicar apostolic of western Cochin-China. The Treaty of Saigon contained the following condition: 'Bishops, missionaries, and Annamite priests will have the right to purchase or to obtain on lease, land and houses, to build churches, hospitals, schools, orphanages and all other buildings that may be required for religious use.' Legal disputes between the French and the Annamites had to be taken in the first place before the French Resident.

No foreigner was allowed to travel in the hinterland without a passport provided by a French agent.

In spite of these exactions and undue extensions of French rights, the Treaty of 1874 was regarded as 'pusillanimous', and the Duke de Broglie, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, was blamed for not having seized the opportunity to establish a complete French sovereignty over Annam.

Nevertheless the treaty, such as it was, led to complications with China, of which country Annam was tributary and vassal. In 1877 the Annamite Government, desirous of escaping from the grip of the French, sent a mission to Peking to pay the usual tribute, and, moreover, maintained diplomatic relations with Siam. Such procedure was in conformity with the Treaty of 1874, which stipulated that Annam 'would make no alteration in her present diplomatic relations'.

By a thoroughly iniquitous decision the French Government claimed that this clause prohibited Annam from maintaining diplomatic relations with any other country except France, and that it emphasized the complete subjugation of the nation. And yet the second article of the same treaty gave express recognition to 'the sovereignty of the King of Annam and to his entire independence in relationship with any foreign power whatever'. It was alleged (Raindre Report, November 1879) that this acknowledgement of an independent Annam implied that it was no longer subject to China:

we should endeavour to isolate Annam from all her neighbours whether near or distant, that is to say from Siam and from China,

to compel that country to shake off the Chinese suzerainty so that former relations with the Chinese government can no longer be used as a weapon against France . . . It is realized at Hué that the neighbours in the south [i.e. the French] are the only ones who are really to be feared . . . And for this reason the Court and the Mandarins do not wish to forego the opportunity of obtaining outside assistance against us.¹

The French Governor, M. le Myre de Vilers, who arrived in Cochinchina in May 1879, had only one policy, which he carried out without scruple: to annex, bit by bit, the whole of Tonkin. In 1880 M. de Freycinet, Minister of Foreign Affairs, wrote to Admiral Jaureguiberry that an expedition of 3,000 men would be sufficient for 'substantial occupation' and that the cost of such an expedition would be paid for by taking possession of the Customs.

Tuduc meantime (5th October 1879) dispatched letters of friendship to the president of the Republic, Jules Grévy, and informed him that a friendly embassy would visit Paris the following year to offer congratulations to 'His Majesty'. He was sure, the letter added, that the unchangeable kindness of the president would be a guarantee of prosperity and happiness to both nations.

The proposed embassy would have upset the plan of complete isolation which M. le Myre de Vilers wished to impose upon Annam to facilitate the conquest of that country. He wrote from Saigon (21st October 1879) to Admiral Jaureguiberry that 'these solemn interviews' were detrimental to French interests and spoke of the 'tortuous and deceptive' policy of the Annamites. Tuduc had even considered the dispatch of an embassy to Madrid. The Treaty of Saigon was signed both by Spain and France, and about one-half of the Christians of Tonkin were controlled by the Spanish missions. As soon as the proposal became known to the French chargé d'affaires at Hué he wrote as follows to the governor:

We have long known that the Spanish missionaries are opposed to the development of our influence in Tonkin; we must therefore

¹ Note sent by the chargé d'affaires of the French legation at Peking, November 1879. Cf. Cordier, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 294-6.

not be surprised if they take the side of Annam against us . . . I have heard that the embassy intends to visit Japan and almost all the Capitals of Europe . . . I trust that we will never tolerate such contempt for our rights.¹

Annam was thus in complete diplomatic isolation. It was now necessary to remove from her all remnants of military power, that is to say to get rid of her army of Chinese mercenaries, who were known as the Black Flags. Two French traders who became involved in trouble provided the necessary pretext. These were Villeroy and Courtin, who on their way to Yunnan came into collision with the Black Flags; while fighting in self-defence, one of their servants, a Malay, was killed (October 1881). In Paris it was declared that the government at Hué (which had promised, after the incident, to hold an inquiry and to disband the marauders), and even the government of Peking permitted 'our nationals to be massacred'. Consequently on the 21st July 1881 the French Chamber by 390 votes to 82 voted a supplementary credit of 2,400,000 francs to reinforce the naval divisions in Tonkin. On the 17th January 1882 M. le Myre de Vilers with full approval from the French Government ordered Commander Rivière to proceed to Hanoi to reinforce the garrison and 'to widen and strengthen our influence in Tonkin . . .' and at the same time 'to avoid all necessity for firing a shot'.

The Mandarins of Hanoi when they saw troops being landed remembered the surprise attack of Garnier (1873) and reinforced their citadel. The landing of Rivière at Hanoi was a flagrant violation of the Treaty of 1874. This treaty did indeed declare Hanoi to be an open port (Art. XI). It stipulated that France should be allowed to appoint there 'a consul or agent assisted by a sufficient force not to exceed a hundred men in number, to be employed until all reasons for fear had been removed'. But when Rivière arrived at Hanoi he found there already two companies of marine infantry with some artillery; and he brought with him two more companies, a few riflemen, gunners, sailors, and two men-of-war.

¹ Cordier, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 344.

Nevertheless, constant reference was still made to the 'bad faith of the Annamites'. The arrival of the French troops was distinctly provocative; nothing threatened the safety of Hanoi, and the Treaty of 1874 had not been called in question. On the other hand the precautionary measures taken by the Mandarins were regarded by Rivière as a challenge. He ordered the Annamite governor to cancel them, and on the 25th April sent him an unacceptable ultimatum. The governor and all other officials, after having evacuated the citadel and laid down their arms, were to present themselves on the following day, the 26th April, before eight o'clock in the morning, at his headquarters, and there surrender unconditionally; otherwise the attack would at once begin.

The governor was not lacking in dignity. He did not reply. On the next day the attack was launched at 8.15 a.m. Three hours later the citadel was captured. The French had four casualties, none of them seriously wounded. The governor committed suicide in the citadel. Rivière immediately afterwards wrote as follows to M. le Myre de Vilers: 'Our occupation of Tonkin is now purely military. We are keeping on the screw and turning it slowly so that money as well as influence will come our way.' In Paris the French Minister of Marine (20th June 1882) 'applauded the vigorous enterprise with which the affair had been conducted'.

In spite of this provocation the court of Annam did not break off diplomatic relations, but China protested with vehement indignation against the disloyal attack upon her vassal.

Annam was indeed the real objective. On the 15th May 1883 the French Government obtained from the Chamber of Deputies by 251 votes to 48 a sum of 5 million francs for the operations in Tonkin. Four days later Rivière, who had left Hanoi on an expedition against the Black Flags, was killed. Here was a pretext for conquest. Courbet and Bouet attacked and captured the forts of Thuan An, and at Hué on the 25th August 1883 Annam was forced to sign a treaty accepting the protectorate of France 'with the consequences of that relationship from the point of view of European diplomatic law, that is to say that

France will direct relations of all foreign powers, including China, with the Annamite government and no diplomatic communication with the said Powers will be permitted except through the intermediary of France' (Art. I). The Customs were 'to be under the complete control of French administration' (Art. XIX) and 'at a later conference a decision would be made regarding the proportion of the Customs revenue to be attributed to the Annamite government' (Art. XXVII). The protectorate was inaugurated by taking away from Annam the province of Binh Thuong which was added to the French colony of Cochin China. Mgr. Caspar, acting as interpreter, helped to draw up this treaty.

Accounts had now to be settled with China, and with the Chinese soldiers in Tonkin, the Black Flags. China, indignant at the aggressive action of France, protesting that Tonkin was a vassal state, and that she had never been asked to renounce her suzerainty, sent troops to defend her rights. Courbet captured Sontai on the 16th December, but the Chinese continued to resist with vigour. The expeditionary force had to be increased to 16,000 men. On sea, China could do nothing against the ships of France. The French advance had been regarded as the signal for a general massacre of Annamite Christians and missionaries. On the 11th May 1884, at Tientsin, Li Hung-chang and Commander Fournier signed a 'preliminary convention of neighbourly friendship'. China withdrew her garrisons from Tonkin and France agreed not to exact an indemnity. The occupation of Tonkin by French troops now proceeded without any further protest on the part of China. On the 23rd June 1884 Lieutenant-Colonel Dugenne met in the neighbourhood of Bac-lieu a company of Chinese regular soldiers who in their peaceful encampment were guarding the highway. The officers in charge of this small body of troops at once sent to Colonel Dugenne the following letter:

To the most noble commander of the French troops:

Your fellow countryman M. Fournier said at Tien-tsin, when he was about to leave for France, that after 20 days French soldiers would be sent throughout the country and that the army of Kouei

[Chinese regulars] would have to retire and camp in certain places. We know this as well as you. Now you want us to retire on to the frontier, but to do that we must have an order from the Tsung-li-Yamen [Chinese Government]. It is not that we have any intention of violating the Treaty. The Treaty of Tien-tsin does indeed declare that our troops will be withdrawn to the frontier, and with that in view we wish for a letter which will instruct us how we are to proceed. Peace should not be broken by useless fighting. We beg of you, therefore, yourselves to send a telegram to Peking to ask for a letter from the Tsung-li-Yamen. Only a little time will be required for an answer to our request. As soon as our troops have received instructions from Tsung-li-Yamen they will form into column of route, evacuate the territory of Annam, and return to the *Southern Pass* [frontier of Kwang-si]. As our respective countries have practically made peace, we see no reason for recommencing a fresh conflict. This is what we wished to tell you.

The Chiefs of the Chinese camps
Li Wang and Wei.

Nothing could be more reasonable or more moderate than the wording of this missive. Having received no instructions from their chiefs these Chinese soldiers were obliged, therefore, to remain at their post. The Convention of Tien-tsin, moreover, had not even yet been transmitted to the Tsung-li-Yamen at Peking. Without further discussion the French opened fire on the Chinese. When the fight was over the Chinese had lost more than 300 men but the French troops, severely punished by the Remington rifles of the Chinese, were compelled to retire after more than twelve hours' fighting, with 2 officers and 20 men killed and more than 60 wounded.

This incident was at once named in Paris, and is still so named, 'the ambushade of Bac-lieu'. No one realized in what sense that title fitted the facts. Jules Ferry telegraphed on the 26th to the Minister of France at Peking to insist upon 'reparations' and sent the French fleet to the coast of China.

On the 29th June the Chinese Government in an official communication pointed out with justice that the French attack had taken place in breach of Article II of the Fournier Convention, where it is laid down that no act of aggression must take

place, and moreover that the chargé d'affaires at Peking had not said a single word about the Dugenne expedition. 'Under these circumstances', the government added, 'it seems that responsibility for the attack must be placed on the French troops, and it is by them that an indemnity should be paid.'

Jules Ferry sent, on the 5th July, an uncompromising reply: 'The Chinese have been guilty of premeditated aggression, ambush, and violation of the Treaty; and we formally maintain our right to reparation.' On the 12th July France issued an ultimatum to China insisting, among other conditions of undue severity, upon an 'indemnity of at least 250 millions', and threatening to take steps herself to obtain reparations and guarantees if a favourable answer was not sent within a week.

On the 13th China cabled a dignified reply; on the 5th August Admiral Lespès bombarded Kelung and made an unsuccessful attempt to land there. A new ultimatum in terms which had been fixed at Paris was sent on the 19th August and here the indemnity was, curiously enough, reduced to 80 millions. On the 21st China replied. The text of her cable is worth quoting:

In this affair [of the indemnity] there is an equal dishonour for both of our great countries, for the one who gives and for the one who is to receive.¹ China, not wishing to do anything derogatory to her honour, has also been careful not to offend the honour of France by saying that your Government had made war on China merely to obtain a sum of money. We beg you to take notice of this, Mr. Chargé d'Affaires [M. de Semallé].

Hostilities commenced on the 22nd August. Admiral Courbet bombarded Foo-chow, sank 22 Chinese vessels with their crews of 2,000 men, razed the arsenal to the ground; bombarded Kelung, took possession of the Pescadores Islands, and in order to starve out the province of Chi-li organized a blockade to prevent the importation of rice. At Tonkin, Langson was taken (13th February 1885) and, in spite of the disgraceful

¹ The preceding paragraph declared that: 'China has positive proof that she has not violated the Convention. She should not therefore be asked to pay and her refusal is not motived by avarice. We have told you so distinctly.'

panic of the 28th March, the enemy troops were everywhere repulsed.

The Treaty of Tien-tsin, on the 9th June 1885, put an end to hostilities. There was no longer any question of an indemnity and the submission of Annam to French 'protection' was fully recognized (Clause II). In France regret was expressed that the treaty handed back to China Formosa and the Pescadores Islands.

From that date the whole of Annam, including also Cambodia, came under the protection of France. Siam, owing to her advantageous position as a buffer-state between British Burma and French Indo-China, was able to keep her independence.

There was in 1893 a serious menace of war with France. The French governor of Annam and Tonkin had claimed that the course of the river Mekong should mark the frontier in the north between the French 'protectorate' and Siam. In the Laos country the Siamese had settlements on both sides of the river, and farther down, here and there, Siamese subjects had occupied lands on the east bank. While negotiations were in progress, in the summer of 1893, French detachments were moved into the disputed district. One small party came into conflict with Siamese troops or armed police and was repulsed. The officer in command was captured and some of his men killed or wounded. M. Pavie, the French envoy in the Siamese capital, Bangkok, made a demand for reparations, and informed the Siamese Government that 'on account of the disturbed conditions in Siam' a French squadron would come to the support of a gunboat already flying the French flag, in the river, in order to protect the lives and property of French subjects (10th July 1893). Bangkok is in a very perilous position as the capital of a large country, for it is only about twenty-five miles from the mouth of the river Menam. It has no local defences, except some old coast batteries at the river mouth, near a shallow mud bar, where even at high tide the depth is less than 15 feet, so that only light craft can enter the river. After telegraphing for British assistance and protection, Prince Davongtse,

the Siamese foreign minister, informed the French minister that Siam could not consent to placing her capital at the mercy of a foreign squadron while negotiations were pending. On the news that a French squadron under Admiral Humann had set out from Saigon for the Menam, some preparations were made for resistance. Junks were sunk to narrow the passage over the shallow bar, a single submarine mine (improvised by the chief engineer of the local electric tramways) was placed in the channel, and the forts were ordered to be ready to open fire. On the afternoon of the 13th July the French squadron appeared off the river.

It was not a formidable force. The admiral's flag flew on the light cruiser *Inconstant*. As he steamed into the river that evening he was followed by a gunboat, the *Comète*, and preceded by a small French passenger steamer, whose captain had often visited Bangkok and was now to guide the attack through the pass in the mud bar. The French warships steamed past the forts, replying to their fire. A shell burst on the waterline of the guiding steamer, and she was run on a mud bank to save her from sinking. The solitary mine in the pass was fired too soon and did no damage. The two warships, exchanging fire with Siamese gunboats that did not venture to close with them, steamed up to the city and anchored just below the royal palace, where they were joined by the gunboat already in the river. There was a panic in the city early next day as firing from the French ships seemed to prelude a bombardment. But they were firing only blank cartridges, saluting their flag as it was hoisted at sunrise on the 14th July, the national feast-day of the French Republic.

In 1893 the *entente cordiale* was far in the future, and there was tension between England and France, over Morocco and Egypt. If wireless telegraphy had been already invented, there might have been war, for Rosebery, then at the Foreign Office, not only sent a protest to Paris, but telegraphed to the British admiral at Hong Kong to concentrate his ships and steam for the Menam. But the squadron in the China seas was scattered on guard duty in the ports or cruising at sea and, before it could

concentrate, France had opened negotiations that averted a conflict and ended in a treaty by which Siam agreed to hand over to France not only the line of the northern Mekong, but also some territory on its west side in the hill country of the Laos, and was compensated by a joint guarantee of its independence, signed by France and England. It owes its existence as the one remaining native kingdom in Indo-China to this agreement and the subsequent *entente cordiale*.

CHAPTER X

JAPAN AND KOREA

JAPAN since under the control of the Shoguns had remained behind closed doors, with the Dutch factory at Deshima as the only point of contact between the Empire of the Rising Sun and Europe. The Portuguese embassy of 1647 had been refused admittance. The Japanese themselves were no longer allowed to leave their country. For 200 years Japan obtained her ideas of Europe from the ten or twelve Dutchmen who lived in the trading-station at Deshima. No European woman was allowed to land. The managers and the employees of the stores behind the pointed stakes of the palisade which marked the boundaries of their 'prison' found that time passed slowly. The vessels of the fleet were supposed to pay them a visit once a year but, in fact, during and after the Napoleonic Wars not a single ship touched at Deshima from 1809 to 1817. Kaempfer, a German employed by the Dutch company (1690-2), has written a detailed account of the life and doings of the traders and of the absurd antics to which they were forced by the officers of the Imperial Court on the occasion of their annual visit to Yeddo (Tokio). In front of the Emperor and the ladies of the Court the order was given

to take off our cappas, or cloaks, being our garments of ceremony; then to stand upright that he might have a full view of us; again to walk, to stand still, to compliment each other, to dance, to jump, to play the drunkard, to speak broken Japanese, to read Dutch, to paint, to sing . . . with innumerable other apish tricks. They made us kiss one another like man and wife, which the ladies by their laughter showed themselves to be particularly pleased with. It was already four in the afternoon when we left the hall of audience, after having been exercised after this manner for two hours and a half.

Some modification of Japanese exclusiveness took place during the eighteenth century. Through interpreters employed at the factory of Deshima curiosity and interest in the outside

world were aroused. Sugita, after reading a Dutch treatise on anatomy, was the first man in Japan who was able to practise an autopsy (1771). When a Swede named Thunberg, who was employed by the Dutch, arrived at Yeddo in 1776 he was greeted by a group of Japanese scientists who wished to obtain information upon astronomy and medicine. Several Dutch books were translated into Japanese. The doctor of the station at Deshima sent the governor of Nagasaki every year a summary of European events, which was translated and transmitted to Yeddo.

There was thus hardly any contact with the rest of the world. It was not until the opium campaign and the first European wars in China that any systematic effort was made to 'open up' Japan.

Before 1840 the embassy of Resanow (1815) had indeed visited it, to try and obtain a monopoly for a Russian fur company. This expedition adopted an air of swaggering importance which resulted in complete failure. In 1808 an English frigate, the *Phaeton*, commanded by Captain Pellew, arrived in the waters of Nagasaki and terrorized the Japanese officers by seizing the two Dutchmen who had come on board as interpreters. The Japanese afterwards attempted to set fire to the ship and, when the attempt failed, the governor of Nagasaki committed hari-kari. In 1846 Admiral Cécille, who had tried to seize the Loo-choo islands, met with a cold reception at Nagasaki. The government of the Shogun, the 'Bakufu', maintained its old hostility to all intercourse with foreigners, and it is useful to note that from the seventeenth to the nineteenth century the seclusion of Japan was never due to measures taken by the Emperor, who was kept in powerless seclusion.¹ The whole anti-foreign policy had always been directed exclusively by the Tokugawa and their associates. Siebold (who knew Japanese), at the beginning of the nineteenth century, says that the people, far from being hostile, were devoured with curiosity

¹ Numerous assertions to the contrary, which abound in popular works of reference, should be corrected. See, e.g., R. P. Porter, *Japan, the Rise of a Modern Power* (Oxford, 1918), p. 99.

and ready to welcome anything and everybody from the outside world.

On the 8th July 1853 Commodore Perry with four American warships dropped anchor in the Bay of Uraga not far off from Yeddo (Tokio). He came with a letter from the President of the United States (Franklin Peirce) requesting permission to trade. After considerable difficulty he was able to deliver his message, and left for China, where the revolt of the Taipings was in full swing, and where the allied and Chinese troops were soon to recapture Nanking. He returned the following year and, without having fired a single shot, obtained a commercial treaty whereby the ports of Shimoda and Hakodate were opened to the United States. The American Government had acted chiefly in the interest of American whalers.

By the open door the nations hurried in, each clamouring for a commercial treaty: the British (1854), the Russian (1855), and even the Dutch (1856) who refused to remain any longer shut up in their prison at Deshima. Several ports were opened and by 1860 diplomatic relations were established with the foreign Powers.

In 1858 during the minority of the Shogun the regency had been confided to Kamon-no-Kami, a far-seeing Japanese statesman. He had already in 1853 submitted to the government a memorandum on the necessity of coming to an agreement with the 'western barbarians' until such time as, having learnt the secret of their strength, Japan would be in a position to become mistress of her own destiny.

His regency was unhappily a short one. The party of Mito, animated by traditional and anti-foreign sentiment, could not be reconciled to the idea of the accredited representatives of foreign Powers residing in the country. Kaman-no-Kami was assassinated and trouble once more began. On the 17th October 1862 the English consul at Hakodate wrote to the chargé d'affaires, Colonel Neale, that he foresaw 'a Japanese-European crisis and it may reasonably be feared that the sequel will be terrible'. The Mito party opposed the Shogun and appealed directly to the Emperor himself. They were supported by the daimio of

Satsuma. They protested that Japan had nothing to fear from foreigners. 'What is the difference between to-day and 250 years ago? Had not the foreigners large vessels then and now? Had they not artillery and large armies? Did they not know the tactics of war? . . . The only difference is that their vessels were then propelled by sails; now, however, they use steam. So much the better; they will go away quicker.'

The Samurai, guardians of Japanese honour, felt a national shame at the presence on Japanese soil of these intruders who had forced their way in. In September 1862 excitement was aroused by the murder of Richardson, who was killed by people belonging to the daimio of Satsuma while he was riding on the highway of Tokaido. This incident nearly led to war with Great Britain. A mass meeting of British traders called for extreme measures. They called for naval and military action to be taken in Japan, as in China. The British Government had shortly before protested against the murder of two sentries at the legation, and had insisted upon a fine of £10,000 sterling. It now insisted that apologies should be made, accompanied by the payment of £100,000 sterling, that the guilty should be punished, and a further £25,000 paid by the daimio of Satsuma. On the 14th June 1863 the Japanese accepted these conditions but wrote on the 17th that the government of the Shogun was so impoverished that payment was out of the question. The British were supported by a considerable naval force; almost the entire squadron in the China seas was at Yokohama. On the 24th June the sum of £100,000 sterling was paid, but the £25,000 sterling still owing by the daimio of Satsuma was not forthcoming until Kagoshima, the capital of Satsuma, had been bombarded (August 1863). In the neighbourhood of Shimonoseki a combined fleet of British, French, Dutch, and American ships bombarded the fortifications of the strait (5th September 1863), which had several times fired on foreign vessels.

We do not intend to describe the interior conflict of Japan during these eventful years. Contrary to all expectations foreign influence acquired support from a train of circumstances which

seemed directed to its extinction. The Shogun was regarded by the reactionary party in Japan as responsible for opening the country to the Western barbarians. They appealed against him to the authority of the Emperor. The French minister, Léon Roches, fancied that by giving vigorous support to the Shogun he would ensure for his own country a preponderant part in the future organization of Japan. Sir Harry Parkes, the British minister, judged on the other hand that nothing could now prevent the fall of the Shogunate and the restoration of Imperial Power to the Mikado. In 1867 the Emperor, Mutsuhito, a young man fifteen years of age, succeeded to Komei Tenno. The last of the Tokugawana Shoguns, Keiki, resigned all power and administration into the hands of the Emperor, the 10th November 1867. This event was known as the 'Restoration'. It seemed inevitable that the fall of the Shogunate would make the position of foreigners untenable, for Keiki's ministers were supposed to be reactionaries, and a popular slogan of many of his supporters had been 'Honour the Emperor; expel the barbarians and close the ports'. But it was precisely the contrary which happened. As soon as the Emperor had secured his position he promulgated, on the advice of the British legation, a decree which finally put an end to anti-foreign hostility and marked a new epoch in the history of Japan. It was dated the 26th March 1868 and ran thus:

It having been decreed in consequence of the late reformation by which the monarchical government is restored and for the maintenance of just principles by the Imperial Court, that His Majesty should have relations with foreign countries, the Imperial Court will direct those relations and will fulfil the Treaties in accordance with the rules of International Law. It is therefore ordered that the whole nation do obey His Majesty's will and act in accordance therewith. All persons in future guilty of murdering foreigners or of committing any act of violence towards them will be not only acting in opposition to His Majesty's express orders and be the cause of national misfortune, but also commit the heinous offence of causing national dignity and good faith to suffer in the eyes of the Treaty Powers, with whom His Majesty has declared himself bound by ties of friendship. Such offenders shall be punished in proportion to the

gravity of the offence, their names if they be Samurai being erased from the roll, and it is hereby decreed that all persons shall obey this Imperial order and abstain from all such violence. Kioto, March 26th 1868.

Before attaining the complete union of Japan under his authority the Emperor had to crush a revolt, defeat the malcontents in the north, and the rebellious fleet, which was assisted by the French envoys Brunet and Caseneuve. The latter, when their party had been defeated, were disowned by their government and sent back to Saigon.

Since 1869 the westernization of Japan has advanced with marvellous rapidity.

On the 2nd December 1871 a special mission left the country to study the organization of the civilized world, 'with the object of selecting from institutions established among the most enlightened nations, those which are most suited to our present condition, with the further purpose of introducing them among our people by a progressive reform of our laws and customs, so that we may thus be established on a footing of equality with other nations'. This mission consisted of Prince Iwakura and four other delegates (Kido, Okubo, Ito, Yamaguchi). The commissioners first visited President Grant in the United States and then proceeded to London, Paris, Brussels, Berlin, and St. Petersburg; they returned to Japan on the 13th September 1873.

The Japanese did not take long to discover that their proposed reforms did not interest Europe and America and that to obtain a revision of the Treaties it would be essential to provide themselves with all the munitions of war, with battleships and big guns. In 1871 Japan had no cruisers and hardly any artillery; her commissioners returned to Tokio inspired with a bitter distrust of the European nations, which, in their own first enthusiasm for reform, they had sincerely accepted as apostles of civilization and of freedom. The only concession obtained by Japan was the withdrawal, in March 1875, of the French and British troops which had occupied Yokohama since 1863.¹

¹ Marquis de la Mazelière, *Le Japon, histoire et civilisation*, tome iv, p. 366.

The determination of Japan was stimulated by her disappointment. For a quarter of a century the Japanese worked to obtain a revision of the treaties and, with much good sense, instead of trying to get rid of them by force, they endeavoured to show that, as a result of Japanese progress, exceptional measures in favour of Europeans were no longer required. They were successful. Since July 1899 there has been in Japan but one law for all.¹

In 1871 the feudal system of the daimios came to an end and a centralized administration was constructed on a European model. In February 1889 the Emperor promulgated a constitution based on the carefully thought out proposals of Prince Ito. In 1873 the feudal militia of the Samurai was replaced by a national conscript army; naval organization was entrusted to the British. Legal procedure was copied from the Swiss. Education and the Press still bear, even to-day, marks of their American origin. The European industrial system was adopted wholesale: railways, telegraphs, factories, &c., with the indispensable accompaniment of great banks. Little Japanese children of the twentieth century are so accustomed to these inventions that they sometimes ask European travellers in Japan: 'Have you also railways in Europe?'

In spite of her astonishing material progress, Japan was still regarded by many Western nations more or less as a minor Power, when war with China broke out (1894). We have referred above to the way in which some of the European Powers intervened after the Peace of Shimonoseki.

By the overbearing action of the Russians who had settled down at Port Arthur and occupied Manchuria with a considerable body of troops, after having solemnly declared that the whole territory was to remain Chinese, and that Russia had for her sole objective 'the integrity of China', the eyes of Japan had at last been opened. Her military budget rose from 2 millions sterling in 1893 to 13 millions in 1900. Russia was particularly interested in the forests of the Yalu. To exploit

¹ At the same time the country was opened to foreign traders, who were free to travel or reside where they pleased.

these areas a company had been formed at the suggestion and under the active direction of a man named Bezobrazoff, who had acquired the confidence of the Tsar, Nicholas II. There seems to be little doubt that the Tsar and the Grand Dukes had a big financial interest in the scheme, which it was supposed would produce fabulous profits. Japan insisted upon the evacuation of Manchuria and Korea. The Russian Government, at first apparently willing to come to an agreement, in the end did not trouble to answer, when the allotted period had expired (8th October 1903) and took no other action than to dispatch reinforcements to the Far East. On the 6th February 1904 Kurino, minister for Japan at St. Petersburg, handed in his letters of recall.

During the night of the 8th to 9th February the Japanese fleet commanded by Admiral Togo torpedoed the Russian cruisers in the Bay of Port Arthur, while many of the officers of the fleet were dancing in the town. Thus war began. The whole French Press, in a spirit of loyalty to the Russian alliance, and completely ignorant of the actual situation, prophesied the immediate destruction of 'insolent Japan' by the Russian giant. Great Britain, always fearful of Russian influence in central Asia, gave '*moral support*' to Japan. With a series of notable victories the Japanese defeated the Russians in Korea and in Manchuria, captured Port Arthur (2nd January 1905), destroyed the Russian squadrons of Port Arthur and Vladivostok, and on the 27th May 1905 annihilated at Tsushima in a few hours the fleet which had been sent out under the command of Admiral Rodjestvensky. The Russians, threatened with civil war, had no recourse but to negotiate for peace. By the Treaty of Portsmouth (5th September 1905) Russia was spared the humiliation of paying an indemnity, but had to agree to the abandonment of Korea, the Liao-tung peninsula, and Manchuria. Japan, in the eyes of the world, now ranked as a first-class Power and her relations with the United States in the region of the Pacific were to become more and more strained. The Japanese attempted, without success, to have inserted into the 'covenant' attached to the Treaty of Versailles by which the

League of Nations was created a clause admitting equality of races and peoples. With a vote which was also a challenge, the United States refused to regard the nationals of Japan, from the point of view of immigration, as equals of the white races. In the text of the law which forbids them access to American soil they are included among 'coloured undesirables'.

Relations between Europe and Japan have not been confined to those of a political, commercial, or military order. Shortly after the country had been reopened the missionaries arrived, both Catholics and Protestants. Until the promulgation of the Constitution by which freedom of conscience was granted, it was very difficult for a Japanese to accept Christianity. Even at the present time the process of conversion is slow, although the Christian mission is not now persecuted or harshly treated.

Large schools both of primary and of higher education have proved up to the present time, along with the practice of charitable works, the chief channels of religious influence.

Buddhism has ceased to be a State religion but still retains its hold over the populace. Shintoism, more or less laicized, tends to become merely a religion of patriotism, but the intermingling of rites, in appearance religious, with national official ceremonies, is often an occasion of conscientious difficulty to the Christians of Japan.

During the European War (1914-18) Japan, bound to Great Britain by treaty, captured on behalf of the Allies the German base at Kiao-chow, and after the Treaty of Versailles took a seat at all international assemblies. A Japanese, Mr. Adatci, is at the time of writing (1933) President of the International Court of Justice at The Hague.

This sketch would be incomplete if nothing were said about Korea, which has ceased to be autonomous since the annexation of that country by Japan in August 1910. Korea had never allowed access to 'foreigners' and regarded herself as a vassal of China. In January 1836 Fr. Maubaut, in the disguise of a peasant, crossed the Korean frontier at night; in September 1839 he was put to death along with his companions, Fr. Chastan and Mgr. Imbert.

Admiral Cécille appeared on the Korean coast with his fleet and sent a threatening letter to the king informing him that he would return later to fetch the answer. As an immediate and only consequence of this action a native Catholic priest, Andrew Kim, was executed. In 1847 Admiral Lapierre arrived with two ships of war, which ran ashore. This accident convinced the Koreans that they had nothing to fear from these European boasters. After 1862 Mgr. Berneux seems to have hoped that some ships of the French fleet, at the end of the Chinese war, might visit the coast of Korea. 'He would then have obtained, for France and for Catholicism, any concessions that he asked for.' The fleet did not come, but in 1866 a Russian ship appeared before Wonsan. In order to get rid of those unwelcome Russian visitors the Christians of Korea advised the regent to negotiate an alliance with France and Great Britain and to employ the Catholic bishop Mgr. Berneux as plenipotentiary. By accepting this suggestion the situation of the bishop was gravely compromised. He at once agreed to come to a conference at Seoul, but the Russian ship had left and all that remained was an atmosphere of intense suspicion.

Mgr. Berneux and Fathers de Bretenières, Beaulieu, and Dorie were put to death on the 8th March 1866. Two others had been beheaded on the 11th, and Mgr. Daveluy and Fathers Huin and Aumaitre on the 30th. At the same time the Korean Catholics were massacred. One of the missionaries who succeeded in escaping came to beg protection from the French chargé d'affaires at Peking. M. de Bellonet addressed himself to China and sent a tactless letter to Prince Kung:

The government of His Majesty [the Emperor Napoleon III] cannot permit so bloody an outrage to be unpunished. The same day on which the King of Korea laid his hands upon my unhappy countrymen was the last of his reign; he himself proclaimed its end, which I, in turn, solemnly declare to-day. In a few days our military forces are to march to the conquest of Korea, and the Emperor, my august Sovereign, alone has now the right and the power to dispose, according to his good pleasure, of the country and the vacant throne.

M. Bellonet did not explain from what source his Emperor had derived such extensive rights, but Admiral Roze with a squadron of seven ships attacked the island of Kang-hwa on the river Han and burnt the town. He did not possess an effective landing party. A detachment of 160 men sent up-country were almost entirely wiped out by the Koreans and the admiral retired without much glory, leaving the enemy more satisfied than ever with their success. An American warship, the *General Sherman*, even less fortunate, was set on fire by the Koreans on the 29th July 1866, and her crew massacred. A second expedition (1867) and a third (1871) met with no better success.

Where Europe had failed Japan proved successful. Apart from the Catholic and the Protestant missions, both of which are making fair progress in Korea, that country has accepted and still accepts to-day, from Japan, what we call Western civilization.

CHAPTER XI

INDIA: (1) BEFORE THE MUTINY (1800-57)

AT the beginning of the nineteenth century the East India Company had no longer much of the appearance of a trading concern. Only an insignificant portion of its financial resources was the result of profits made from commercial transactions, and its responsibilities were no longer weighted with that combination of rights and duties by which relations between merchants and their customers are ruled. The company owned immense territories peopled by millions of human beings over whose destiny it had supreme authority; exercised in theory a protectorate over the states whose revenues it collected; maintained armies in its own name or in that of the princes who were supposed to be autocratic but were in reality at its service; and had thus become a real government without changing its original constitution, which, in spite of repeated amendments, and a more or less efficacious control by Great Britain, still remained that of a company of merchants. Crying abuses could only be reformed when the cry had been heard as far as Great Britain, when it had found there a sympathetic echo, when the voice which came from India had not been wholly drowned by the noisy clamour of party politics, and finally when, after various intrigues and political manœuvring, the clumsy machinery of parliament had been set in motion.

In 1813 and in 1833 the Board of Control, founded and now strengthened by the British Government, acquired more and more the aspect of a political organization. The East India Company itself, in dispatches to the Government of India, gradually ceased to take an interest in purely commercial transactions and adopted the tone of a benevolent despot. It is true that, having been definitely and finally deprived of a trading monopoly in 1833, prosperity could now be achieved more easily by governmental action than by commercial business. The first successful plan, in spite of official denials, seems to have been one of territorial aggrandizement. The company

protested indeed that wars were ruinously expensive and that they must at all costs be avoided, yet never advised against war-like enterprises and never repudiated them when they had proved successful.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century the company was involved in a second war with the Mahrattas (1803). The campaign came to an end within four months, and from the conditions imposed upon the vanquished it is clear that territorial expansion and financial profit had been the chief objectives. The Raja of Berar was compelled to surrender the province of Cuttack and the whole of Berar lying west of the Wardha river. Sindia, the second in importance of the Mahratta confederates, had to abandon nearly all his territory of Rajputana and his possessions in Deccan, with the exception of his hereditary states. The revenues of the provinces thus acquired amounted to 6 millions sterling. Faced with this fact it is unreasonable to speak of protracted and exhaustive wars.

In 1814 a campaign was planned against the Gurkhas of Nepal. The frontier between their country and Oudh had not been delimited. They had captured the head-quarters of the police administration at Bootwul and killed the native chief of police and his men. Lord Moira (afterwards the Marquis of Hastings) decided to declare war and the Nawab of Lucknow was persuaded to lend a million sterling to defray the cost of hostilities. The Council of Calcutta collected the cash and utilized half of it to pay off an old and somewhat embarrassing loan. The rest of the money was used to finance the war. The Gurkhas had no artillery. They were opposed by 22,000 men and 60 guns, but the operations were conducted with incredible incompetence. From October 1814 to the beginning of 1815 the Gurkhas were able to paralyse the British offensive. Events in the Himalayan passes were closely watched by the whole of India, and the native princes were already planning a league against Great Britain. It was only in April 1815, after the capture of Malaon, that the Gurkhas sued for peace. They were deprived of the whole territory which had been the field of military operations, as well as the province of Sikkim.

In that same year Lord Hastings was preparing for a new campaign. The Pindaris were ravaging not only central India but even made isolated raids as far as Bombay, Madras, and Bengal. They appeared unexpectedly on all sides. They were irregular soldiers, fragments of disbanded mercenary armies, who had rallied round a few chiefs such as Amir Khan, Chitu, Karim, and they lived only by plunder. The board of directors in London would not listen to the idea of undertaking a costly enterprise against these brigands who had neither money that could be seized nor provinces that could be annexed. War against such people 'did not pay', and Sir George Barlow, governor-general (1805-7), judged that 'in the disorders of native states lay the true safety of the Company's dominions'. Consequently when Lord Hastings laid before them his plans against the Pindaris the directors replied with a categorical refusal and called on him to reduce the army which had just finished dealing with the Gurkhas. They had in the same way refused to listen to Lord Minto, who in 1812, after having exposed in detail the atrocities committed by the Pindaris, had asked if it was any longer possible 'to refuse to listen to the calls of suffering humanity and interfere to protect weak native states, who called upon us for assistance'.

So long as it was merely a question of seeing justice done, the company did not stir. But, when the Pindaris invaded the company's territory, the order was at once given to exterminate them (1816). With an army of 120,000 men and 300 guns, Lord Hastings achieved success partly by means of the forces at his disposal, partly by the expenditure of money. In exchange for money Amir Khan handed over his cavalry and artillery. Before the conclusion of operations against the Pindaris a third war broke out with the confederation of the Mahrattas. The sovereign prince (Peshwa) of Poona had not much cause to love the British, who, 'to ensure him for all time to come the peaceful possession of his States' had begun by taking from him the richest part of his lands and utilizing the revenue of 34 lacs of rupees which they thus obtained to maintain an army against him. The condition, moreover, had been imposed (Treaty of

Poona, 8th May 1816) that he must treat with nobody and have no agent outside his own territories. He was thus held a prisoner in his own domain and compelled to pay the expenses of his jailers. The exasperation felt by the Peshwa was so manifest that the British resident, Elphinstone, who could see the storm coming, left the court and withdrew to Kirkee under the protection of European troops sent from Bombay at his request. The presence in his territory of this foreign contingent only increased the anger of the Peshwa. Without any warning, official or otherwise, the attack began, and after a feeble resistance he was driven out. Meanwhile, one of his allies at Nagpur had taken the offensive. He also was crushed on the 26th November 1816, and he also was deprived of provinces worth an annual revenue of 24 lacs 'to maintain an army'. The whole territory of the Mahratta Provinces was quietly annexed by the company and the Peshwa interned at Cawnpore.

The Burmese, who, on their own account, had recently conquered Assam, and were now on the Bengal frontier, proved troublesome neighbours. It was their turn in 1824. Lord Amherst gave orders for an offensive which led to no result save the mutiny of the 47th Regiment of Sepoys. Meantime, however, a landing was made at Rangoon, which after a feeble resistance surrendered on the 12th May 1824. The campaign dragged on in the valley of the Irawaddy and it was only on the 24th February 1825 that peace could be concluded. The Burmese 'ceded' the provinces of Tenasserim, Assam, and Arrakan, and paid a war indemnity of a million sterling. The directors of the company were ill pleased, for the war had cost twelve times that sum.

The tragic and costly adventure known as the First Afghan War took place under the government of Lord Auckland.

Exaggerated rumours of Russian progress in central Asia, and talk of agents of the Tsar being sent to open negotiations at Kabul, led Auckland to send an envoy, Alexander Burnes, to the Afghan capital, nominally to arrange for the opening of trade but really to secure a treaty with the Afghan ruler, Dost Mohammed, who had secured his position after a long period

of tribal wars. The Amir would not agree to Burnes's proposals, and Auckland formed the plan of putting a more tractable Amir in control of the mountain land. He chose for this purpose Shah Shuja, who had been driven from power at Kabul in 1815, and was living as a refugee in India. In the winter of 1838-9 an army of 21,000 men under Sir John Keane, was concentrated in Sind. In the early spring of 1839, accompanied by the refugee Amir, Keane marched up the Bolan Pass, seized Candahar, and proclaimed Shah Shuja Amir of Afghanistan. The fortress of Ghazni was stormed, Dost Mohammed fled, and Keane occupied Kabul, and enthroned Shah Shuja in the Afghan capital in August.

The new Amir proved to be both feeble and unpopular. The Afghans regarded him as a mere puppet in the hands of Sir William Macnaghten, a veteran official who had accompanied the army, and now represented the Indian Government, with Burnes as his assistant. He made the mistake of advising Shah Shuja to enlist a force to be trained as his army, instead of relying on the levies of the native chiefs. This made them suspicious; they were further discontented by subsidies promised to them being reduced. To the last Macnaghten failed to realize the ever-increasing unpopularity of the Amir, imposed by foreign arms on the Afghan people.

In the summer of 1841 the Ghilzai tribes of eastern Afghanistan revolted and stopped the traffic of the Khyber Pass. The importance of the movement was under-rated even when reports came of disturbances in other parts of the country. At last in October a brigade under General Sale was sent from Kabul to reopen the pass. It was to be replaced by other troops from India as soon as the pass was clear. Sale found he had to deal with such formidable opposition that he gave up all hopes of clearing the Khyber, and occupied Jellalabad, repaired its old defences, and held it against the Ghilzais. The force left in Kabul was an infantry brigade, with only one British battalion, and a horse artillery battery. They were quartered in the walled camp of the Bala Hissar outside the city. Several of the forts of the capital were garrisoned by the Amir's new 'regulars'.

Kabul was supposed to be safe. The British were amusing themselves with evening parties and other social gatherings, and Burnes was living in a house near the government offices. On the 2nd November there was an armed outbreak in the city; the house of Burnes was attacked; he was killed; his head was paraded through the streets, and his headless body displayed in the great bazaar. The Afghan troops in the forts declared for the rebels. The commissariat stores in the suburbs, held by a small detachment, were captured. An attack on the Bala Hissar was repulsed, and all the British with their families and dependants took refuge in it. Messages were sent to General Sale and to Nott at Candahar asking for help, but the messengers never got through. A rebel army gathered in and near Candahar, and it was soon discovered that Akbar Khan, the eldest son of Dost Mohammed, was in command.

While waiting for the help that never came the British were strangely inactive in the Bala Hissar. The winter snows had begun, and the crowds of British and Indian troops and their followers, servants, grooms, and the rest, were half starved and short of fuel. On the 23rd December provisions were nearly at an end, and disaster imminent. Macnaghten went out to meet Akbar Khan, in the hope of arranging a truce and a safe retreat to India. At the conference he was suddenly stabbed (some say by Akbar Khan himself). Next day a council of war, despite the protests of a few officers who insisted that an attempt to break out should be made, decided to negotiate with Akbar Khan. On a sad Christmas Day, after a long debate with the British envoys, the Afghan chief agreed that, on condition of the Bala Hissar being handed over to him, he would protect a retirement of the garrison and the refugees to the Khyber and through the pass to India, and provide supplies on the way.

About 3,500 troops marched out, with nearly 12,000 unarmed civilians, among these being numbers of women and children. On the very first day stragglers, breaking down as they tramped through the snow, were killed by the Afghan horsemen that hung upon the rear of the wretched column. When they were driven away by the troops, it was only to

return again. There were many deaths in the almost fireless night bivouac. Scanty supplies were sent by Akbar Khan but after some days ceased. Then came a summons to surrender as prisoners. After some local attempts at resistance, the survivors of the unfortunate column were at the mercy of Akbar Khan. He did what he could to protect them from the furious attacks of his more savage followers, but many were massacred before the survivors were marched off under escort to towns and villages where for months to come they hoped for deliverance, many dying under the rigours of the winter. The only white who escaped capture was an officer, Dr. Brydon, who, thanks to a hardy mount, reached Jellalabad.

Preparations were made in India for another march into Afghanistan, but it was decided that it could not begin in the snows of winter. Sale held out successfully against a besieging army, but Ghazni, garrisoned only by a Bengal battalion, was starved into surrender on the 6th March 1842, after a ten weeks' siege. On the 5th April 1842 General Pollock with about 8,000 men fought his way up the Khyber, raised the siege of Jellalabad, and marched on Kabul with Sale's brigade added to his force, and joined on the way by Nott, who had retaken Ghazni. Defeating Akbar Khan after some hard fighting, Pollock occupied Kabul and his cavalry released and brought in the survivors of the winter retreat and the hard time that followed.

The Government now decided to abandon this disastrous war. Shah Shuja, a captive in the hands of his enemies, had been put to death on the news of Pollock's forcing of the Khyber. Dost Mohammed had come to India some months before and surrendered to the government. He was now given the vacant throne of Afghanistan, peace was concluded, and the British army withdrew to India.

This useless war had cost the Company 20,000 men and 15 million sterling.

In 1845 and in 1849 successful wars with the Sikhs ended in the wholesale annexation of the immense territory of the Punjab; and in 1852 Lord Dalhousie detached from Burma the province of Pegu, which was annexed to British territory.

In spite of the special care which was taken to frame all treaties so as to make the conquered pay for the cost of the war, such expensive expeditions never met with the approval of the directors of the Company. Territory could be obtained by less costly methods. This was what happened in Sind. The Amirs of Sind had known how to behave during the whole of the Afghan war (1839-42). They had helped the British troops, both on the upward and downward journey, and had supplied them with provisions. Such conduct in a people which had already been deprived of its independence was indeed praiseworthy. Their country, however, possessed an important 'strategic' value. Using forged letters as grounds for suspicions that the Amirs were intriguing against the British, Sir Charles Napier, who was at the head of civil and military administration in the province, decided in the 'fatherly' interests of the company that they must be compelled to abdicate. Instead of the annual tribute of 3 lacs of rupees, for the maintenance of the army they would now have to surrender territory of an equivalent annual value. British steamers were to be allowed to take wood for fuel in the forests belonging to the Amirs; the coinage of native money was suppressed.

Unhampered by scruples, Napier in his draft of the treaty extended the boundary beyond the limit required for the 3 lacs of rupees and without further negotiations proceeded to occupy the country. First he took possession of Fort Imam Garh (9th January 1843) which, in fact, was unoccupied; marched on Hyderabad and compelled the Amirs to sign a treaty. The natives, roused to fury by the humiliation thus insolently imposed upon their princes, threatened reprisals. The British resident of Hyderabad was urged by the Amirs to take precautions for his safety. On the 15th February his house was attacked by the mob and he had to fly for his life. Napier quelled the rising, captured Hyderabad, and treated the private treasury of the Amirs as part of the spoils of war. The value was estimated at £70,000 sterling. 'The conquest of Sind was indeed achieved.' When a detachment of the Indian army was sent to this province, so strong was the sense of the injustice

which had been done that four of the regiments mutinied; the district had to be garrisoned with troops from Bombay.

Under the administration of Lord Dalhousie the Company discovered an even simpler method of annexing territory: the method of objecting to or refusing to acknowledge 'adoptions'. The procedure was as follows. In states known as 'dependent', which had been more or less reconstructed by the Company from dismembered native provinces, the rights of 'succession' to the throne were guaranteed by treaty. A discussion arose about the meaning of this word 'succession'. The crucial question to be determined was whether, when a prince died without heirs of his body, the dynastic succession could pass to his adopted heir, to the one who, in accordance with the custom of the country, had the right to inherit sovereignty. In 1848 the Company wrote to Dalhousie in regard to the principality of Satara: 'By the general law and customs of India a dependent principality like that of Satara cannot pass to an adopted heir without the consent of the paramount power', and that annexation was inevitable. The adopted heir could inherit only the private fortune of the prince and not his power. In 1853 the Nawab of the Carnatic died childless. Azim Jah, the nearest heir in the collateral line, was making ready to take over the succession when the governor of Madras, Lord Harris, intervened. Dalhousie and the court of directors supported Harris, and so the Carnatic, without any restrictions, was 'annexed' by the company. During that year, with an injustice for which there is no excuse, the same procedure was applied to the State of Nagpur. This state had enjoyed an uninterrupted independence from ancient days, long before the arrival of the Company in India. The resident, Mr. Mansel, did not fail to emphasize the legal arguments in favour of native rights. He added, moreover, that the Indian states were growing more and more alarmed by these British annexations and that no one now had any confidence in the treaties. Such arguments proved useless. The province of Nagpur was annexed. But this was not enough; the private fortune of the deceased raja was confiscated as if he had been a criminal. Horses, jewels, furniture, and clothes:

everything was sold by auction. As the natives refused to bid, all this valuable property was disposed of at a very low figure. The total sum produced by the sale amounted, nevertheless, to £200,000 sterling. The case of Jhansi provides an even more representative example of British methods. This principality, a dependency of the Peshwa of Poona, had always been noted for its fidelity to the British. By the Treaty of 1817 with the Peshwa the status of Jhansi had been guaranteed to its princes and to 'his heirs and successors'. In 1832 Lord Bentinck, in consideration of the loyalty and good government of that prince, had conferred upon him the title of Maharaja. The new Maharaja adopted the British flag as his own and hoisted it over the citadel with a salute of one hundred guns. His successors never swerved in their fidelity to the British; in 1853 the last of them, Gunga Dhur Rao, on his death-bed, adopted Anund Rao, a child of five years old, and confided the regency to the Ranee Gunga Byo. The proceeding had been conducted in due legal form; and full details were sent to the governor-general; yet the Maharaja had scarcely closed his eyes when the whole of his territory was confiscated. This ruthless annexation aroused profound indignation among the people and a few years later was to be bitterly avenged.

The story does not end here. Owing to the inefficient administration of the State of Oudh the directors had more than once threatened to intervene. The terms of a treaty between Oudh and the company had been clearly defined. The maintenance of the native dynasty had been guaranteed. The kings of Oudh had always been loyal to the British, although complaints had often arisen (e.g. the 'Low' Treaty of 1837). It would have been easy to take the administration in hand without destroying the dynasty. Colonel Sleeman, in a detailed report, proved that the British had no right 'to annex or confiscate the territory of Oudh'. Annexation was imposed on Dalhousie from London. Although he was personally convinced of the injustice of such a measure, he carried out his orders. On receiving the news of his deposition and of the extinction of his dynasty the king of Oudh wept bitterly. He refused to sign

his abdication, but in his last proclamation to his people he ordered them to submit peacefully to the British Government. By way of recompense his personal property was all sold by auction, in the same way as that of the Raja of Nagpur, and he was interned at Calcutta. There could be no question here, as in the case of the principalities of Coorg and Cachar under Lord Bentinck, of any reference to the unanimous desire of the people; this iniquitous spoliation was the true cause of the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857.

The Company by the nature of its constitution was, so to speak, compelled to govern India for the benefit of Great Britain. Dividends had to be paid and a horde of officials maintained. India was treated as an estate to be judicially exploited on business lines.

When, therefore, Lord Hastings (1818) began to take some interest in the education of the people and to open primary schools which the Indians at once filled, and when the Baptists of Serampur published a harmless paper in the native language, the directors expressed their formal disapproval. They were convinced that India could only be safe so long as its people were ignorant. To spend money on public education seemed to them a wasteful and dangerous extravagance. Anxious to avoid anything which might improve the standard of Indian life the Company had expressly forbidden any posts to be given to Indians who were Christians, and up to 1831 all Indians had in fact been systematically excluded from any share in the government of their own country. Lord Bentinck, however, judged that money might be saved by allowing them to occupy certain posts and that it would be advisable, for instance, to create native courts of justice. The reforms proposed by Bentinck met with great opposition in London and were only adopted owing to the gradual prevalence of more broad-minded views among some members of the council.

We have already referred to the economic policy of the Company and to the opium traffic. A vigorous campaign of protestation was required to compel the company to abandon the considerable profits that accrued from pagan pilgrimages.

The maintenance of pagan temples and the organization and protection of idolatrous processions of a reprehensible character were part of the Company's business and the consequent profits part of the Company's revenue.

And finally, in order to make quite clear what kind of influence it was that Europe had upon India during the first half of the nineteenth century, reference must be made to a controversy on the problems of the East which broke out about 1833, and to the solution popularized by Macaulay. In order to provide for the proper education of India, was it advisable to maintain the traditions of her literature, her philosophy, and her native culture, to encourage the teaching of the chief modern languages of the people and of classical Sanskrit, and to make use of the wisdom of native teachers? Or was it better to assume that Indian traditions possessed no elements capable of providing a foundation for a really progressive civilization, and had therefore no educational value? The latter opinion was successfully championed by Macaulay. He confidently declared that before one, or perhaps two generations had passed, India, forgetting her history, her philosophy, and her religion, would become Europeanized, would have assimilated Western culture. Education, it was decided, must therefore be provided through the medium of the English language. With boundless enthusiasm Indians embraced this Western culture, which for them also seemed to show the way to freedom. The prophecy of Macaulay was, however, not destined to be fulfilled in the sense intended by that writer. English education has left untouched both the philosophy and the religions of India; and although emancipated by Western culture, India has shown no signs of wishing to become European.

CHAPTER XII

INDIA—THE MUTINY AND AFTER

THE Indian insurrection of 1857 was something much more serious than an outbreak of superstitious discontent arising from the fact that the Brahmin regiments of Bengal were compelled to use cartridges greased with dripping or lard. Had this been the case only the Sepoys would have made a demonstration, but the movement would not have stirred the civil population.

An unfortunate feature was that many British officers had been 'seconded' to the civil service, and consequently the native regiments were insufficiently staffed. This will explain in part why the revolt of the soldiers spread so rapidly. The Mutiny, as it has been called, as if confined only to the soldiery, was mainly the result of deep and long-standing discontent throughout the north of India. Sir Henry Layard, who travelled through India in 1858, at a time when the Mutiny was still in progress, wrote as follows about the government of the Company:

'We have done nothing to form a bond of sympathy or to create mutual interests. The people we govern are treated like a distinct race inferior to us. They are excluded from all share of government; they can never rise to anything beyond inferior posts. . . . Under it money-lenders make their fortunes and enjoy them; but cultivators are reduced to the utmost poverty, our rule having utterly destroyed the native gentry.'

The sovereign prince of Delhi, successor of the Mogul emperors, who might be described as the 'rebel leader', published in August 1857, three months after the beginning of the insurrection, a manifesto setting forth the complaints of India against the rule of the Company. His views are those of Sir Henry Layard:

'Under British rule there is no future for the upper classes of the native population. There is no opening for their legitimate ambition either in the army, or in civilian employment, in the business of

industry, or the arts. The highest grade that a native can attain in the army is that of subadar or subordinate captain. As a civil servant the best paid post that he can reach (that of *ṣadr-ʿalā*, Judge of a minor court), worth Rs. 50 a month, is a post of no importance. Native manufacturers are depressed for the benefit of British labour. With the rule of the zemindars and the talukdars, agriculture has ceased to be a noble and lucrative profession.'

These complaints had reached a pitch when Lord Dalhousie by summary annexation had suppressed in Oudh and in the province of Jhansi dynasties which had been friendly to British rule. The auction of the personal belongings of the Indian princes was regarded by the Indians almost as a sacrilege. Moreover, in dealing with Nana Sahib, the sovereign prince of Bithur, the Company unhappily displayed a conspicuous lack of tact. In conformity with the wish of his adoptive father, the late Peshwa of Poona, Nana Sahib asked to be allowed to inherit both the title and the pension, as had been done in the case of the sovereigns of Delhi and of Mysore.

The British commissioners, who administered his states, reported favourably on this request. Lord Dalhousie replied that the Government of India always maintained its independence of action in each case and that Nana Sahib would be granted neither the title nor the pension of the Peshwa. With regard to the latter Lord Dalhousie added that, since the late Peshwa of Poona had been able to amass a fortune, Nana Sahib would be sufficiently well endowed with his own personal means. Nana Sahib then appealed to the directors in London, and in a well-argued and moderately worded memorandum expressed his surprise that the careful management of his father should be used as an excuse to deprive him, the adopted son, of something to which he claimed he had a right. Although most of the influential opinion of India was in agreement with him, the directors from Leadenhall Street instructed Lord Dalhousie to inform Nana Sahib 'that the pension of his adoptive father was not hereditary; that he had no claim whatever to it, and that the application is wholly inadmissible'. The document in question is dated May 1853. This refusal, added

to the affair of the greased cartridges, provides an explanation for what took place at Cawnpore (which is close to Bithur) in June 1857.

The annexation of Oudh had indeed exasperated the Sepoys for reasons other than that of the injustice which they considered had been done to an Indian prince. Most of the Sepoys in the Bengal army came from the province of Oudh. They had a right of appeal to the British resident at the court of Lucknow in all personal affairs concerning themselves and their families; for them in fact the resident took the place of a legal advocate. A family belonging to the province of Oudh, with a Sepoy in the Bengal army, thus acquired a permanent protector and enjoyed a much-appreciated privilege. Consequently, nearly all the families there had some connexion with the army. By a summary gesture the Company had annexed the province of Oudh, disregarding the Indian sovereign and his court. Sir James Outram then arrived from Calcutta to take possession. These proceedings were regarded by all the Sepoys, who were natives of that country, as a personal affront. They had lost their privileges, their influence, and their importance. Indian judges were now replaced by English officials.

Lord Ellenborough acted as the mouthpiece of widespread opinion when he alleged that the rebellion of 1857 had been prompted by religious motives. The most guilty parties, so it was said, were the Christian missionaries, who by their intolerant preaching had aroused Hindu and Mohammedan fanaticism; the intrusion of religion into politics had been the cause of all the trouble. The inaccuracy of this assertion is palpable. In the north, where the rebellion started, the influence of Christian preaching had been far less effective than in other parts of India, and widespread missionary work did not exist.¹ Missionaries mentioned in the statistics of the period are nearly always either Irish chaplains or clergymen attached to the English colony.

Madras and the south, where Christianity had made better

¹ This statement must be understood as relative to the huge population of northern India. In the apostolic vicariate of Agra alone, the rebels destroyed the Catholic Cathedral, twenty-five churches, two colleges, and five convents.

progress, did not stir during the revolt. Not a single authenticated fact has been produced to support this charge of Christian 'intolerance', and it was surely not by Christian 'intolerance' that the disastrous annexations of Lord Dalhousie had been inspired.

In the terms of capitulation offered by Nana Sahib to Sir Hugh Wheeler (24th June 1857), which were eventually violated, the successor of the Peshwa wrote as follows:

'All soldiers, or civilians, *who have not been connected with the acts of Lord Dalhousie*, and who will surrender by laying down their arms, will be spared and sent to Allahabad.'

Christian Indians who were killed by their countrymen during the Mutiny suffered not necessarily because they were Christians but because they were known to be either submissive or friendly to British rule. To assert that it was the Christian missionaries who had been the cause of these troubles is to disregard the facts of history.

Eventually somebody had to be found who could be made responsible for the rebellion. Accordingly after 1857 the blame was thrown on the East India Company which, it was now declared, must be carefully distinguished from the British Government, because 'the Company had never been anything else but an association of merchants; had never realized the gravity of responsibilities incurred by sovereignty; had aimed mainly at profits, and had tarnished in the eyes of the world the good repute of the British name'.

Without some modification this verdict would be unfair. According to the terms of the Company's Charters, the British Government could at any time have controlled its activities and have dictated its dispatches to India, and since 1833, although keeping in the background, had really possessed supreme power over the affairs of the Company. Failure to take action during this period was not due to lack of legal right. From an examination of the documents it appears that the rising was unorganized, as it was never under the direction of one leader only; besides which it broke out intermittently in one place and not in

another, according to the ability or the lack of ability of local administrators. It is also certain that neither the Sepoys nor their native supporters, when opposed to Europeans, were always resolute adversaries. Sometimes it was owing to unjust suspicion that they were driven from loyalty to rebellion. This happened when the 51st Regiment at Peshawar had been disarmed. A further search for 'hidden arms' in the cantonments did not discover anything, but provoked the Sepoys to mutiny.¹

At Benares, when an attempt was made to disarm the 37th Native Infantry the methods adopted were so unfortunate that the Sepoys believed that they were to be left defenceless to be destroyed by the advancing troops. A few shots were fired, and in the confused fighting which followed even Sikhs who were allied with the British received the artillery charge point blank.²

After the first risings of the Sepoys a very great sense of insecurity was common to all Europeans, but this was also the case with the Sepoys themselves, and the struggle which followed was largely the result of a conflict between these two fears. In the first wave of hysteria the wildest things were said and written. After the massacres of British men and women at Delhi, the *Morning Post* wrote that the whole male adult population of that city, inhabited by more than 200,000 people, should be exterminated,³ and the *Daily News* called for the complete destruction of the town and all its inhabitants. As it was, the severe methods adopted were such as to arouse fear amounting to desperation in those who felt themselves to be under suspicion.

One episode may suffice to make clear the state of people's minds and the sort of incidents which have been principally remembered in India. The 26th Native Regiment had been disarmed near Lahore on the 12th May 1857, and had been left under the guard of Sikhs. On the 30th July a fanatic suddenly, on his own initiative, assassinated the commanding officer, Major Spencer, causing the regiment to stampede in terror. Many of them were killed by the Sikhs who followed in pursuit. The 26th Native Regiment continued their flight. On the next

¹ Fred Cooper, *The Crisis in the Punjab, from the 10th of May until the Fall of Delhi* (London, 1858), p. 177.

² Kaye and Mallsen, *The Indian Mutiny*.

³ 2nd Sept. 1857.

day information was received that they had arrived at a ford on the Ravi, where they had been attacked by the Indian officials and the villagers, and had lost more than 150 men. Most of the remaining fugitives had taken refuge on an island in the middle of the river, where they could have been starved to submission, and there they were found by Deputy-Commissioner Cooper. The whole body surrendered unconditionally to about thirty Sowars. They were bound with ropes and filed, 282 of them, into the police station at Uhnalla, and all were executed. One Sepoy only, who had been badly wounded, could not be carried to the place of execution. He was, therefore, kept alive as Queen's evidence, and was sent from Amritsar to Lahore, along with forty-one other prisoners who had been collected here and there. A little later, on the parade ground of Meean Meer, in front of some regiments who had shown an inclination to mutiny, all the prisoners were tied to the cannon's mouth and blown to pieces.

Sir John Lawrence wrote on the 2nd August 1857, on the day after the executions at Uhnalla:

'My dear Cooper, I congratulate you on your success against the 26th Infantry. You have deserved well of the State. . . .'

And Mr. Montgomery with even more enthusiasm wrote to him:

'Congratulations, my dear Cooper, this will be a feather to your cap as long as you live.'¹

The Sepoys, at the least sign of suspicion on the part of their officers, could not do otherwise than believe that summary execution was imminent; and, on the other hand, the British expected to be subjected to the most atrocious tortures whenever Indian troops incurred the suspicion of disloyalty. The events of Cawnpore, where all the Europeans (450) including 125 women and children were massacred (27th June and 15th July 1857), do not seem, in spite of affirmations to the contrary,

¹ Cooper, *op. cit.*, pp. 167 and 168. Montgomery added. 'Three regiments here were very shaky yesterday, but I hardly think they will go now. I wish they would, as they are a nuisance and not a man would escape if they do.'

to have been ordered by Nana Sahib, but they served to arouse horror to the highest pitch among the Europeans and with it the desire of inflicting punishment for these terrible acts. One has to keep in mind all these facts to form a correct estimate of the psychology of those trying times. It is unfair to judge them in the light of calmer days.

It is necessary to emphasize the fact that the rebellion was exceptionally savage in the provinces of Oudh and Jhansi, in the states of Nana Sahib, and those of Bahadur Shah, the sovereign prince of Delhi, the last heir of the Mogul Emperors. These were the districts where Lord Dalhousie had deprived the princes of what they regarded as their hereditary rights. Throughout Delhi publication had been made of the letters of the Company whereby the successor of the old King Bahadur Shah had been deprived of his title and of his honourable privileges.

The rebels had hardly any organization and very little unity of command. Many of the Sepoys, after having mutinied, hastened in groups of two or three to return to their villages. Hindoos from Bengal, regarded as outsiders in the Mohammedan districts where they were stationed, were often hunted down and put to death, after their defeat, by the Indians themselves. In no place did they offer serious military resistance, and it is astonishing to observe how easily they were put to flight by small detachments from the force which had taken the rebellion in hand.

One of the most unfortunate reprisals occurred when Delhi had been recaptured. Two sons and a grandson of the old King Bahadur Shah surrendered unconditionally to Captain Hodson. They were the last survivors of the Mogul dynasty and of the great emperors by whom it had been founded. They were put to death without authority or any form of trial. Their corpses remained exposed during the whole of that day at the palace where the British had been massacred.¹

When the revolt had been everywhere suppressed it became evident that some modification of British rule would have to be

¹ Kaye and Malleeson, *History of the Indian Mutiny*, 1907 ed., vol. iv, pp. 55 and 56.

made, and the Act for the Better Government of India (3rd August 1858) was voted by Parliament and signed by Queen Victoria. The whole of the administration was transferred from the Company to the Crown.

India was henceforward to be governed by the sovereign power of Great Britain through one of the principal secretaries of state, assisted by a council of fifteen members. It is since that date that the governors-general are granted, 'by courtesy', the title of viceroy. After this transfer of power had been effected, and after the disappearance of the old Company, which had endured for 250 years, Queen Victoria issued a proclamation to her new subjects. This proclamation, while explaining the principles of the new government, was also a censure of the old. To the Indian princes the Queen declared that all treaties which had been entered into would be scrupulously observed; that their rights, their dignity, and their honour would be respected as her very own, and that by her no diminution or violation of those rights would ever be sanctioned. This indeed was an unequivocal condemnation of the policy of forcible annexation which had been adopted by Lord Dalhousie and the Company. To the Indians themselves the Queen promised tolerance and complete liberty with regard to all religious questions, and a free access to all administrative posts without distinction of creed or colour. Ancient customs of India would be respected, and a general amnesty was granted unconditionally to all who submitted before the 1st January 1859, with the exception only of those who were guilty of massacre (1st November 1858).

The clemency of this proclamation, so strongly in contrast with the measures for total confiscation with which Lord Canning had threatened the inhabitants of Oudh (14th March 1858), produced throughout the whole of India a genuine sentiment of gratitude. Lord Ellenborough, who from London saw things in a better light than when he had been governor at Calcutta, wrote to Canning:

'There is no power on earth which can maintain government in a country where the populations are exasperated by a sentiment of

injustice, and, even did such a power exist, it would be a pity were it successful.'

Since India has passed from the control of the Company to that of Great Britain there has been no fighting except on the frontiers, in Afghanistan (1878-80) and in Burma (1886), which was annexed and its dynasty abolished.

It can never be sufficiently emphasized that under British rule an enormous material and intellectual progress has been achieved. Great public works have brought health and fertility to immense territories, roads and railways have been constructed, and, both on the coast-line and in the interior, many magnificent cities have been built. The sixteen universities of India with their 70,000 students have not produced merely an 'intellectual proletariat'. Many of them are admirable schools of knowledge. Under the *Pax Britannica* Christian missions have been allowed to grow without hindrance. The justice of British law is a distinction of all tribunals. The writer remembers an anti-British Brahmin in Madras who told him emphatically that he knew of no instance in which an Indian should hesitate to put his life and property into the hands of a British judge, saying, 'We trust them as we trust God'. The lessons of the Mutiny have indeed not been lost.

In the words of an Indian, His Highness the Aga Khan:

'It is the British alone who have carried their power and influence throughout the length and breadth of India and well beyond her borders; who have not only secured political supremacy but have drawn many sections of Indian society under the influence of western civilization. They have been the chief agents in essential general forms of that culture, such as the watching and interpretation of Nature around us, to which we give the name of Science; the use of mechanical forces in industry and transport, and the voluntary union of capital, now being accepted and applied by every class in India. Further, Britain, Portugal, and France, with American and other foreign assistance in modern times, have won over small, yet powerful and growing, sections of society to Christianity. . . . Everywhere, whether directly or indirectly it is Britain that stands for law and order, for the cement between the ancient cultures of the East

and those both ancient and modern of the West; Britain who, in spite of European rivalries, is still for these hundreds of millions of people the only white and Western Power.¹

Speaking of the 'task' which lies on British shoulders in India, the same author goes on:

'If the British, on whom historical causes have thrown the ultimate responsibility for the future of India and of surrounding states and nations, were to fail in this their greatest task, Southern Asia would become the theatre of one of the heaviest disasters humanity has faced.'²

In the first years of the twentieth century Sir John Strachey found it 'needless' to recite to the end the 'catalogue' of beneficial changes that have been accomplished in India through British influence and had some strong words for the 'unfortunate English fashion of decrying the great achievements of their countrymen'.³ He would not even reply to the statements of 'these birds of evil presage' nor redress 'the obstinacy of unbelief in those perverted minds'.⁴ Thus he is able to point to the wonderful changes brought about in Calcutta, where the filth of the city used to rot away in the midst of the population in pestilential ditches; where to nine-tenths of the inhabitants clean water was unknown; where the river was the great graveyard of the city; where the place was hardly fit for civilized men to live in, and which to-day has not to fear comparison with most of the cities in Europe.

Not only to Calcutta were these blessings imparted:

'The country has been covered with roads and railways; her almost impassable rivers have been bridged; the most magnificent canals and works of irrigation existing in the world have been constructed for the protection of the people against famine; quarters which once had a reputation little better than that of pest-houses are now among the healthiest in the British Empire. . . . Simultaneously with the progress of all these and a thousand other material improvements, with the increase of trade, the creation of new industries, and a vast

¹ *India in Transition. A Study in Political Evolution*, 1918, pp. 8 and 14.

² *Ibid.*, p. 17.

³ *India, its Administration and Progress*, 1903, pp. 14 and 16.

⁴ *Ibid.*: the words are quoted by Sir John from an old letter of Burke, p. 16.

development of wealth, there has gone on an equally remarkable change in every branch of the public administration . . . India has obtained, to a degree unthought of before, protection for life and property, and an honest administration of justice. . . .’

The results are summed up:

‘That India has gone on, with a speed hardly surpassed in any country, steadily increasing in knowledge, in wealth, and in all the elements of progress; that every branch of public administration has constantly improved in honesty and efficiency; and that, of all the things for which England deserves honour in the world, there has been none greater or better than her government of India—these are to me facts not requiring to be argued about.’¹

The Earl of Ronaldshay (since 2nd Marquis of Zetland) describes the immense task which confronts the Government of British India:

‘The State does not merely carry on the work of government and the administration of justice: it does many other things besides. It constructs and runs railways; it undertakes huge irrigation works; it organizes famine relief; it fights pestilence and plagues; it doctors and sanitates; it undertakes the exploitation and scientific treatment of the immense forests scattered broadcast over the land; it monopolizes the manufacture of salt; it runs schools and colleges; it makes its influence felt, in other words, in every department of the people’s life.’²

To close these quotations, we may as well use the words of the Simon Commission:

‘No one of either race ought to be so foolish as to deny the greatness of the contribution which Britain has made to Indian progress. It is not racial prejudice, nor imperialistic ambition, nor commercial interest, which makes us say so plainly. It is a tremendous achievement to have brought to the Indian sub-continent and to have applied in practice the conceptions of impartial justice, of the rule of law, of respect for equal civic rights without reference to class or creed, and of a disinterested and incorruptible civil service. . . . In his heart, even the bitterest critic of British administration in India knows that India has owed these things mainly to Britain.’³

¹ Op. cit., p. 17

² *India, A Bird’s Eye View* (1924), p. 118.

³ *Indian Statutory Commission*, vol. ii, Cmd. 3569, pp. 315, 316.

There is a grave at Lucknow bearing the inscription:

'Here lies

HENRY LAWRENCE

who tried to do his duty.'¹

Faced with tremendous responsibilities and with a task of untold magnitude, British administrators tried to do their duty, and many have died trying.

Yet, in spite of this, since 1880, and especially since 1918, 'Indian Unrest' has been constantly on the increase. A great part of India, not merely an embittered intellectual minority, remained dissatisfied. Since the Great War and the affair at Amritsar (1919) discontent has been organized and has spread. Even the Sikhs, who had always remained faithful to Great Britain, and without whom the Mutiny of 1857 might not have been suppressed, have joined the opposition. Gandhi, the Mahatma, who was at one time regarded as a 'half-naked fakir', nevertheless symbolizes in the minds of immense numbers the whole confused mass of their claims and grievances, and it does seem unwise to rely on a threat of force and on the *lāṭhīs* of the native police to cure discontent; nor would this be in accordance with the tradition of British rule. It would be better, without doubt, to examine frankly the causes for complaint which Indians have, or which they think they have, against British rule. This sketch would not be complete if it did not indicate what these causes of complaint are.

It is true that now with the new Constitution of India many of these grievances have lost their value, but unpleasant memories still linger.

As long ago as 1817 Sir Thomas Munro wrote to Lord Hastings:

'There is perhaps no example of any conquest in which the natives have been so completely excluded from all share of the government of their country as in British India.'

But he continues:

'The natives of the British Provinces [of India] may without fear

¹ Quoted in W. E. S. Holland, *The Indian Outlook*.

pursue their different occupations, as traders, or husbandmen, and enjoy the fruits of their labour in tranquillity, but none of them can aspire to anything beyond this mere animal state of thriving peace—none of them can look forward to any share in the legislation, or civil or military government of their country. It is from men who either hold or are eligible to hold public office that natives take their characters. . . . No elevation of character can be expected among men, who, in the military line cannot attain to any rank above that of Subadar . . . and who in the civil line can hope for nothing beyond some petty judicial or revenue office, in which they may, by corruption, make up for their slender salary.'

In 1833 Parliament enacted that 'no native of the said territories . . . shall by reason of his religion, place of birth, descent, colour, or any of them, be disabled from holding any place, office, or employment under the Company'. Nevertheless little was changed, and the important posts remained in the hands of the Europeans.

The proclamation of Queen Victoria in 1858 confirmed as far as this question was concerned what had been decided in 1833, but as these decisions had scarcely ever been enforced the words of the Queen seemed to promise the inauguration of a new era.

In spite of all these promises, at the end of the nineteenth century out of 939 members of the Indian Civil Service only 21 were Indians. A procedure was adopted whereby the qualifications required were those that only men of British race could possess. Reading for the final examinations was to take place in England, whereby nearly all Indian candidates were debarred from competition. India did not understand why her budget, not too comfortably balanced, should have borne the expense of the second Afghan War, which brought her no profit, and about which she was not consulted, or why in 1867 the Indian budget had to pay the expenses of entertaining the Grand Turk in London, and in 1882 nearly the whole cost of an Egyptian Expedition. The Indian princes had every right to think it strange that Englishmen attending their court as political officers should be accustomed to consider themselves entitled

to 'easements' paid for out of the State Treasury: rent-free houses, free furniture, free travelling. In some cases even the household bills of the resident and his staff, his touring expenses, &c., were charged to the State. Lord Curzon attempted to put an end to these abuses, not only because they were a burden on the native states but also because they affected the independence of the British political officers.

The financial situation in India during the whole of the nineteenth century can be summed up as follows: India paid for everything without the means of controlling the use which was made of her money. But, after the terrible lesson of the Mutiny, India was no longer treated as a field for exploitation, and by far the greater part of the budgetary expenditure was directed to the improvement and development of the country itself.

While profit-seeking had ceased, although a certain amount of 'farming' of the revenue continued, still it was India alone who paid for the upkeep of the army, both Indian and British; the salaries of all civil servants, including the Secretary of State himself; the expenses of civil and military administration; the cost of constructing canals, railways, fortifications, &c. Great Britain declined to guarantee the loans of the Indian Government, thus obliging India to borrow at a high rate of interest. The pensions of British officials who had retired to England continued to be paid out of the Indian budget. The fact that non-productive expenditure was not regarded as a state charge is the reason why the cost of public education amounts to quite a comparatively insignificant sum in a budget where military expenses are very high.

'That India, which has been the cradle of learning, should be so appallingly illiterate among the civilized countries of the world, cannot but throw a stain on the high aims of the British rule.'¹

A century ago the inhabitants of India were clothed almost entirely by materials of their own manufacture. The competition of the Lancashire cotton mills has ruined local Indian industry. The Indian workmen went back to the land, already

¹ R. Vyasa Rao, *The Future Government of India* (London, 1918), p. 253.

overcrowded. Legislation was designed to encourage British manufactures by neglecting to impose protection.

It is useless to ask the question whether India after nearly two hundred years of British rule is richer, or at all events less poor, than under the Mogul Emperors. The facts are undeniable, although their causes might provide a subject for almost endless discussion. But the ruin of 'village agriculture'; the salt tax with the corresponding depreciation of cattle; appropriation by the State of common lands which had provided pasturage and fuel for the peasants; the strictness of fiscal administration; the excessive cost of a legal procedure; the practice of usury which legislation did nothing to check; the difficulty for a peasant to improve his condition; the periodical famines—these are difficulties which have not been entirely surmounted by the *Pax Britannica*.

Taxation, politics, pauperism are not the only subjects of complaint. The educated Indian feels deeply that social prejudice has tended to widen the gap between the Indians and the British. In a very old country, such as India, where respect for others is a tradition, the Indian, who is often of ancient and noble stock, does not understand that because the sun during the course of some thousands of years has darkened his skin he should therefore be treated with condescension.

When the late King Edward VII visited India as Prince of Wales, in 1875, he wrote to Queen Victoria with reference to the Indian princes:

'What struck me most forcibly was the rude and rough manner with which the English Political Officers (as they are called) who are in attendance on native chiefs treat them. It is, indeed, much to be deplored and the system is, I am sure, quite wrong.'

There is undoubtedly an unhappy record of the slights, vexations, and at times unfair discriminations which the Indian has to suffer in his own country when he comes into contact with British social life. It is no exaggeration to say that the main difficulty of government in India may be attributed to the prevalence of an aloofness in dealing with the Indians. If the

Portuguese, in spite of their defective administration, have succeeded in taking deep root in Asia, it is because without any racial prejudice they have taken part in the social life of the native. By the British such contact is regarded with disapproval.

National feeling grew steadily in India in the decades before 1914. But when war broke out the Indians, instead of seizing the opportunity available in August 1914 of making trouble for Great Britain, with a loyalty and a unanimity which will always be admired, took their place alongside the British. At Ypres 70,000 Indians were at the front. More than a million and a half of India's sons enlisted in various military corps; more than 60,000 were killed on active service, 70,000 wounded, 11,000 taken prisoner.

The war, which inflamed national feeling everywhere, brought a new intensity to Indian Nationality, quickened the movement that was already strong, and it soon became apparent that for the immediate future the question of political independence would dominate all others.

The Government in London recognized this. The Secretary of State for India, a Liberal—the late Mr. Edwin Montagu—was particularly anxious to introduce far-reaching reforms. The general declaration of Government policy made in 1917, expressing the Government's conviction that the time had come for a further step forward in the evolution of India and self-government, was soon implemented by the reforms, known in history, from the names of the Secretary of State and the Viceroy under whom they were framed, as the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms. Their characteristic principle was the reversal of the Morley-Minto Reforms. Lord Morley had always insisted that his reforms were designed for the special needs of India and were not an unthinking reproduction in an unsuitable environment of the parliamentary methods of Europe. Under his reforms the provinces continued to be ruled from Whitehall through nominated legislative councils. What free election took place affected not the provinces but the central government.

Under dyarchy, the system which came in under Mr. Montagu,

this principle was reversed. There was more election in the Provinces than at the Centre, but as it was realized that many of the subjects with which Government is concerned, like law and order, could not safely be entrusted to untrained politicians chosen by inexperienced electors, a division was made and certain subjects were reserved to the Government officials appointed by the Secretary of State.

This was the root of dyarchy, or dual administration. This new constitution was inaugurated solemnly in 1921 but it never had a fair chance, for the Indian Nationalists, the Party of Congress, boycotted it from the start.

The unrest in India led to the passing of the Rowlatt Act which gave the police the widest powers of summary arrest and imprisonment. Gandhi, who had been actively in favour of recruiting during the War, now carried his opposition to the length of encouraging resistance to the police, and he was himself arrested in 1919. The boycotts and the numerous clashes between crowds of Indians and the civil authorities culminated in a terrible affair at Amritsar on the 10th April, 1919, when the forces under General Dyer fired on a crowd and nearly 400 people were killed.

After Amritsar feeling was more inflamed than ever, and Gandhi declared that any co-operation with the British Government would be a crime. The Indian Rabindranath Tagore repudiated his knighthood and British decorations. Passive resistance, civil disobedience, and the boycott of the British became the current features of Indian political life, notably on the occasion of the Prince of Wales's visit. In such an atmosphere the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms had hardly a chance, and their introduction was in fact postponed until the beginning of 1921.

The Moslem community joined the boycott, being particularly hostile to British rule at that time because of peace terms which it was believed were being imposed upon Turkey. For Turkey, not yet under the modernizing leadership of Kamâl Atatürk, was regarded as the centre of the Mohammedan faith.

The movement of non-co-operation was at its height when

Lord Reading succeeded Lord Chelmsford as Viceroy in 1921, but from 1923 onwards non-co-operation began to give way to co-operation. Lord Irwin arrived as Viceroy in 1926 as a conciliator and, during his tenure, feeling further improved.

But the Indian members of the chambers in the Provinces showed little appreciation of the division between the subjects over which they were expected to exercise responsible control and the subjects about which they only enjoyed a power of criticism.

The Indian politicians tended to consider that because they had not complete authority they had no authority and they were in consequence, in the opinion of the Statutory Commission which reviewed their work later, too purely destructive in their contributions in both fields. That Commission was appointed by the Conservative Government in London in 1927 several years before it was due. It had been provided when the Montagu-Chelmsford constitution was created that a commission should review its work after ten years and decide whether the principles on which it was based had justified themselves and should be extended or changed or abandoned. With the appointment of the commission known as the Simon Commission—a Liberal opponent of the Government, Sir John Simon, being the Chairman, with three Conservatives, two Labour, and two members of the House of Lords—the latest era in the long story begins.

The Simon Commission, which toured India in 1928–9, issued its report in 1930. Early in its deliberations the commission had asked that its terms of reference should be widened to include the relations of British India with the Indian princes, and the most striking political development of these years was the declaration of the Indian princes of their readiness to take part in a federation of all India. They made the condition that they could only join a government which was a responsible one, and the Simon Commission did not recommend responsible government at the Centre but only for the Provinces. In the Provinces it abolished dyarchy, the division of subjects into two classes, and recommended that everything should come within

the competence of a Cabinet drawn from the Legislature. But it refused responsibility at the Centre.

The attitude of the Indian princes was not altogether unexpected. It had been for many years clear that they were particularly interested in the democratization of British India with its inevitable repercussions in their territories. The Indian princes all had to deal with each other through the Government of India, they had no collective standing, and they had no means of influencing development in British India. Yet they represented, viewed as a collective group, the most important and the largest element in the sub-continent of the Indian States.

What the Indian princes had at all costs to prevent was the transference to an elected Parliament from British India of the powers of the British Government to deal directly with the princes; they could foresee the day when they would be taken over piecemeal by the politicians of a new dominion. They would not enter a federation as long as the central powers were withheld from the body of which they would form part. If they did, they would be yielding up the powers guaranteed to them by the people and receiving no adequate guarantee in return. But they could enter a federal system provided two conditions were fulfilled: (1) that they were adequately represented and represented in accordance with their individual strength, and (2) that the assemblies in which they were to sit wielded real power.

It was the declaration of the princes in favour of a Federation of India which more than anything else turned the scale and caused the final provisions in the Government of India Bill to accept the risks of dyarchy at the Centre in order to introduce the principle of responsibility, if only in certain dangerous subjects, into a central government, so that the princes could become part of it.

The Simon Report, well received in Britain, had a bad reception in India. It was in any event only the first of several elaborate stages of discussion. Then followed a Round Table Conference in November 1930, in which the Indian princes participated. The scheme for a Federation of India, which

emerged from the Round Table Conference, was then outlined in an official White Paper which in its turn became the subject-matter of both houses. A select committee of sixteen members of the Lords and sixteen members of the Commons represented all parties and all groups of opinion except the Right Wing of the Conservative Party, which refused the invitation to take part. It was the deliberations of this committee which finally took shape as the Government of India Bill which Sir Samuel Hoare, the Secretary of State, piloted through Parliament in 1934.

The new Constitution went farther than the Simon Report had done in the crucial matter of responsibility at the Centre, but the Indian Nationalists continued to decline to take part while large reserve powers continued to reside both in the Viceroy and in the provincial governments. As the Nationalists were the chief party in all the provincial legislatures the new scheme could not be worked unless they modified this attitude and agreed to form a ministry. They were at length persuaded to this and with the assumption of office by these parliamentary ministers a new chapter in Indian history began in 1937.

The mutual reaction of India and Europe has been manifest in other fields than that of politics. The study by Europeans of Buddhism, Hinduism, and Jainism has reached India itself. It was through Arnold's *Light of Asia* that Gandhi himself discovered Buddhism. An American, Colonel Olcott, along with Madame Blavatsky and Annie Besant, gave a new impetus to Buddhism in Ceylon; the last named also advanced Hindu studies and was, latterly, a very vocal patroness of Indian political claims. Learned collections of the Sacred Books of the East, the Sacred Books of Buddhism, the Pali Text Society, the Society of Oriental Studies at Harvard University, the Annals of the Musée Guimet, to name only a few examples, will show what progress has been made by Indology among scholars since the second half of the nineteenth century. History properly so called was unknown to India. Indian scholars who now study it with distinction have been trained in Western

methods. Christianity has influenced India far more profoundly than might be supposed from a superficial examination of statistics attesting the number of conversions. The Christian population is still very small in spite of missionary effort during the whole of the nineteenth century, and the Christians are found in more or less compact groups only in the southern part of the peninsula, or in some few aboriginal tribes such as those of Chota Nagpur. Christian preachers have made little impression on Mohammedanism, which is powerful in the northern provinces; and the nationalist movement, readily identifying Europe with Christianity, shows a tendency to reject both together, and even to give a second place to all religious interests in order to have a freer hand to prosecute political claims.

It is impossible, however, to deny that on a minority of Indians, especially through education, the Christian mission has had a great influence, and that by a kind of imperceptible infiltration many Christian ideas have penetrated, sometimes unconsciously, into the minds even of those Indians who are to all appearances the most hostile to Western ideas.

CHAPTER XIII

THE DUTCH INDIES

DURING the European Wars at the time of the French Revolution, and during the period of the Napoleonic Empire, the Dutch possessions in the Far East followed the fortunes of the mother country; yet changes of ownership due to quarrels among the Western nations had little influence on native conditions. In 1811 Stamford Raffles captured Java, without meeting real opposition, owing mainly to the incapacity of Jumel, the French general. He abolished all trading monopolies and inaugurated a new era in the colonization of the island.

For the first time sympathetic consideration was shown to native interests, and administrative reforms inspired by a liberal policy were introduced. But as soon as Java was handed back to Holland (Treaty of 13th August 1814) the older system of mismanagement again prevailed.

From 1816 to 1830, under the government of Baron van der Capellen (1816 to 1826) and of Commissioner-General du Bus de Gisignies (1826 to 1830) the native princes, having been already deprived by Stamford Raffles of many of their hereditary rights, realized that no restitution could be expected from the Dutch who had now seized their territory and ignored all protests.

Revolution was inevitable. Diga Negara, despised by the Dutch administration and regarded indeed as a half-wit, proved himself to be a redoubtable adversary, and he carried on the war for five years. But in the end he was captured when on his way, with a safe-conduct, to discuss terms of peace, and sent off to Macassar. The Dutch Government took advantage of the misery with which the whole island had been afflicted owing to the prolonged state of war to break the power of the native princes, even those who had sided with the government during the struggle, and at the same time to take away from them all, or part of, their territories.

In 1830, under Governor van den Bosch (1830 to 1834)

Holland introduced a system of government plantations to which the name of van den Bosch has been attached, and which was destined to reduce the natives to a still lower depth of misery. Such relentless and thorough-going exploitation has perhaps never been so cleverly concealed under an outward appearance of legality and justice. The essential features of the system (*Cultuurstelsel*) must be briefly described. Van den Bosch held that the Javanese, if left to themselves, would never grow produce suitable for the European market on a sufficiently large scale. In order to make the land 'pay' government must intervene. The land tax at that time took the form of a payment in kind from the produce of the soil. To take the place of such payment the native had now to surrender a portion of his land, and farm it under official direction, for the benefit of the State. The post of 'Director of Agriculture' was created in order to ensure homogeneity, and in 1832 van den Bosch obtained dictatorial powers from the king of Holland. A beginning was made with sugar-cane, indigo, coffee, tea, tobacco, pepper, cinnamon, cotton, and cochineal. The inevitable happened.

All the theoretical guarantees provided for by regulation proved ineffectual against the struggle for large profits. Instead of a fifth of the native islands, a third, a half, and sometimes the whole was reserved for this system of agricultural exploitation. The native was sometimes compelled to work far from his village, and for this inconvenience no compensation was allowed. Neglecting, or even abandoning, the cultivation of his own food supplies, he ran a risk of starvation. There are certain forms of arboriculture, as for instance is the case with coffee plantations, where no crop is produced during the first three or four years. During all that period no payments were made to the natives who, reduced to extremities, were compelled to fall back on the money-lenders. According to the regulations it was decreed that land selected for this particular form of exploitation would be freed from all other charges. Yet in spite of that ruling a tax was still levied. When crops failed, losses which in theory should have been borne by the government were in point of fact met by the natives. Prices were fixed not

on a basis of labour costs but according to the value of the produce. To stimulate production, intolerable systems of supervision and compulsion were employed. The natives were not allowed to leave their districts without passports, which were seldom granted. This state of affairs was indeed slavery in all but the name.

During all this time the king of Holland, in order to finance a war for which he was making ready against Belgium, an independent State since 1830, was persistently calling for money. With the *Cultuurstelsel* functioning normally, 15 millions of florins could be sent home every year to the mother country. And Holland kept on asking always for more; and nothing, or almost nothing, of all this wealth was used for the development or for the welfare of Java. In 1840 the grant for education did not amount to 100,000 florins, but 7 millions were devoted to military expenditure and 30 millions to 'agriculture'. In addition to the cost of the campaign against Belgium, the Dutch Indies, that is to say the Javanese peasant, had now to pay for the fortifications which Holland was building at home, for the construction of railways in Holland, and finally for the amortization of the Dutch debt. From 1831 to 1866, 672 millions of florins were squeezed out of the Dutch Indies, and all this money was used to meet expenditure in the home country. From 1841 to 1863 the profits from the government's agricultural system amounted to 461 millions of florins, and during the same period the Indies sent to Holland 468½ millions. In this manner the 'mother country' was enriched; but enriched by a starving people. Famine broke out at Cheribon in 1844, at Demak in 1848, at Grobogen in 1849. From 1848 to 1850 the population of Demak fell from 336,000 to 120,000, that of Grobogen from 89,500 to 9,000. The 'system' of van den Bosch had indeed proved successful. In 1854 van Hoevell exclaimed in the Dutch Parliament: 'What have we done to further the material and moral progress of the Indian people, for those thousands of men whose needs are education, development, and civilization?'

The government's system of compulsory cultivation had to

be abandoned, but the large sums of money which had been placed to the credit of Holland remained in her possession. Once more the poor man had made the rich man's fortune. It was only in 1912, as a result of the tremendous increase in the price of agricultural produce (receipts jumped from 142 millions in 1899 to 270 millions in 1912), that Dutch India was given a civil status, and that her financial administration was separated from that of Holland.

Some idea can be gained of the almost universal poverty of the natives by inspecting the subscription lists of the Indian Loan of 64 millions in 1915. The Europeans subscribed 38½ millions; the Chinese 8½ millions; various European firms, charitable institutions, banks, &c., 15 millions, but from the native population itself a sum of only 1,800,000 was forthcoming, of which one-half was subscribed by a single wealthy magnate. It is evident that the financial resources of the native populace are practically non-existent.

Local native industry has been ruined by the competition of European products; Javanese coastal trade, once a flourishing business, has disappeared. Some progress in native education has been made since the nineteenth century. In 1912 there was one native scholar to every 523 inhabitants, against a proportion in Europe of 1 to every 4½; and government expenditure on education was 0.035 florin for each native child against 24 florins in Europe. In 1917 education was given to 745,000 native children, a number equivalent to 12 per cent. only of the children of school age. The majority of posts in the civil service are not open to natives, and in the army they cannot reach a higher rank than that of non-commissioned officer.

And yet since the suppression of compulsory cultivation, and the great progress of medical and hygienic services, a tremendous increase has taken place in the population, which has almost doubled itself in thirty-five years, amounting now in Java alone to considerably more than 33 millions.

Here, as indeed everywhere else in Asia under European rule, the impulse of nationalism is yearly more vigorous, and the inarticulate aspirations of the populace are given expression to

by the intellectual minority who have been educated in Europe. And propaganda in favour of ideas of independence is facilitated by the spread of the Dutch language.

The Christian mission in the Dutch Indies has not produced as in the Philippine Islands wholesale conversion. Long hindered by official opposition, the Catholic mission has had a struggle to obtain its rights, and the missionaries have often been fully occupied with their duties as chaplains to the white colonists. And it must be added that the admirable scholarly work of Snouck Hurgronje, of van Vollenhoven, of Krom, of Leemans, and the publication of the splendid *Encyclopedia of the Dutch Indies* have spread some knowledge of Malayan art, religion, and ethnography throughout Europe.

CHAPTER XIV

THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS

THE external history of the Philippine Islands during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries may be summed up as a long sleep, broken by a sudden catastrophe; their internal history as a record of intermittent revolt. The Filipinos had always desired their freedom from foreign yoke; their disappointment was great when they realized that from their standpoint the change of ruler was to their detriment. Elisée Reclus, who cannot be accused of a Catholic bias, has written in his *Universal Geography*¹ that the inhabitants of the Philippines, 'passionately Catholic', were at the same time 'among the happiest people in the world'. An English writer who is very hard on the Spaniards, J. Foreman, in his book *The Philippine Islands*² declared in 1891 that in the Philippines there was not a tenth part of the poverty known to Europe.

The 'blessings' produced by the American industrial system had not yet lowered the people to the level of wage-earners who create wealth for unknown, unnamed, masters, in some remote place. Their villages were still primitive and picturesque. The religious Orders who had, in a real sense, civilized the natives, and had protected them from the rapacity of the white colonists, remained unshakeable in their fidelity to Spain. The revolutionary movements of 1876 and 1882 were directed as much against them as against the Spanish Government. In 1896 a serious insurrection broke out in which Manila was nearly involved. The rebel leaders vigorously asserted a demand for independence which no one in Madrid ever dreamt of granting. The rebellion was suppressed by the old General Polavieja, and by his successor General Primo de Rivera, with great severity, and the execution of the national poet José Rizal (29th December 1896), claimed as justifiable from a strictly legal point of view, was nevertheless regarded as a political blunder. It aroused the fury of the Philippine Islanders. To understand

¹ t. xiv, pp. 551, 556.

² Op. cit., p. 486.

why the Spaniards were so cruel it must be remembered that the rebels, according to their own confession, were accustomed to put their prisoners to death, both civilians and soldiers, by flaying them or burning them alive.

In 1898 the revolution had been stamped out and 'order' was restored throughout Luzon. Nevertheless, the slow fires of discontent smouldered under the ashes, ready at the first occasion to burst into flames. The declaration of war by the United States on Spain (April 1898) provided the wished-for opportunity. Mr. Spencer Hatt, the American consul at Singapore, got in touch with Aguinaldo, the Philippine agitator. Admiral Dewey, who had sunk the Spanish fleet in the Bay of Cavite (May 1898), with the loss of a single man, promised him, and actually supplied him with, munitions of war on condition of his undertaking a campaign against the Spanish forces in the Philippines.

There can be no doubt, in spite of the denials which followed, that the American authorities gave to Aguinaldo a formal guarantee for the independence of the Philippines in return for his co-operation against the Spaniards. Admiral Dewey had given formal recognition to the rebel flag. The Republic of the Philippine Islands had been proclaimed as independent. And what is more important still, the preliminaries of peace negotiations between Spain and the United States, signed on the 12th August 1898, stipulated in Article 3 that the United States were to maintain occupation and possession of the Port of Manila pending the conclusion of the peace treaty by which control and government of the Philippines would be settled. And yet, a combined force of Americans and Filipinos attacked and captured Manila on the 13th August. As soon as they were masters of the town, and when they realized from the tenor of the peace negotiations that Spain could no longer fight, the Americans instead of keeping the promises to the rebel Philippine Islanders and to the government of the republic pretended to forget all about them, and asserted a mastery over the whole archipelago. The Philippines had merely changed masters. They had been deceived by their self-styled liberators. They declared war on the

American troops. Knowing that they could not hope to fight successfully in the open, the Filipinos organized guerilla warfare with a success which was facilitated by the military incapacity of General Otis, a protégé of President McKinley.

Behind the American policy of annexation the magnates of the Sugar Trust were watching. The horrors of this war, which continued even after Aguinaldo had been captured (31st March 1901), did not arouse in the newspapers of the world that clamour which might have been expected. The Boer War and the Boxer Rising, in addition to American military censorship, distracted public attention. But the reputation of General Otis abides in the hearts of the Philippine Islanders more accursed than the names of all the Spanish generals combined. The 'volunteers' sent from the United States, who had no idea of discipline, distinguished themselves by their brutality. The correspondent of the *World* at Hong Kong said that since the Americans had been in the Philippines they had killed more natives than the Spaniards, 'always so cruel', had done during the two previous revolutions. Another American eyewitness wrote in the *People*:

Colonel Howe innocently asks why the natives do not go back to their houses. Doubtless he does not know that when they attempt to go near to their homes, whether bearing arms or not, they are at once saluted with a fusillade from the soldiers of the expeditionary force. In order to compel them to supply information it is the practice either to half strangle them or to hang them to the branch of a tree by their thumbs. Since Aguinaldo had the generosity, or rather the weakness, to set his American prisoners free, the password has been 'no quarter for the rebels'.

When the atrocities of the war declared by America on the Philippines had come to an end, a government was set up, and once more independence was promised to the islanders as soon as they showed some capacity for governing themselves, just as a mother promises to allow her children to go into the water as soon as they have learned to swim. The Jones Bill (29th August 1916) asserts in its preamble that

it was never the intention of the people of the United States in the

incipiency of the war with Spain to make it a war of conquest for territorial aggrandizement; and that it has always been the purpose of the people of the United States to withdraw their sovereignty over the Philippine Islands and to recognize their independence as soon as stable government can be established therein.

A Philippine Parliament has been established, and universal education with a system of 'neutral' schools, that is to say, schools without religion, has begun the destruction of traditional belief among the present generation. American capital has been invested in Philippine agriculture and industry, but in spite of what Miss Mayo has written,¹ it can be doubted whether 'good public buildings, modern hospitals, prisons, schoolhouses, and sanitary markets, even with a postal savings bank and high-roads far and wide and well built . . . all out of the revenues of the Islands' can be weighed in the balance against the spiritual destruction of a people.

After negotiating with conquered Spain, and having bought the Philippines for 20 millions of dollars, the United States proceeded to banish from the archipelago the Spanish religious Orders which for centuries had supplied the spiritual needs of the natives. Among the secular clergy a sufficient number could not be found to replace the men who had been driven out. America itself supplied nobody. Appeals were sent to a few foreign missionary congregations, but the admirable work of the Spanish Orders, who had created in the Far East a solid block, and the only solid block, of 10 million Catholics, had been so hardly hit that impartial observers, even Americans, are afraid that it can never recover.

America bought from Spain, and paid at the rate of 2 dollars a head, this civilized, and proudly independent people, without even asking their opinion. Seventeen years later President Wilson proclaimed the right of nations to self-determination; yet still, in 1933, the government of the Philippine Islands is directed from an office in the War Department at Washington, with a staff entirely composed of army officers. An American writer who is familiar with the administrative system of the

¹ *The Islands of Fear* (1925), p. 84.

Philippine Archipelago has frankly admitted that 'our Satrapy in the Philippines is almost precisely like that which our forefathers overthrew in the Revolution'.¹

¹ Harry B. Hawes, *Philippine Uncertainty, an American Problem*, with a foreword by William E. Borah.

The foregoing survey of the record of the Far East, completed in 1934, was planned to end with the events of the opening years of the present century. It may, however, be interesting to note very briefly some recent developments.

The record of the Philippines in the earlier years, after the United States put an end to Spanish rule and sternly suppressed a native rising, is that of an ill-judged attempt to Americanize the islands. The persistent claims of the people to secure some form of Republican independence was at last conceded in May 1935. The Republic was proclaimed, the United States leaving all internal government to the Filipinos. For ten years an American commissioner was to be the adviser of the native government. After this period complete independence was to be granted. The defence of the islands was to be committed to the United States navy and air force—a condition accepted as a safeguard against Japanese ambitions.

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CONTACTS OF EUROPE WITH THE AMERICAN ABORIGINES

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1928; *The Origin and History of Politics*, 1931)

(See Maps Nos. 4-18)

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PREFACE

THIS section on the contacts and transference of Christian civilization on and across the native frontier in the Americas is based largely on my much more ample volume, *The American Indian Frontier*, published in 1928 in the 'History of Civilisation' series edited by Professor C. K. Ogden (Camb.), and published by Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner, & Company, London. The reader, interested in the story through this present book, will there find various matters, sometimes but briefly touched on here, given a fuller presentation; and there the interested scholar will find the complete documentation of the story.

However, I have surveyed some new documents and in this work have incorporated much new data to which direct reference is made in footnotes. For example, I have turned up and given more adequate presentation of events in Virginia in 1623 and 1624; in the New Netherlands in 1644; in New France in 1615 to 1618 and again, to the work of the missionaries in New France from 1636 to 1644; to the missions in Maryland, Georgia, and Florida; to the Pilgrims and to the interpretation of Puritan policy. Newly available original sources from travellers among the western Indians of a century and more ago have been drawn on for some amazing episodes illustrative of the ravages of small-pox even before white men had reached the western and north-western tribes; and Denig's report of 1854, hitherto in manuscript, but which has just lately come through the press, has been utilized profitably. In the last two years moreover there have appeared Simpson's suggestive analyses of documents of the period before 1545 in Mexico and the West Indies and also several equally valuable documentary analyses by the English scholar Cecil Jane on the work of Columbus and Las Casas.

Manuscript materials discovered during this last year have not yet been made available to students. For this reason I have not been able to utilize them. Nevertheless, for the benefit of the reader or student who will, in the future, be eager to consult

them, I may mention a 30,000-word manuscript by Father Vázquez de Espinosa. This hitherto unknown document by a contemporary observer, describing the natives and the conquerors of Middle and South America in the early years of the fifteenth century, was found this year in the Vatican Library. In this great library a systematic search for such material is now being made by Professor C. N. Clarke for the Smithsonian Institute under grant from General Dawes, American Ambassador to London. Last year a likewise hitherto unknown manuscript by La Salle, the French explorer of the Americas about the middle of the seventeenth century, was discovered in the Bibliothèque Nationale of France in Paris. This manuscript constitutes a very full volume of memoirs of the explorer and will shed much more light upon American frontier history. Other manuscripts by La Salle are being sought in the same library. The newly created Anglo-American Records Foundation is at present, under Professor Richard Holsworthy's direction, busily preparing for early publication documents from the British Archives on the history of North America from 1580 to 1600.

I may mention two other manuscripts known to exist but carelessly permitted to run the risk of being lost again. These manuscripts will prove invaluable for frontier history, but, unfortunately, while \$10,000,000 has in the past several years been spent in America alone (not to mention sums spent in England) for the erection of university bell towers, chapels, auditoriums, stadiums, and dormitories, none of which can be accounted notable contributions to architecture, comfort, public welfare, learning, or general necessity, not even \$1,000 can be found to have these photostated. The last I heard (in a letter from Professor Means of Harvard) of a 300-page manuscript on the economic and social life of the whites and natives in Peru of about 1550 by an unknown contemporary observer, it was 'out on loan' these three years past to a German professor with all that that means in the way of risk of fire, loss in baggage, and so on. The other, a manuscript by Father William MacSherry on the natives of Maryland in the mission period,

reposed in a box somewhere in London—exactly where was not yet known when I last urged inquiries concerning it a year ago.

I have in these pages, furthermore, taken account of some new writings of the past several years from my own pen, notably of my contentions concerning the influence of finance on frontier history and native policies.¹ *This latter, it seems to me, is particularly pertinent to problems faced to-day by the United States, France, and Great Britain as concerns the civilizing of native peoples in the more backward of their spheres of influence*, and should be considered carefully along with our data and conclusion concerning, notably, the valuable features of the mission policy.

I may add that I have in this section perhaps more frankly expressed admiration for both the Spanish Crown and for the Spanish and French monks on the American Indian frontier, and corresponding lack of admiration for the colonists on the frontier in North America. This is the consequence not of any national or religious prepossession, for my nationality and religious beliefs, if they created bias on my part, would work in a contrary direction as in the case of Denig and Lawson whom we cite² in the course of our study; it is the consequence merely of my reading of the past several years having abundantly confirmed the theses I presented in my volume of three years ago.

In evaluating the relative achievements of native policies as of Latin America and North America one must avoid a certain possible confusion. The reader who would follow me in my evaluations must, however, come to an understanding of phenomena arising from the industrial revolution which may very roughly be dated as from, say, 1775; as a matter of fact it was much later that its effects were felt in the Americas. This industrial revolution has shifted the foci of civilization as defined in its merely economic terms—shifted them to wherever coal and iron are found in vast stores located one near the other;

¹ See below, pp. 907 ff.; my articles in the *Social Science Encyclopedia*, vol. iii, on 'Alcoholic Drinks, History, Conquest'; and the 'Indian Problems—North America', in the section entitled 'Native Policies', also the Iroquois, Inca, and New England sections in my 1931 book, *The Origin and History of Politics*, and references below, p. 827.

² Below, p. 897 f.

and, secondly, it has led to these centres becoming the world's workshops, increasing the density of their populations, and requiring the import of tremendous quantities of meat and grain.

One's perspective, therefore, of civilizational developments of the period before this shift is liable to become distorted. The European demand for meat, coffee, grain, and cotton stimulated demand from the Argentine, São Paulo in Brazil, the United States, and Canada; and so rapidly was production urged that immigration on a large scale was essential; the potential native labour supply could not be adequate, the native Indian was inevitably destined to be but a minor element of the population. Such immigration was further urged by the development of iron and coal in the United States.

The growth of the civilizations and populations resulting from the relatively recent revolution in industrial technique therefore is rather apart from the story of the Indian frontier. The United States to-day is what she is, fundamentally not because, seeing the aborigines, the worthy colonist in North America, unlike his Latin American fellow who preserved them, 'slew them, drove them away, or bought them off, and put his own back to the labours of the field',¹ but because of the food demands, of the coal and iron industrialization of Europe, and because of her own coal and iron. The immigrational labour requirements of the nineteenth century would inevitably have reduced the aborigine to a minor element in the population. *But*, had the really horrible technique of handling the problem of the aborigines not been adopted, as alas it was, there can be no doubt that there would have been certainly some 15,000,000 Indians in what is now the United States to-day, instead of the handful of 100,000 or so real Indians now located chiefly in the miserable south-western deserts. The economic assimilation of the native labour supply would probably have made unnecessary the importation of negroes, who to-day number 15,000,000 in the United States, and who persistently appear to be innately less capable of civilization than even their kin in the African colonies.

¹ See Ross cited in *The American Indian Frontier*, p. 313.

It is interesting to note, in confirmation of this surmise, that with European immigration shut off, industry and field culture in the United States eagerly draws in Mexican immigrants who are already a dominant element in the population of much of the south-west and parts of California, and are plentiful on the railroads and in the steel mills, numbering already in the United States probably little less than 2 millions. And these Mexican workers, straight haired and brown skinned, are merely Indians, preserved and multiplied, Spanish-speaking and Christian by virtue of the beneficent Indian policy of the Crown and the Church in Spain. But we, North Americans, having starved and massacred the aborigines, now draw in increasing volume on the aboriginal labour supply preserved for us by Spain.

CHAPTER I

THE AMERICAN ABORIGINE AND SOME OF HIS TROUBLES

THE racial and cultural panorama afforded by the Americas at the time of their discovery in 1492 was as vast and varied as one would expect of an expanse covering the entirety of two great continents. One may best approach a résumé of the outstanding phenomena by first considering the highly civilized peoples of the highland centre of the expanse of these continents. In this great centre we find three subdivisions—the Andean highlands, Central America, and the Mexican plateau valleys.

Dominant in the Andean regions was the great empire of the Incas. This embraced a territory of some 750,000 square miles—equivalent to about one-fourth of the area of the present United States of (North) America—and a population which may be estimated as approximately 10,000,000. Great stone palaces, the use of bronze for tools and weapons, the abolition of human sacrifice, and sound government with no internecine strife save in the occasional dispute over succession, characterized the Inca Empire. Beyond the borders of that empire there lay for the most part savage peoples comparable in many ways to those of North America.

Central American culture was dominated by the numerous great Mayan states of Yucatan (now embraced in the Republic of Mexico). The once greater Mayan city-states of Guatemala had decayed and the natives there and below on the Isthmus were culturally rather primitive.

The great Nahuatl or Aztec city-states of the Valley of Mexico represent the acme of cultural development north of the Mayas. Above these, in the northern Mexican and southwestern United States deserts, were the oases of those tribes popularly known as Pueblos. In the eastern woodlands of the United States lived peoples organized, to a considerable extent, in great confederations such as those of the Iroquois and Creeks. Less highly organized politically were the peoples of the eastern

coastal plain—peoples such as the coastal Indians of New England. The river valleys of the great plains of the interior were occupied by sedentary, horseless agriculturists. The Aztecs were, like the Incaic peoples, builders in stone and users of bronze. The agricultural peoples of the Pueblos, and the eastern woodlands and coast of North America had only cold-beaten copper, and, for the most part, stone tools, and constructed very crude dwellings.

Beyond the agricultural zone in both North and South America there were extensive areas in which lived peoples without a knowledge of agriculture, living on fishing, hunting, and root and berry gathering.¹

Economically, the civilization of the Incas was based on terraced, irrigated agriculture, chiefly on the cultivation of maize or Indian corn and beans, and of the white potato, though other plants were cultivated. The savages of what is now Brazil depended largely on manioc cultivation; those of the Argentine plains on the hunting of the wild cameloids—kin of the alpaca and llama which the Incaic peoples had domesticated. The civilization of Central America and the relatively primitive West Indies was based on maize and beans and, on the lowlands, manioc; that of Mexico and agricultural North America on maize and beans.

The Inca Empire was state-socialistic.² What may be described as a kind of feudalism appears to have characterized the other highly civilized regions. The Pueblos may be described as 'communal'. The bulk of the North American peoples, both agriculturalists and hunters, and probably also the somewhat primitive peoples of South America, had private ownership of land, modified, at least in the case of the Iroquois, by tribal or national overrights.³

¹ For a study of the life of non-agricultural peoples in North America see my book published in 1931, *The Origin and History of Politics*, which has a chapter on the Yurok and another on the Kwakiutl, and their respective neighbours.

² On the civilization of the Incas especially in its political aspects see my two chapters of comparison of Inca and Chinese civilization in the *Origin and History of Politics*.

³ On the Iroquois see the chapter on these, also in the *Origin and History of Politics*; and 'The Rise and Fall of the Iroquois Republic' in *The American Indian Frontier*, 1928.

As to race, one may characterize the American Indian as 'mongoloid' since he is usually ruddy-brown of skin, straight and black of hair, with little or no beard or moustache, and high-cheeked. But, as in Europe, there was great variation in racial and sub-racial distinctions—long-headed, high-nosed peoples jostling round-headed or flat-nosed and even almond-eyed peoples. There was a great number of very different languages which can be reduced to a few language stocks, some of which are related to Old World stocks just as the Indians are kin to the brown peoples of south-eastern Asia.

At the time of European penetration there were probably nearly 3 million aborigines in North America north of Mexico, and perhaps as many as 15 millions in the Mexican, Central American, Brazilian, and Argentinian regions. To these one must add some 10 millions who were under the sway of the great Incaic Empire.

As for the origins of American Indian race, language, and culture it becomes more and more evident that, for the most part, beginning perhaps as early as 10,000 B.C. and proceeding up to about the beginning of our era, there flowed across the archipelagos of the central Pacific, streams of race and culture come ultimately from south-eastern Asia. Even the relatively late stone-building and bronze-using culture of Peru is probably so derived. The south-east Asiatic cultures and races entered, one after the other, in the central zones of the Americas, and then gradually spread in widening circles north and south, pressing back the margins of the earlier primitive cultures.¹

Collectively, the native peoples were culturally more backward than the Spaniards and related Europeans. The religions of the American natives included the most shocking and horrible forms of human sacrifice. Those of the Inca peoples were an exception, yet even there we find the suttee practised. Some

¹ See, for example my papers, 'The Southeast Asiatic Origins of Central American Indian Culture', in the *American Anthropologist*, 1929, and 'The Central American Origins of the Northwest Coast North American Culture', *Anthropos* (Vienna), 1929; 'The Hookswinging Sacrifice in India and in North America', *Anthropos*, v. 24, 1931, and 'Aztec and Sioux, Natchez and Crow: aspects of Political Patterns in America', *American Anthropologist* (in press).

historians point to the *autos-da-fé* of the Inquisition in Europe as equally barbarous, but to any one acquainted with the facts of the cruel sacrifices and funeral immolations in America this is scarcely apt. No fiend could ever devise anything more terrible than the tortures in the sacrifice of captives among, for example, the Iroquois; nor can the human imagination embrace the magnitude of the sacrifices of hundreds, and apparently even thousands, at one time among the Aztecs.¹

The economic resources of the American Indian were very rudimentary. The dog, and in the case of the Incaic peoples, the llama and the alpaca, were his only domestic animals. In not possessing the plough, or any draught or meat animal, the wheel or any wheeled carriage, he was, naturally, under great disadvantages. Furthermore, there was the absence of iron tools or weapons and of metal armour and fire-arms.

In treeless and grassless valleys, such as in the Andes and Mexico, his intensive cultivation of maize and beans by irrigation was as productive as anything in the Old World. But the plough and draught animals and more advanced methods of clearing forests and eradicating grass² were necessary, before the now greatest cultivated stretches of the Americas could be made the basis of the maintenance of vaster populations.

This economic inferiority to more advanced European cultures explains in some measure the Indian's inability to cope in any adequate manner with military attack and conquest coming from these. And the things Europe had to contribute to native American civilization—the wheel, the plough, iron and steel, the ox and milch cow, the horse for riding and traction, new grains such as wheat, and means of clearing out grass and forest—these offered prospects of making the Americas not only capable of supporting a vastly increased native population but also of bearing abundant immigration.

However, the process of communication of European benefits

¹ On aboriginal North American sacrifices see my recent papers, 'Suttee in North America, Its Antecedents and Origins', and, 'Child Sacrifice in North America' in the *Journal de la Société des Americanistes de Paris*, 1928 and 1931 numbers respectively; 'The Process of Suttee in North America', *American Anthropologist*, 1931.

² On the grass difficulty, see Huntington, *The Red Man's Continent*, 1924.

to the American native was not always to be well ordered, and in the case of the spread of diseases new to the Americas initial disaster could hardly have been avoided.

Let us briefly note the problem of alcoholic drinks.¹ From Peru to the Pueblos of the north, the more advanced peoples of the Americas made and drank beers and wines, made of maize, manioc, plant juices, flowers, and fruits. There was no knowledge of distillation and therefore no spirituous liquors. The native, when unrestrained, tended to drink too heavily for his own and the social good. But everywhere, it appears, the aboriginal governments imposed regulations restricting consumption to the limits of temperance. Among some of the Aztec cities, notably Tenochtitlan (Mexico City) and Texcoco, outright prohibition, with exceptions for tonic and medicinal use, was in force at the time of the conquest, but it appears, like that of modern America, ancient and modern Hindustan, and the Moslem countries, not to have been eminently successful. There was much illicit drinking, much 'bootlegging'.

The conquest introduced spirituous liquors, to which the native was not accustomed. The native tended to overdrink, and for long the Spanish efforts to restrain intemperance were unsuccessful. Frontier conditions were difficult to control.

But it was in North America (north of Mexico) that drink became a terrible evil. The peoples there, except for the Pueblos of the remote south-west, had never seen either beer or wine and did not know how to make them. Europeans introduced chiefly spirituous liquors. The disorganized condition of frontier contacts and movement in North America due to the disregard for native welfare by the English, Dutch, Swedish, and French trading companies who were there made for unrestricted sale to the Indians in exchange for their furs. Aboriginal or native Indian governments attempted to impose prohibition on their peoples, but failed. And so it has continued even to the present day; attempts made by the white government to prohibit sale to the Indians have failed. The earliest

¹ On which, in addition to *The American Indian Frontier*, see my article, 'Alcoholic Drinks—History', *Social Science Encyclopedia*, vol. iii, 1930.

missionaries noted the abuse of liquor among the Indians and were averse to attempt prohibition. Once the Algonkians of the Quebec region urged Father Le Jeune (in 1636) to try to get prohibition of sale of liquor to the Indians, but he told them: 'that it was not necessary to throw knives and hatchets into the river although children and stupid people sometimes hurt themselves.'¹

Nevertheless, the missionaries in all the Americas soon felt that, at least for the early period of the Indian's adaptation to European ways, it were best to prevent his acquiring alcoholic drinks.²

The spread of fire-arms was accompanied by worse disaster to the native and damage to the hope of assimilating him to a new civilization. For defence, and for the hunt, the fire-arm is a civilized weapon. In the Latin Americas, where the spread of the frontier was kept best under control and where there were no fur animals and no fur trade to put arms in the hands of the Indian as a fur hunter, the natives never acquired or used fire-arms, except in the Paraguay missions where the civilized mission natives were armed under the Jesuits solely for defence against half-breed Brazilian slave-raiding expeditions.³ But, as in the case of alcoholic drinks, the North American natives were victims of the use of fire-arms. Fur-trading companies dominated the ill-controlled frontier and sold the native anything he asked in exchange for furs. Fire-arms were desired for more efficient hunting. But they were also desired by each Indian tribe or nation for use in war against

¹ *Jesuit Relations*, vii. 1636; see also Appendix I.

² See Dobrizhoffer, for example, in *The American Indian Frontier*, p. 31. For valuable data on alcohol among the North American Indians noted since, see J. Long, *Journal, 1768-1782*, in Thwaites' *Western Travels* collection, 1904, pp. 93, 146, 149-50, 170 (on putting cantharides in the Indians' liquor by trader sellers; and, at other times, laudanum); Collinson, *Up and Down the North Pacific*, 1888, chapter 26 on the 'liquor schooners' among the Alaskan Indians, and on how an American soldier first taught the Indians how to distil spirits and how this home-distillation spread; Niblack, 'The Northwest Coast Indians', *Annual Report, Smithsonian Institution*, Part 2, 1888, pp. 345-6, on the systematic getting drunk on 'hoochio' in relays of the Alaskan and British Columbian coastal Indians; and J. C. Parish, 'Liquor and the Indians', *The Palimpsest*, Iowa City, 1922.

³ See below, pp. 867, 892.

other Indians. The havoc and devastation wrought by those tribes, notably the Iroquois, who first acquired arms, is almost incredible. The rather advanced civilization of the Mound-builders of the Ohio Valley, for example, was wiped out before any white man ever put foot in the region, and this wholesale destruction of land and people was the work chiefly of the Iroquois in the middle of the seventeenth century just when they had acquired fire-arms from the Dutch fur-traders of New York.¹

The introduction of the horse was likewise a curse to the Indians of the prairies and plains of interior North America, and also to those of the pampas of Argentina. The horse enabled these Indians to prolong their resistance to civilizing European influences, made them less sedentary than they had been before, and tended to increase internecine war among themselves.

¹ See *The American Indian Frontier*; also Collinson, op. cit., p. 239; and D. Thompson, *Journal, 1784-1812*, Champlain Society Publications, v. 12, 1916, see chapter 14 and pp. 375, 382-3, 422-5, 463, 465, 552, and below, pp. 840, 1029 f

CHAPTER II

EUROPEAN PLAGUES ON THE FRONTIER, AND IN ADVANCE OF CHRISTIANITY

I. NEW DISEASES, AND LATIN AMERICA

THE diseases peculiar to the pre-Columbian Americas, not known to the Old World, appear to have been yellow fever¹ and syphilis. There has been some doubt about the latter, but a reconsideration of the data presented by Montejo y Robledo² seems to indicate to this writer (contrary to his previous findings) that the disease came to Europe from the aboriginal West Indies with the returning caravels of Columbus. The spirochaete which causes syphilis is a peculiarly vicious variant American cousin to those other spirochaetae one of which in Oceania produces yaws, and another of which in Africa produces sleeping sickness.³ However, it seems clear that yellow fever before 1492 was confined to the Caribbean shores, and that syphilis was peculiar to the areas of higher civilization, notably Mexico, in the Americas; and that European settlement then carried these diseases to the more primitive Americas. The second of the social diseases was absent in the pre-Columbian Americas, and its introduction probably did much to reduce the native birth rate.

The most terrible of diseases peculiar to the Old World from

¹ See J. H. Spinden, *Yellow Fever—First and Last; its beginnings in the Maya Cities of Yucatan*, World's Work, London, vol. xli, 1922.

² In the *Proceedings* of the Fourth International Congress of Americanists, 1881.

³ Another harmless related spirochaete from the African tick is now being used to combat paresis (see F. Eberson and W. G. Mossman, *Proceedings of the American Association for the Advancement of Science*, Pasadena, 1931). See also G. Bruhl, 'Pre-Columbian Syphilis in America', *Cincinnati Lancet and Critic*, May 1880 and March 1890, and J. P. MacLean in the *St. Louis American Medical Journal*, August 1884, Butler, C. S., 'Some Facts and Fancies concerning the Unity of Yaws and Syphilis', and 'Primitive Syphilis', in *U.S. Naval Medical Bulletin*, *U.S. Medicine and Surgery Bureau*, vol. viii, 1914 and vol. xxvi, No. 3, 1928, and Publication 149; also *Contagious infectious diseases among the Indians*, U.S. Public Health Service Report, Document 1038, Senate, 62nd Congress, 3rd Session, 1913 (on ailments mistaken for syphilis among the colonial Indians). Consider also M. Martin, *Exotische Krankheiten*, 1924; and A. S. Ashmeade, 'Leprosy in pre-Columbian Yucatan', *American Anthropologist*, 1896.

the point of view of damage to the native American population and social life was small-pox, although other European diseases new to the Indian, notably measles and chicken-pox (which virulently and fatally attacked Indian adults), cholera, tuberculosis, and trachoma were a close second in their effects. Unlike the European who carried these ailments to the Indian, the Indian, never having experienced them before, was utterly lacking in any degree of immunity; the symptoms and course of the disease were more terrible and death came more quickly and inevitably. The greatest havoc, of course, was wrought upon initial introductions of each disease; thereafter an immunity was built up among the survivors, but the initial visitations were so terrible in their effect in decreasing the population and disorganizing native life that the civilization of the native was seriously retarded. Even the well-organized mission stations of the Jesuits and other missionary bodies were set back again and again by the devastation caused by epidemics of small-pox. Small-pox, in Latin America, did more harm to the progress of the native than all the other dangers of frontier irregularities, not excluding war. In North America it certainly ranks ahead of the abuse of fire-arms, alcohol, and massacre—frontier evils negligible in Latin America and the area within which Spanish civilization spread, but of prime import in America to the north of that region.

In Latin America the initial effects of the new epidemics were terrible enough. In the Jesuit mission state in Paraguay, for example, in 1732 there were some 146,000 neophytes in the missions. In one epidemic, shortly thereafter, 30,000 died! Soon after that a milder recurrence slew 11,000 more. In 1719 in the Franciscan missions in Florida and on coastal Georgia, 8,000 out of the then 16,000 Indians died of small-pox. And so it went throughout Latin America.

But in Latin America where the Indian was desired as a member of the new Ibero-American civilization, he was enabled to tide over those initial disasters and again to multiply and survive. Plagues were never considered blessings from God. No one ever rejoiced to see even '600 heathen souls go to hell'.¹

¹ See below, p. 887.

In North America, however, where the Indian was to be a rejected pariah, the effect of small-pox and its fellows was much more terrible. The subject is important enough to deserve some exemplification.

2. THE PLAGUE WHICH PRECEDED THE PILGRIMS, 1616-19¹

The way to the settlement and conquest of New England was opened for the 'Pilgrims' who arrived in Plymouth in 1621 by an epidemic of what was apparently small-pox, raging along the New England coast for four years, 1616 to 1619 inclusive. The disease presumably had been introduced by one of the very numerous French and English fishing-vessels which had haunted the New England coast in increasing numbers since about 1602. A trader, one Richard Vines, brought to England the first news of the epidemic among the natives of New England.² The English ship's captain, Dermer, who stopped at New England, described its continued progress in 1619. It was this Dermer who brought from Newfoundland the Indian Squanto back to his home village, Patuxet, which John Smith in 1614 had renamed Plymouth, the site of the Pilgrims' settlement of 1620. Squanto found his entire tribe exterminated by the plague, and left, himself, to settle among distant kinsmen on the Kennebec river in Maine.

The next year the Pilgrim settlers arrived and to their joy found that God had sent an 'Assyrian Angel' in advance of their arrival, wiping out the Canaanites of 'New Canaan'.

In 1622 one Morton, an English trader, rode through the hinterland off the coast. Most of the natives of the coast had been exterminated, and even this hinterland was so littered with bones and skulls—'the land almost covered with unburied carcasses'—that the region seemed like 'a new-found Golgotha'.³ 'They not being able to bury one another, their skulls and bones were found in many places lying still above

¹ Compare on this *The American Indian Frontier*, pp. 43-4, and also C. F. Adams, *Three Episodes of Massachusetts History*, 1892 (chapter 2).

² Gorges, *Brief Relation*. (For New England documentation see chapter 7 with appendix.)

³ Morton, *New Canaan*, p. 130 (Amsterdam, 1637).

ground where their houses and dwellings had been; a very sad spectacle to behold.¹

The Massachusetts tribe as a result of this epidemic decreased from about 3,500 population to about 350, the Wampanoags, under their chief Massassoit, from about 10,000 to 1,000. The Indians of the Maine coast and the Pequots of Connecticut were less badly hit. Of the Namasket river, a stream much visited by French and Dutch traders² before the plague, the Pilgrims after the plague observed that of all the numerous Namasket and Monomete tribesmen of the region only two old men remained alive amidst the weed-grown cornfields. Pitifully enough the two old survivors wanted to give battle to the invaders.³ The Pawtuckets of New Hampshire were almost exterminated.

Somehow or other the Narragansetts of Rhode Island were not touched at all. Possibly this was because they were at war with their neighbours and may have had no meetings with their enemies. But the diseased tribes thought that it was perhaps because the Narragansetts were more faithful to old pagan sacrificial rites, which probably involved child sacrifice.

The English in North America aimed not at civilizing the Indian but at displacing him. The repeated epidemics did so much emptying of territory that the early Puritan settlers of New England considered it almost a miracle that disease, sent as it seemed 'from on high', made it so easy for them to push on to new settlement with correspondingly less danger from Indians and less need to massacre on their own part. The Puritan writer Johnson writes in his account of Puritan settlement a chapter on the plague of 1616-20 entitled 'The Wonderful Preparation the Lord Christ by His Providence wrought for His People's Abode in this Western World'.⁴

¹ W. Bradford (Governor of Plymouth Colony), *History of Plymouth Plantation*, 1648 (edited by W. C. Ford), 1914. (This is so arranged as to be consultable readily under the respective dates, months, and years.)

² John Smith, *Description of New England*, 1616, in E. Arber (editor), *Travels and Works of John Smith*, 2 vols., 1910.

³ Mourt, *Relation*, 1622, in E. Arber (editor), *The Story of the Pilgrim Fathers as Told by Themselves, Their Friends, and Their Enemies*, 1606-1623, 1897.

⁴ E. Johnson (Captain), *Wonder-Working Providence of Ston's Saviour in New England*, 1654 (edited by W. Poole, 1867); see chapter 8 on the plague.

He describes the plague:

There befell a great mortality among them; the greatest that ever the memory of father or son took notice of; desolating chiefly those places where the English afterward planted; sweeping away whole families, but chiefly young men and children, the very seeds of increase. . . . Their wigwams lie full of dead corpses.

By this means, Christ, [he adds] whose great and glorious works throughout the earth are all for the benefit of His churches and chosen, not only made room for His people to plant, but also tamed the hearts of these barbarous Indians.

A variant opinion held by Sir Ferdinando Gorges of Maine and by the Quaker Governor of Carolina maintained that God did all this spreading of disease to relieve the English of the necessity of killing off Indians by fire and sword in order to colonize the country. 'And indeed,' says the Quaker Governor, since English are 'in their natures not so cruel' as Spaniards, 'Providence seemed wholly to design' the job of butchery and massacre to the Spaniards!¹

Epidemics were lamented by the French and Spanish missionaries (whom the Puritans hated) because they decreased the population to be saved and civilized. In connexion with this difference of outlook of two types on the Indian frontier, one representing Old Testament, the other New Testament belief, there is a fact worthy of note which shows the obscurantism of the Puritan conception of an Assyrian angel. The depopulation following on the plague gave to the Pilgrims the entire site of an Indian village, complete with untilled corn-fields upon which they might settle down. The Indian village, Patuxet, became later Plymouth. After their first winter one-half of them had died. The rest would have starved had it not been for Squanto, the only survivor of the former inhabitants of the village. He had returned from the Kennebec to visit some relatives in Massasoit's tribe and met the Pilgrims in the spring following their disastrous winter. Squanto settled down with them on his old home site, taught them how to grow corn and

¹ Gorges, *Brief Relation*, reprinted in J. P. Baxter (editor), *Sir Ferdinando Gorges and his colony in Maine*, Prince Society Publications, 1890. For the other citations see MacLeod: *American Indian Frontier*, p. 50.

beans, and how to fish; acted as their guide and interpreter in fur-trading, and led them to the Kennebec river where most of their trade was carried on, a trade which put them on a good economic footing and caused the Puritans in 1628-9 to decide on a New England settlement.

Yet this arrival of Squanto to save them was chiefly the work of a Catholic friar in the West Indies! One Hunt, captain of a vessel which in 1614 was having bad luck in fishing and whaling, had turned to slave-trading, and kidnapped, by trickery, among others, twenty friendly Indians from Patuxet. These he carried to the West Indies, 'to Malega, and there, for a little private gain, sold these silly savages for rials of eight'.¹ One of these 'silly savages' was Squanto. A good friar of the island managed to get this Indian his freedom. Squanto then somehow was taken to England where he worked as a servant for some time,² learned some English, and at last was taken on a fishing voyage and left among the fishermen of Newfoundland. There, as we have mentioned, anxious to get home, he told Captain Dermer of the 'wonders' of New England, and this captain, eager to see with his own eyes, sailed south with Squanto, but let him off at his own desolate old home and proceeded himself to Virginia, where he died.

3. THE SECOND GREAT EPIDEMIC, 1633-4

Just as the Puritans of Massachusetts were thinking of taking possession of the Connecticut valley another small-pox epidemic cleared the way for them. Of this small-pox epidemic of 1633-4 we have some contemporary description and, inasmuch as it was in its effect as important as many a frontier Indian war and, besides, is full of human interest, we shall cull some lines concerning it from the contemporary records of the day. The epidemic is noted as raging throughout what are now the states of Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Rhode Island, but it

¹ John Smith, *Description of New England*.

² For the merchant John Slanie, see the story in C. F. Adams, *Three Episodes; for Dermer's part, see T. Dermer, Letter, 1619, in the New York Historical Collections, Series 2, vol. i, 1841.*

probably ran farther south and west. This 'grievous and terrible sickness', which was 'generally the small-pox':

in a few months swept away multitudes of them, young and old. They could not bury the dead; the English were constrained to help; and that which is very remarkable is that though the English did frequently visit them in their sickness, notwithstanding the infection, it was observed that not one Englishman was touched with the disease. But it was extremely infectious among themselves, and mortal when it took any of them; insomuch that there was scarce any of them left.

And now the narrator exhibits the psychology of Puritania:

By which awful and admirable dispensation *it pleased God to make room for his people* of the English nation; who, after this, in the immediate years following, came from England by many hundreds every year to us, who, without this remarkable and terrible stroke of God upon the natives, would, with much more difficulty have found room, and *at far greater charge have obtained* and purchased land.¹

In view of the religious conceptions of those days, we might overlook this further attribution of the Indians' misfortunes to God, but this concept of God's killing off tens of thousands of heathens with souls to save, *just to spare the Puritans' purses*, is too ludicrous. By December 1633 the Indians of Pascataquack to the north of Massachusetts had all been exterminated 'except one or two'. Among the Narragansetts seven hundred died.

And two traders who had gone far westward in search of furs came back with but little business because of the sickness and reported that as far west as any Indian settlements were known the disease was raging, and that so much of the western population even was killed off that 'they could have no trade'.²

Now, of the course of the disease, we may note how the spiritual powers presiding over Puritania, not content to kill

¹ *The Early Records of Charleston*, in A. Younge, *Chronicles*, March, 1633, p. 386. My italics. The disease raged among the 'Aberginians' and 'amongst the eastern Indians also'.

² Bradford, *History*; and John Winthrop (Governor of Massachusetts Bay Colony), *Journal History of New England, 1630-1649*, 1649 (published in the series: *Original Narratives of American History*, 1910). These journal histories are also available in other publications and are best referred to under the various dates.

off the Indians by lightning or some such quick fashion, chose to torture them to death for the sake of 'His chosen people'.

In his journal Governor Bradford of the Plymouth Colony makes note of how devastating the epidemic was even far up the Connecticut river. Small-pox they fear even more than the plague. For usually they that have this disease have them in abundance, and for want of bedding and linen and other helps, they fall into a lamentable condition as they lie on their hard mats, the pox breaking out and mattering and running into one another, their skin cleaving by reason thereof to the mats they lie on; when they turn them a whole side will flay at once, as it were, and they will be all of a gore blood, most fearful to behold; and then being very sore, what with cold and other distempers, they die like rotten sheep. The condition of this people was so lamentable, and they fell down so generally of this disease, as they were, in the end not able to help one another, no, not to make a fire, nor to fetch a little water to drink, nor any to bury the dead; but would strive as long as they could, and when they could procure no other means to make fire, they would burn the wooden trays and dishes they ate their meat in, and their very bows and arrows; and some would crawl out on all fours to get a little water, and sometimes die by the way, and not be able to get in again.

Far above the Pilgrims' trading-post at Windsor, Connecticut, there was a tribe *enemy* to the Indians about Windsor, who had a great stockaded village with a population of about one thousand. About 950 of the thousand died in the winter of 1633-4, 'and many of them did rot above ground for want of burial'. In the following spring the disease appeared down-river among the Indians about the Dutch trading-post where Hartford, Connecticut, is now. The Indians of the Windsor area where the Plymouth men were located, despite the fact that the dying people below on the river were their ancient and inveterate enemies,

though at first they were afraid of the infection, yet, seeing their woe-ful and sad condition, and hearing pitiful cries and lamentations, had compassion of them, and daily fetched them wood and water, and made them fires, got them victuals whilst they lived, and buried them when they died. For very few of them escaped, notwithstanding

that they did what they could for them, to the hazard of themselves. The chief sachem himself now died, and almost all his friends and kindred.¹

Before this plague of 1633-4 the contemporary narrative notes that the Massachusetts Puritans who had their eyes on the Connecticut as a place of western settlement feared the then powerful and numerous Pequots who controlled it and that this fear was 'an obstacle unto them'. But now that the Pequots had been in large part 'swept away with the late mortality', the fear of the prospective emigrants was 'now taken away',² and settlement proceeded, the end of the plague witnessing the beginning of that western landward migration of men and cattle which in time moved on to the Pacific coast.

4. THE 1635 EPIDEMIC IN THE MISSIONS OF JESUIT HURONIA

At this time the French missionaries were making great progress in Huronia, the land of the Huron Indians, now called Ontario. In 1635, just as the future looked particularly promising, it was reached by a plague which had probably spread northwest from New England, coming through the Iroquois country. As in the case of the New England 'plagues' we are in doubt as to whether the disease was small-pox or measles; both diseases were terribly virulent among the Indians and yielded progress and symptoms varying considerably from the facts for the disease among the Europeans. It appeared in Huronia in 1635 and the missionaries and their lay assistants themselves were infected, but recovered. In September 1636 it was spreading rapidly throughout the populous country-side. In May 1637 it was raging 'unabated'. Virtually all of the 30,000 or more Hurons had been reached by it as it spread from one household to another.

We are not given figures with regard to the mortality. But we know that by spring of 1638 the population of the town of Ihonatiria, which large triple-stockaded town had sheltered the first mission station, was wiped out, and the missionaries had to move their station to Teanaostaia, the largest town of the

¹ Bradford, *History*.

² Bradford, *History*, August 1635.

principal clan of the Hurons. But the plague followed, moving on even to the pagan Petun Huron tribe westward of Nottawasaga Bay. It must have gone on also to the pagan Neutrals. At any rate, when two missionaries in 1639 and 1640 went out to reach the Petuns and Neutrals, these tribes scorned them, calling the two fathers 'the Famine and the Pest'.

The Indians had so many different explanations of the causes of this plague that it would take a chapter to enumerate them. Suffice it to say that among the Indians all disease was believed to be a result not of ordinary, but spiritual or magic causes. Usually, some one was suspected of practising magic against the afflicted person. Naturally, the native shamans, angry because the missionaries undermined their influence and affected their profits, accused the missionaries of being sorcerers and causing the plague. For a time it looked as if all the missionaries would be put to death as sorcerers, and it was indeed providential that they were not.¹

A sequel of 1645, with another plague in the Iroquois country, may be mentioned here. In 1645 Fathers Jogues and Lalande made a new attempt to reach the Iroquois, and entered what is now New York. But misfortune followed them. The 'pest' or plague, drought, and a plague of grasshoppers came to the Mohawk country as the missionaries arrived! The Indians accused the fathers of carrying the plague, locked up in their missals, convicted them of sorcery, and put them to death with the hatchet. Thus died the first missionary martyrs of New York and Canada. They were not, however, the first of what is now the United States, Spanish missionaries having suffered martyrdom between 1540 and 1550 in what are now Kansas and Florida.

In justice to the pagan Mohawks it may be pointed out that they were certainly sincere in believing their charge of sorcery; and, when we consider the witchcraft delusions of Europe and New England, they do not appear so black. At the same time

¹ On this plague in the missions, see *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents* (ed. Thwaites, 72 volumes), vol. ii, p. 13; vol. xii, pp. 87, 243; vol. xiii, pp. 131, 165, 169, 181, 191, 195; vol. xiv, pp. 9, 35.

we must also emphasize, realizing how ready the Indians were to turn and rend the missionaries for things beyond the missionaries' control, the marvellous fearlessness of the evangelizers in pursuing the policy of persuasion which we shall describe in our fourth chapter.

5. SAMPLE EPIDEMICS OF THE PLAINS AND FAR WEST,
1780, 1838

We shall step over the gruesome details of further colonial epidemics, and briefly review two, for which we have some contemporary observations, which caused terrible devastation in the Plains and Far West *well in advance of* settlement.

In 1780 two separate bands of Indians, one Sioux, and one Ojibway, attacked European traders just south-west of Hudson Bay. Several of the traders, who had lately had small-pox, were wearing infected clothing. The attacking Indians thus made their first acquaintance with small-pox.

From the Ojibway the plague spread north through the Canadian woodlands. In 1781 three-fifths of the Churchill river bands died; in 1782 one-half of the Cree died.¹

From the Sioux it spread out through the Great Plains or Prairies and over the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific coast.² Before 1786 small-pox appeared among the Haida of the far-away islands off Alaska; probably this was the last place that the epidemic reached, but of this we shall speak in a moment.

In the summer of 1838, almost exactly two hundred years after the small-pox had led the way for the first western trek of immigrants and cattle into the Connecticut valley in 1635, the same disease paved the road for the covered-wagon treks across the interior plains to the west coast.

From a St. Louis fur company's steamer on the Missouri river small-pox was carried on shore to the Mandan Indians. At this time the Sioux and Mandan were at war and the Mandan were unable to disperse in small groups out in the plains but were

¹ D. Thompson, *Narrative, 1784-1812*, Champlain Society Publications, vol. xii, 1916; see chapter 21.

² Thompson gives vivid details of the spread among the Shoshone and Piegans. For the data in Thompson see above, p. 829 n.

instead confined to their villages, where the disease spread with especial rapidity. Five hundred and seventy of their six hundred warriors died of the disease and from suicide by stabbing, shooting, or leaping headforemost over the 30-foot precipice which guarded one side of their fortified village; 8 per cent. of the women and young people died likewise.

The Sioux who attacked the dying Mandans not only acquired the plague themselves, but spread it over to the Cree, Crow, Minnataree, Arikara, Cheyenne, and Blackfeet. During five months about 25,000 Indians died of the disease, including one-half of the Crow tribe, which next to the Mandan suffered most heavily.¹

6. PLAGUE AT THE UTTERMOST REACHES OF THE CONTINENT

We now return to the Haida of the far north-western Pacific coast, whom the great epidemic of 1781 and after appears to have reached in 1786.² In the nearly a century which followed to 1874 there was another visitation, apparently in 1838.³ In 1874 the Protestant missionary Collinson reached them, arriving at their village of Masset.

Collinson spoke to the assemblage of their chiefs and people of his desire to teach them about the true Great Spirit. The head chief in time rose to reply. He charged the whites with the crime of teaching his people to distil whisky and of sending them small-pox—of sending them two evil spirits. 'If your people', he said to Collinson, 'had the good news of the Great Chief, the Good Spirit, why did they not send it to us first, and not these evil spirits?' Says Collinson: 'It was a sad recital, and for the moment I felt much like a prisoner charged and convicted before his judges. I knew every eye was upon me. *I was rather glad it was rather dark in the great house.*'³

¹ Denig, 'Tribes of the Upper Missouri', 1854, published in *46th Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology*, 1928, pp. 465, 625; G. Catlin, 'Appendix on the Extinction of the Indians', pp. 257-9, appendix to vol. ii of his *Manners and Customs of the North American Indians*, 2 vols., 1848; and see further data in Catlin's appendix to his *O-kee-pa: a Pawnee Ceremony*, 1858.

² Collinson, *Up and Down the North Pacific*, 1878, p. 119; also pp. 26-7, 203; and cf. p. 107 (it may have come from the Russians); Newcombe, 138-9.

³ Collinson, p. 108.

But the head of this embittered people went on recounting the story of small-pox among his people:

Our people are brave in warfare and never turn their backs on their foes, but this foe we could not see and could not fight. Our medicine-men are wise, but they could not drive away this evil spirit. . . .

You have visited our towns and you have seen many of the houses empty. In them the house-fires once burned brightly, and around them the hunters and warriors told of their deeds in the past. Now the fires have gone out and the brave men have fallen before the white man's sickness. You have come too late for them.¹

¹ Collinson, op. cit., pp. 107, 118-21. On other western diseases and epidemics see the excellent data in Mayne, *British Columbia*, p. 313 (measles among the Tsimshian), Dunn, *Oregon*, pp 83-4 (small-pox); Catlin, p. 258 (cholera); and W. E. Schenck, *Historic Groups of the California Delta*, University of California Publications in Ethnology, vol. xxiii, No. 2, 1926, p. 131 (intermittent fever extermination).

CHAPTER III
THE INDIAN POLICY OF THEIR CATHOLIC
MAJESTIES

I. 'THESE SPANIARDS, ABHORRERS OF GOD AND MAN'

WHAT the Spanish Crown did for the American Indian has been little understood. The popular conception to-day, in at least the United States, may be summed up in the idea that while the generous and mild English, Dutch, Swedes, French, and Russians paid the Indians for their land and never hurt the poor Indian except when he hurt them, the naturally brutal Spaniards thrust the Indian off his land, destroyed native civilizations in Peru and Mexico as good as his own, and wantonly massacred and tortured for sheer amusement.

The source of this conception lies in some publications of the Spaniards themselves, published by authority of the Spanish king, issued in the course of a controversy as to a proper Indian policy. This was in the experimental period of policy in Haiti (Española) in the early years of the sixteenth century. The 'Apostle of the Indians', the good friar Bartolomé de Las Casas, warring against the Indian policy then existing, made out a case against it. It is true that the first colonists in Española, men who suffered but little restraint, had apparently been rather brutal to the Indians, using some of the brutalities of recrimination and punishment typical of the whole of late fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century Europe. But it is plain that Las Casas somehow infinitely exaggerated all that transpired, and in the end he confessed as much. Just how or why he exaggerated so it is hard to imagine. He was a brilliant and essentially honest character, but his zeal, or imagination, carried him away beyond all bounds. It is difficult to believe that he was merely misinformed.

But in 1586, at a time when England was planning intrusion into North and South America, and seeking to rationalize her intrusion into these Spanish domains, and meantime sending out privateers to prey on Spanish-American commerce, Las

Casas's little book of horrors, the *Brevisima Relación*, was translated into English and, as a matter of actual fact, served the British privateers as light reading to stimulate their hate of Catholic Spaniards. The next English version appeared during another emotional surge in England. It was translated by a nephew of the poet Milton, and dedicated to *Oliver Cromwell, the great butcher of the Irish!* It served to demonstrate the wickedness of Catholics and the Catholic Church and faith. This Miltonian edition was entitled *The Tears of the Indians*. Other English translations appeared from time to time, in 1614, 1689, and 1699. Six different Flemish and Dutch versions appeared between 1578 and 1621 when Dutch colonial activity was getting under way and interest in America was aroused.

Las Casas's book excited even Sir Walter Raleigh when he planned to intrude on the Spanish domain in the Guianas in South America. It led him to exclaim regarding the 'poor Indians',

. . . the sighs, groans, lamentations, tears, and blood of so many millions of innocent men, women and children, afflicted, robbed, reviled, branded with hot irons, roasted, dismembered, mangled, stabbed, whipped, racked, scalded with hot oil, suet, and hog's grease, put to the strappado, ripped alive, beheaded in sport, drowned, dashed against rocks, famished, devoured by mastifs, burned, and by infinite cruelties consumed . . . by these Spaniards, abhorrrers of God and man.

He even wanted to make use of Las Casas's book adequately illustrated, in an attempt to undermine the Spaniards in America. In 1596, for instance, he suggested that the English persuade the as yet free Indians of the Guianas to accept the sovereignty of the gentle British in order to avoid conquest by the cruel Spanish. To prepare them, he suggests making them bitter against Spain and against Catholicism, by 'acquainting them with the usurpations, insolencies, and tyrannies' of the Spaniards. And to prove to them how cruel the Spaniards were he advised that:

For proof thereof, Bartolomé de Las Casas' book of the Spanish cruelties, with fair pictures, or at least a large table of pictures,

expressing the particularities of the cruelties there specified, neatly wrought for the better credit of our workmanship, and their easier understanding; would be sent to the Inca and his caciques by some interpreters, that they may publish it among their vassals. . . .

Queen Elizabeth, he suggests, should then follow this up by sending goodly gifts to the horrified Indian chiefs.¹

Las Casas's erroneous picture of the Spanish colonists and conquistadores lingered in the English colonies, as we have seen,² and so down to our own day in school histories and the popular mind.

Thus notes the ablest student of the earliest years of España: 'a generous people has laboured under an undeserved stigma since Las Casas first vilified his countrymen'; and concludes on the basis of the earliest Spanish attempts to civilize the Indians, that rather than being ruthless murderers, the Spaniards 'on the contrary, it would seem, . . . were not altogether unworthy to be the bearers of European civilization across the ocean, the apostles of a new culture in a new world'.³

What were the facts regarding the Spanish handling of their Indian problem?

2. THE SPANISH OBJECTIVES

The Spanish sovereigns shared the theories of the rights of conquest held in common by all the sovereigns and jurists of Europe in their day. The conquered, whether subdued by violence or merely the threat of violence, had no rights save such as the conqueror might freely choose to concede to them.

Theoretically, however, Spain entered the New World not to conquer but to pacify. The Pope had granted the Americas to the Spanish Crown; therefore all that was required was to inform the Indians of that fact and require their allegiance. If any were 'rebellious' and disturbed the peace, Spanish arms

¹ Raleigh, *Considerations on the Voyage to Guiana*, 1596, p. 124. Raleigh's document is also a refutation of the famous *Requisition* and denounces the theory that unbelievers have no title to their lands; but he admits his opposition to this Spanish theory is tentative—'upon better advice I am ready to retract'. On the use of pictures by missionaries, see below, p. 891.

² Above, p. 843.

³ Jane, *The Colons*, p. 402 (see below, p. 863).

would pacify that region. So, in the great compilation of the laws of the Indies, the *Recopilación*, we never meet with 'conquest', but always with 'pacification'.

In fact, however, the Spanish arms set out to conquer and did conquer, and in accordance with the contemporary practice the subdued peoples were exploited. The Indian nations were obliged to recognize the sovereignty of the Spanish monarch. The persons and the land of the Indians were put at the disposal of the queen, who might do with them what she wished according to her own mercy and according to need and expediency.

In arbitrating between the claims of Portugal and Spain the award of the Pope was made upon the condition that the Spanish sovereigns effect the christianization of the Indians by any practicable or effective method. And it must be said that the Spanish sovereigns were at all times sincere and zealous in their endeavour to meet this condition, and the proceeds of the head-tax paid by the Indians were largely expended in supporting missionaries in the New World.

The work of exploration and conquest in the Americas was very expensive. In A.D. 1492 the treasury of the Crown of Castile was practically empty. After the work had been initiated by Columbus at the expense of the treasury, and Columbus had been deprived of some of the privileges originally accorded him in his agreement with Isabella, venturesome persons were permitted to go off with armies privately organized for the conquests of new regions in America. In return for this outlay and risk they were granted lands, and, later, rights to Indian labour, as well as a share of the booty taken. Sometimes these conquistadores would receive governorships, &c., but the lands they 'pacified' remained under the immediate administration of the Crown and its advisory committee, the Council of the Indies. In Spanish enterprise there was nothing comparable to the Charter and Proprietary Colonies of England in North America.

Under the application of the *encomienda* forced-labour system the Indians were sometimes deprived of all right to the soil and

reduced to landless peonage. But the greater part of the Indians in free pueblos, missions, reservations, and even in encomienda, were granted a legal title to land which they might have actually under cultivation; uncultivated lands, relatively of little value to the Indians, were usually assigned to the conquistadores and their soldiers.

The Crown did not anticipate, plan, or desire any serious disturbance of native economic and political life, any extensive colonization by a European labour force, or any establishment of plantations to be worked by negro slaves. Native village life was to continue under its old native chiefs, who were to become alcaldes under the Spanish administration. The natives were to be led to Christianity by reason, never by force. The natives were to be exempted from the Inquisition.

All wars were to cease, because all native peoples were to become subjects of Castile. All public pagan worship was to cease. All governmental authority was to be derived from the Crown, as were all titles to land. Immigration was limited, not only to Castilians, but to Castilians whose parents, as well as themselves, were Catholics. Converted Jews and Moors were kept out, as were gipsies also. Negro slaves could be imported only after obtaining a licence and paying a duty, and their importation was made so expensive in early years that it was necessary to depend on Indian labour for production.

There was some brutality on the part of the earliest Spanish settlers. It was due chiefly to the fact that with communications what they were in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the administrative task imposed on the Crown was too great, and the Crown's inability to control the situation effectively was taken advantage of by criminal elements in the Americas, with the connivance of callous rascals who deceived their king and obtained administrative posts of importance.

The keen sense of Christian duty possessed by the Catholic monarchs was again and again exemplified in the measures they took to control the overseas frontier for the benefit of the Indians. They were always ready to sacrifice their own immediate pecuniary interests. They were always ready to give

ear to the missionaries when they charged the colonists with exploiting the natives. They always firmly stood against the greed of colonists when this greed was directed against the Indians. In 1542 they went to such lengths in this direction that the colonies in all the Americas began to take measures to revolt and set up independent American nations. This would appear praise, but the facts abundantly warrant it.

In the early day of experiment before 1542 in Española the Crown erred at times, but essentially because it did not know just what policy to adopt. Indecision in matters critical is always harmful. In my own opinion the damage lay chiefly in making the early *encomiendas* for one life only, and not settling upon a forced-labour policy definitely. The Crown erred on the side of its human impulses, hoping to keep the Indians wholly free. The result was that the colonists, having no vested interest of long term in the Indian labour granted them, used it recklessly with resultant harm to the Indian. This we shall explain when in a moment we take up the development of the forced-labour or *encomienda* policy. At present we wish briefly to mention the matter of slavery.

3. SLAVERY

Slavery, important in the ancient Greek and Roman world, had died out in the Christian Roman Empire. The opening of negro Africa by Portugal before the discovery of America revived slavery, the negroes being used as domestic slaves. The moral justification of slavery was that enslavement was an expedient by which a barbarous or savage person could be brought under the guardianship of a Christian master who would teach him the arts of civilized life and lead him to a Christian salvation.

But this expedient was a rather harsh one which was to be called into play only in the case of barbarians who refused peaceably to be brought under the political control of Christians. That is, if the barbarians forced the Christians to war upon them, they would be taken captive and enslaved. Of course, in this day and later, even Christians taken prisoner in

war, or taken for crimes by the State, could be enslaved. Cromwell sent many English and Irish as slaves to the Indies during the Civil War in England and the conquest of Ireland. But this was largely a punitive measure, while the enslavement of savages was considered as primarily an educative measure.

Columbus on his first voyage imitated the Portuguese African practice and enslaved some hostile warring cannibals, Caribs. The Queen, however, disapproved, but referred the question to her advisers on canon law. These jurists advised that a native might be enslaved only if the war in which he was made captive were a 'just' war, that is, a war in which the Spaniards were morally justified in offence or defence. The abuse in the colonies of the interpretation of 'just' was such, however, that Isabella, and later, Ferdinand, were never quite satisfied at having any enslavement at all. It was much to their relief therefore when, in 1538, on appeal and on evidence of Spanish missionaries to the Indians, the Pope declared that the American Indian was not a savage or barbarous person who might ever require enslavement to be civilized: that, in the words used, the American native was a 'person with reason'. Paul III therefore forbade any Catholics to enslave or hold as slave any Indian.

This ended the small trade in Indian slaves which had grown up in Spanish America. But the half-breeds of São Paulo in Portuguese Brazil disregarded the injunctions of the Church, and of their king who forbade Indian slavery in 1570, until in 1638 the mission Indians of Paraguay, whom they slave-raided, were fire-armed by the missionaries and able to defend themselves. In northern Brazil the Jesuit missionaries faced the fact of slave-raiding and for their opposition to it were expelled, from 1610 on, from one Brazilian province after another. The Dutch in this north-eastern section of South America kept up slave-raiding even into the nineteenth century, long after it had died out in Brazil.

In North America there was notable slave-raiding and other enslavement of Indians for nearly two hundred years after it had been abolished in Spanish America! After the Pequot War of 1638 and King Philip's War of 1676 the Puritans of New

England became ruthless slavers, shipping the kidnapped and otherwise captured Indians abroad to Algeria and other slave markets. In our story of the Georgia and Carolina missions in the next chapter we shall show how slave-raiders from the English Carolinas destroyed the Spanish missions below them. Part of the hostility of the slave-holding Georgia Methodists under Oglethorpe in Spanish Florida in the early years of the eighteenth century was due to the fact that no negro or Indian could be a slave in Florida. The Wesleyan Methodist colony above, for business reasons, early in its career decided it wanted an all-slave America.

The missionaries in Latin America at first opposed enslavement of negroes, too, but in time approved of it, feeling that the negro was better adapted to it, and that the importation of negro slaves for the colonists would relieve the pressure of the colonists on the Indians. Negro slavery in Spanish America and Brazil, however, was never harsh as it was in English North America, and there was rapid manumission as the imported black savages became civilized.

Enslavement was a variety of forced-labour policy which never became significant in Latin America. We will therefore give our space largely to the officially approved forced-labour policy of the *encomienda*.

4. THE EARLY DEVELOPMENT OF THE ENCOMIENDA

In the beginning of her enterprise Spain, thinking herself in contact with Asia, with the rich Spice Islands, and China and Japan, expected to profit primarily in trade. When the rich East could not be found, only poor Indians possessed of some gold, then there came the expectation of profiting from the mining of gold. But it was more than twenty-five years before appreciable mineral wealth was discovered. Not until 1513 did the Spaniards realize that they were not in Asia. Not until 1519 did they find and conquer the rich Aztec population. It was yet later that Peru with its hoard of gold and its inexhaustible silver mines was discovered.

Meantime the cost of ships and exploration was tremendously

heavy; and likewise it bade fair to be costly, too, to furnish missionaries to fulfil the fundamental object of the Crown as vassal of the Pope—the conversion of the Indians.

Pending the discovery of some other source of wealth there remained only the native labour power. The method of trial and error, in the face of various pressing necessities, made for the development of a very interesting system of forced labour.

Columbus was the first viceroy of the New World, and functioned immediately as governor of the first island discovered and pacified, Española or Hispaniola, now Haiti. He was of a kindly nature. In the early years of his activity he showed himself a capable, diplomatic, and generous colonial administrator, and one eminently practical.

But the Indies had to be made to pay the costs of their development, and, moreover, to yield a profit to himself and to the Crown. When the Spaniards came to realize the poverty of the Indies they had discovered in comparison with the immensely profitable Far East on which Portugal now had a monopoly, there was bitter disappointment over what was considered Columbus's failure.

After an immediate attempt to make gains through slavery, Columbus was given to understand that he was not to seek profits from the slave trade. By 1494 the island of Haiti was pacified, and the natives had been brought under his control. Columbus then ordered that each adult Indian must pay a stipulated head-tax to the Crown. This was payable in gold or in cotton.

In 1496 it was apparent that the Indians were not all able to pay the tax. Those who could not pay in commodities were ordered to work out the tax on the farms of the colonists; the colonists receiving their labour would then pay the tax. But the colonists wanted more land and more Indian labour than Columbus would permit them. Under Roldán they broke out into open revolt. Columbus compromised; by this time his health was breaking, and his disappointments were accumulating. On his own authority as viceroy he organized the Indians in labour gangs, called 'repartimientos', and allotted to each

colonist a gang, colonists of various ranks and importance getting larger or smaller repartimientos. The grants of repartimientos were to last for two years. Each holder was entitled to have a certain amount of farming done by the Indians assigned to him. Under monthly licences only might mine labour be required of the allotted Indians.

The amount of tillage *per capita* required specifically from each allotted Indian was not sufficient to take up his entire time. The Indians were to remain ordinarily in their old villages, and they were to labour under their own chiefs as overseers.

This arrangement was designed as a temporary expedient to quiet the rebels. Columbus immediately wrote to the queen. She was angry and disapproved of the arrangement, but nevertheless it was permitted to stand, and the allotment of labour gangs became a permanent method of furnishing labour for Spanish farms in Haiti.

In 1499 Columbus had been removed from power. Bobadilla, a priest, and encomendero of the military Order of Alcántara, succeeded him as governor of Haiti. In 1502 Bobadilla was removed for incompetence, and superseded by another member of the same Order, Ovando.

The colonists were now dissatisfied with the limited control they held over Indian labour. The Indians avoided contact with them as much as possible, and rejected Christianity. This latter fact offered the colonists an idea. They informed the queen that so long as the Indians were free to withdraw by themselves for the greater part of the year they would never become europeanized and christianized.

The anxious queen, therefore, in 1503 ordered that the Indians were to work all the time for the Spaniards; but, though constrained, they were to be paid wages; and, though not forced to become Christians, they were obliged to hear Mass and to receive instruction in religion.

Ovando interpreted his instructions liberally and devised a modification of the repartimiento, which was thenceforth sometimes still called the repartimiento, but ordinarily, and properly, the *encomienda*. In the military Orders, of one of which

Ovando was an officer, novices were brought together in groups and 'commended' to various members of the Order of long standing as persons placed under them for group instruction in the rules of the Order. The instructor was known as an 'encomendero'.

So Ovando reorganized the Indians into new gangs, and to each colonist assigned a small or large gang as the case might be. He commended the group to the colonist as an encomendero. The colonist was to instruct the Indians, or have them instructed, in religion and in the technology of Europe. The head-tax of his charges was to be paid by the colonist. To repay the encomendero for his pains and expense the commended Indians were to give all their labour to him, working as he might direct. The grant of an encomienda was to continue during the queen's pleasure.

The primary purpose of the Crown in sanctioning the encomienda was educational; it was the only system which it could see as available for bringing the Indians under the tuition of Europeans for the purpose of conversion to Christianity and of education in European methods of industry. The colonists, of course, cared nothing about this; their purpose was to get control of a labour supply. The encomienda system was well devised to suit both purposes; but as yet it was imperfect.

In 1509 Diego Columbus, son of Christopher, had succeeded Ovando. Diego had learned of the cruelties of the encomienda, and the king had learned something of it. Ferdinand had ordered the head-tax due from the encomenderos for each Indian to be reduced, hoping that the natives would then be less overworked. He also strictly ordered that the Indians in encomienda should not be disturbed in their village life; that each village should be allowed to own and keep its own lands, each Indian family having its little farm; and that officials of the islands should see to it that the Indians were not to be permitted to sell their lands to the colonists except at a 'just' price.

When the missionaries informed him that his orders were being disregarded even under Diego Columbus, who, like his father, was sympathetic to the Indians, Ferdinand put up to

several juntas of advisers the question whether the *encomienda* should not be abolished. *Here a prime difficulty appeared: there seemed to be no adequate substitute for the forced-labour system which would serve the purpose of educating the Indians.* Experience showed that the Indians when let alone, and not constrained, retired to themselves and remained beyond the pale of European educational influence.

It has been the fashion of many writers on this subject to denounce these juntas for refusing to comply with the demands of the missionaries for the abolition of the *encomienda*, pointing out that many of the members of the juntas were absentee owners of *encomiendas*, and so on. I yield to none in my warm admiration for the intelligence and honesty and disinterestedness of these noble missionaries, but I think we must agree that the point of view of the juntas was in that day an eminently sensible one. They maintained that the forced-labour system was satisfactory; that there was no alternative if the civilization of the Indians was to be achieved; that reforms would put an end to the abuses of the system.

The result was the Laws of Burgos, of 1512. These laws were designed to ameliorate the conditions of the commended Indians. With their enforcement, the juntas assured the king, the claims of 'his royal conscience would be entirely discharged'. The principal new features of these enactments of the Crown were a women's labour law and a child labour law. Boys and girls and married women might not in the future be employed in any labour save light household labour; never in the fields or mines. But there remained the fact that grants of *encomiendas* were held only at the king's pleasure.

Herein clearly lay the greatest evil in the forced-labour system, considering the impracticability of adequately supervising the operations of the system in that day. The *encomenderos*, come out to the Indies to get rich as quickly as possible, realizing that to-day they might have a labour force at their command and to-morrow might have none, worked the Indians as hard as they could, turning their lives into gold. The intention of the king had continued to be merely to use the forced-labour system

as a temporary thing, to achieve the civilization of the Indians, as well as to satisfy the colonists in the early stages of development of the Indies. Naturally he was reluctant to put the seal of permanency on the expedient.

But after Isabella's death there was trouble and confusion in Spain. These events made it advisable to reward many suitors with royal favours. The cheapest way to reward them was to grant them *encomiendas* of Indians in the Indies, from which they could profit as absentee exploiters. Moreover, Spanish enterprise was now reaching from the islands to the mainland, beginning with the Isthmian region. The cheapest way to reward the conquistadores for their personal expenditures was to grant them *encomiendas*.

Accordingly Ferdinand came to take a more mercenary view of the forced-labour system. In 1514 he ordered a complete redistribution of grants of *encomiendas*, agreeing that each grant should last for *two* lifetimes—that is, that during the life of the grantee and of his eldest son, who should fall heir to the grant, title to the *encomienda* would not be revoked. This was designed in part to assure an income to the children of the conquistadores. Whatever the mercenary motive which may be held to have actuated Ferdinand, the effect on the Indians was one to be desired. An *encomendero would now be a fool to kill his charges from overwork*; he now looked upon his Indians as property in a sense, and conserved them as one would do with slaves or other capital.

On the death of Ferdinand, in 1516, Cardinal Ximenez served as regent until such time as Charles of Ghent (later the Emperor Charles V) could reach Spain from the Low Countries. Under his administration of affairs of the Indies further investigation was made as to the possibility of abolishing the forced-labour system. He listened to Las Casas, formerly a scoffer at, but now the active leader of, the Dominicans of the New World in their war on the official system, and he listened to the colonists, whose reports on the effect and necessity of the system conflicted with those of Las Casas and the missionaries in general. He decided to send out an unbiased commission

to investigate and find the truth. He chose a mission of Spanish Jeronymite monks. They were ordered to go to the Indies and consult not only with the colonists but also with the Indian chiefs as to the possibilities of a reconstruction of Indian policy. The Jeronymites were given full power to abolish the system in force if they saw fit. In its place they were advised *to organize a reservation system* if the forced-labour system were to be abolished. Whatever they did else, however, they were immediately to revoke all grants of encomiendas to governmental officials, a move of obvious purpose.

The Jeronymites decided that the forced-labour system was the only practical one. *As an experiment* they established several small Indian reservations, but the experiment was immediately ended by a plague of small-pox which wiped out the natives of the reservations.

When Charles V first turned his attention to the Indies he, too, stirred by the eloquence of Las Casas, considered the possibility of finding some substitute for the encomienda. He decided to experiment on Cuba, 'because he understood that the Cubanos were most in need of relief among all his American vassals'. But the encomenderos of Cuba employed lawyers at court who assured the Emperor that 'if his proposed policy of freeing the natives was adopted, whatever natives had not rebelled would assuredly rise, kill off all the Christians, and return to their idolatry and vices, as, his Catholic Majesty was assured, they invariably did the moment vigilance was relaxed'. Moreover, they argued that the colonists, 'since they had no other means of support than the aforesaid Indians', would abandon the island to the devil who had possessed it previously, and a second conquest would be necessary.

This was in 1527. Eight years earlier Cortez had begun the conquest of Mexico; and now Almagro and Pizarro were proceeding with the conquest of Peru. Both these great continental enterprises were being paid for in large part by the grant of encomiendas. Charles, with troubles enough brewing from the Reformation in Germany, dropped the subject for a time.

By this date inhuman work under the imperfect encomienda

system, coupled with small-pox, had almost killed off the natives of the West Indian islands. Their place, furthermore, had been taken by negro slaves, whose importation was permitted by the Crown as the native labour died off. Already the West Indies, Indian so short a time before, were a negro land. The system of forced-labour in its early stages had been a failure. Whether, refined and improved, it might succeed better on the continent, remained for the future to show.

5. FULL DEVELOPMENT OF THE SPANISH FORCED-LABOUR POLICY

The weakness of the case of the missionaries against the forced-labour system was that they could not show proof that it was not necessary for the education of the Indians. It was evident that the system was working the destruction rather than the education of the Indians, but the system was being improved and there was hope that it could be so regulated as to preserve rather than destroy the Indians. Under the splendid, intelligent, and humane administration of Cortez in Mexico from 1519 on, it did begin to appear that the system could be made to attain the purpose for which it was designed.

And yet the Spanish Crown desired only complete freedom for the Indians if it could be at all practically realized, and the missionaries set out to prove to the king that forced labour was not necessary to civilize the Indians. In 1537 Las Casas and associated Dominicans were promised by the governor of Guatemala that no natives of one large province would be 'commended' and gave the friars freedom to deal with the war-like Indians there. In five years all these fierce tribesmen had, as freemen, accepted the sovereignty of the governor and the tuition of the missionaries. The immediate successes of Las Casas here were what determined the Pope in 1538 to forbid for ever enslavement of Indians. And the same event led the happy king in the very next year to declare Tlaxcala, a Mexican city-state which had voluntarily accepted Cortez's sovereignty, to be an autonomous Indian republic, for ever exempt from 'commendation', ruled by their own Indian governor, and possessed of other special privileges.

A few years later the Crown was so definitely convinced of the ability of the Indians to see the advantages of Spanish sovereignty and civilization without coercion that in 1542 it ordered an end to all further commendation; and that all existing encomiendas should expire with the death of their holders. How sudden was this change in policy may be seen from the fact that as late as 1538 Charles had granted encomiendas for two lives!

In justice to the widows and children of the holders of encomiendas whose grants had been for two lives, compensation was to be granted them on the death of the grantees and the consequent lapse of the grant. The compensation was to be *at the expense of the Crown!* In accord with the decree of the Pope, the new laws ordered that in the future no Indian might be held a slave even when taken in a righteous or 'just' war.

These regulations were ordered to be promulgated in the Indies and read to the colonists by the governors and mayors, and the clergy of the Indies were to assist in their enforcement. But the vested interests were too strong. The colonists threatened to establish independent states in the Indies. The king and Spain were far away and busy with troubles in Europe. They themselves had conquered these new lands. The claim on Indian labour was their reward. Without the native's labour they could not live or make money. They and their wives and children would become impoverished. They defied the clergy, who refused them the sacraments when they would not give up their Indians. Some governors refused to promulgate the new laws. In Peru there was armed rebellion, and in Mexico a rebellion was in process of organization. Some few years before, the conquistadores had attempted to set up an independent state in Peru, and the Crown had considerable difficulty in quelling their rebellion. The task would be too difficult if all the Indies revolted. The Indian question at this early date came near to giving rise to the first independent European states in the Americas.

Charles was in Flanders, far away from Las Casas's influence. Under threat of revolution in America he revoked his orders

concerning encomiendas in 1545. They were unenforceable. Charles was thenceforth content to endeavour to make the system preservative and educational by adequate regulation. He resigned himself to the permanence of the institution.

After 1545 the forced-labour policy of the encomienda became definitely the official policy of the Crown, and with the conquest of the Philippines in 1565 was put into effect there. (In the Philippines about 1,500,000 natives were 'commended' in 1590, virtually the entire population.) A radical change in motive and practice, however, was brought about by one regulation and another. The forced-labour policy became also a *segregation policy*.

Originally the encomienda had been devised to bring about an intermingling of European and Indian. But experience in the West Indies had shown that this worked for the destruction of the native. The masses of the European colonists were not representatives of the best of European culture. They brought disease and strong drink to the native. They broke all the laws designed to protect the native from the influence of the more vicious aspects of European culture. They irritated the native through their offensive, domineering manners and their flagrant dishonesties, and drove him to despair and revolt. The missionaries in the Indies were also driven to despair, seeing that they could not win the natives to the Christian faith and receptivity to the less material aspect of things European.

To remedy these defects the commended Indians were gradually segregated from contact with all Europeans save their official instructors and guardians, and even these latter were put under a variety of restraints. Indian agents, protectors of the Indians, were attached to each colonial government to see to the enforcement of laws relating to the Indians, and these were made directly responsible to the Crown. Neither viceroys, protectors of the Indians, nor any other officials of Church or State or wives or children of lay officials were permitted to hold encomiendas. But the Crown itself held many, known as royal encomiendas. With better checks on reckless exploitation of the natives the Crown also felt eventually that

not only could it make the head-tax on natives a charge on the encomendero, but it could also take one-third of the encomendero's profits.

Every encomienda, that is to say every group of commended Indians, was to live in a village of its own under the mayoralty of its own native chief. The encomendero was forbidden to reside with them; when they were wanted they came to the plantation or workshop for labour. The encomendero's overseer, almost invariably a negro slave or freedman, was forbidden to live with the Indians. Except with special licence the Indians might not be used as household or body servants of the master. The master must employ a priest to teach his Indians. No more than three hundred Indians were allowed to one encomendero. When an encomendero was also owner of the soil, he had to reside on his land, though not with the natives, and be responsible for the defence of the commended natives from the attacks of wild Indian tribes. It was forbidden to give or sell strong drink to the commended Indians; but where there was danger from wild tribes the encomendero had to hold in readiness horses and fire-arms which the Indians were to be taught to use but which must not be left in their possession.

By 1607 many grants of encomiendas (made for two lives) were lapsing. The segregation policy was proving itself preservative and educative. Solicitude was felt for the grandchildren of the conquistadores to whom the grants had been made. As a consequence, while all grants to be made after 1607 were still to run only for two lives, grants made before 1607 were to be extended to run for two more lives, for four generations after the original grant.

By 1698 the last grant of encomienda lapsed, and no more were granted. The encomienda forced-labour system was considered to have fulfilled its purpose. The day of Spanish expansion in the New World was almost at an end, and inanition and decay had set in in the Old World. Whatever expansion was still to be undertaken was on the part of the missionaries, whose energies continually waxed stronger and who had the favour and interest of the Crown.

As the *encomiendas* expired, those Indian groups who had been left in possession of land became free villagers. Those who had been deprived of land, their land having been granted to the *encomendero*, became free citizens legally, but to obtain the means of subsistence had to accept the terms of the landowner. They became the Spanish-American peons. The planters generally agreed not to attempt to win over one another's labourers, and, practically, though not legally, the peon was attached to the soil.

6. FORCED-LABOUR SYSTEMS IN BRAZIL

Portugal had been slow in effectively attempting to colonize or civilize in Brazil, and in the sixteenth century little had been achieved. From 1580 to 1640—a period of sixty years—Brazil was administered by the Spanish Crown, Portugal during that period being united to Castile and Aragon. In 1611 Indian affairs in Brazil became of moment and the king instituted there the *administrações* system.

Under this system each Indian group was to retain intact its village life and government. (The villages were called in the Portuguese '*aldeas*'.) The village *site*, however, was to be the property of some planter. The Indians were to be accounted freemen, and were to work for wages. But they were landless, and were obliged by law to work for the planter whose land they lived on. This planter might sell his land; in such case the Indians were obliged to labour for the new landowner. The wages of the Indians were to be determined by collective bargaining; negotiations would be carried on between the planter and the Indian agents of the government.

The laws of 1611 aimed at the civilization of the natives. Labour was scarce on the coast, and Indians were plentiful in the interior. It was therefore provided that civilian officials were to be appointed to go with bands of soldiers into the interior, describe to the Indians the advantages of living and working on the coast where they would have all the good things of European life, and persuade them to settle in *aldeas* on the coast. These peaceful missions, with the soldiers going along

only to protect the agent, were rather successful. The officials mentioned, when returning to the coast with Indians, would become the administrators (Indian agents) for the aldeas they formed, one agent to an aldea. He would have assisting him a friar or priest to teach the Indians.

Manifestly the *administração* system, though historically a revision of the *encomienda* system, with the same motives and objects and having the same effect, is in form quite different in many important respects. The *encomienda* is one of the world's unique types of labour organization; its progeny, the *administração*, is equally unique in its way. Conceivably both systems might be applied with good effect to labour anywhere and everywhere, though, of course, it is not likely that they ever will. Yet we may note that the idea of collective bargaining is nearly universal in dealing with industrial labour to-day.

The agitation of the Jesuits led by Vieyra against some abuses of the system attracted the attention of the Portuguese Crown when Portugal in 1640 again became a distinct nation with its own sovereign. The Portuguese Crown was possessed of as sensitive a Christian conscience as was that of Spain; and on delicate questions it was advised by an official Board of Conscience.

In 1655 Lisbon somewhat revised the system. Religious and civil officials were forbidden to receive control of aldeas. The Indians were to be obliged to sell their labour only for two months out of every four. Wages were to be paid in advance. In each capitania or province there was to be appointed a protector of the Indians responsible, not to the governor, but directly responsible to the Crown. He was to supervise the agents in the aldeas. New aldeas were to be formed by Indians from the interior as before, but every embassy to the interior must be accompanied by a Jesuit who would see to it that the Indians should not be coerced.

Despite some abuse, the *administração* system in Brazil, like the *encomienda* system in Spanish America, worked for the preservation and education of the Indians. In the northern regions, where there were still numerous Indians at the time it

was put into effect, Indian rather than negro blood is there still dominant in the population.

During the twenty-five years that the Dutch controlled northern Brazil they used the administracão system, a striking fact when we consider the contrasting nature of the Dutch Indian policy in North America.

Having outgrown the initial experimental period of mal-administration in the West Indies before about 1544, the encomienda system, judged by its results, effected the preservation and the europeanization of the Indians. The encomienda, with its segregation provisions, was comparable to both the mission settlements and the reservation. The Indian was segregated from contact with degrading aspects of European life which could be carried to him in the course of indiscriminate contacts with Europeans; but he was constrained to labour and learn under the guardianship of the encomendero and his aides. Removed from contact with vice, disease, and alcohol, he was taught to labour. The thousand aboriginal independent political states were welded under the sovereignty of the Crown of Spain, and internecine war was ended, with its disruption of economic life, its diffusion of disease, and its many deaths. In peace and quiet the native was able to live, increase, and learn.

The North American native was destined to be less fortunate than the natives of Latin America, the Philippines, the Dutch East Indies, and so on, where forced-labour schemes were introduced. He was not to receive a forced education, some measure of protection from an overdose of freedom, and absorption into the new scheme of things. Instead, he was to be endowed with a vain and inglorious freedom, neglect, and eventual rejection and extinction!¹

¹ In addition to the reference on the above subject in *The American Indian Frontier*, I wish now particularly to add L. B. Simpson, *The Encomienda in New Spain: forced native labour in the Spanish colonies, 1492-1550*, University of California Publications in History, vol. xix, 1929. This is a documentary survey for the West Indies and Mexico, with translations as appendices—notably of the long report of Fray Toribio de Motolinia to Charles V, 2nd January 1555, extracted from the Documentos Ineditos (Mexico). Also C. Jane, *Las Casas and the early history of America*; and his *The Administration of the Colons in Española, 1493-1550*, in the Proceedings of the International Congresses of Americanists, 1924 (Pt. 2), 1926 and

1928. See also Jane's 'The opinion of Columbus concerning Cuba and the Indies', *Geographical Journal*, 1929, and his 'New lights on Columbus', *Contemporary Review*, 1930.

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CHAPTER IV
THE INDIAN POLICY OF THE CATHOLIC
MISSIONARIES

I. (a) THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE MISSION PROGRAMME

MISSIONARY interest in America came with the arrival of the Dominicans in Haiti and Cuba in 1510. While there they enlisted the Franciscans in a campaign for the protection of the Indians, and they converted Las Casas, who for ever stands out as one of the greatest figures in the history of the frontier.

Las Casas, when twenty-eight years old, had come to America with his father in one of Columbus's caravels in 1502. His father became a holder of a repartimiento or labour gang of Indians in Haiti. Las Casas was then a licentiate. In 1510 he took holy orders and in that year with a layman partner, De Rentera, took a labour gang or encomienda in Cuba.

When the Dominican fathers preached, this Cuban priest and his partner scoffed at them. But in that very same year while on a business trip to Jamaica, De Rentera¹ stopped for a Lenten retreat in the monastery there, and in his meditations came to feel that the forced-labour system was destructive to the natives and therefore wrong.

Returning to Cuba he convinced his clerical partner of the same thing, and both of them voluntarily surrendered their claim on the labour of the village of Indians which they held in encomienda. They sold their goods and paid passage out of the sums received for Las Casas to go to Spain and plead with the king to abolish the forced-labour system. In 1522 Las Casas became a Dominican.

He became the Dominicans' debater and pleader in Indian affairs and always held the favour of the sovereign. He was eloquent and a brilliant writer, and was involved in controversies which held the attention of all Spaniards interested in Indian affairs. The most memorable attack upon his theses against the morality and right of the forced-labour system was

¹ Not Las Casas as I erroneously had it in my 1928 book.

that by Sepulveda about the time Charles was prepared to abolish the *encomienda*. Sepulveda attempted to prove Las Casas treasonable or heretical in his thought and expressions. But so much did the court admire the honesty and brilliance of Las Casas that Sepulveda's work was suppressed in Spain!

But, as we have pointed out in our two previous chapters, despite the court's willingness to give ear to them, the missionaries at first had no means of proving that the forced-labour system was not necessary to effect the civilization and conversion of the Indians. They had no definite counter-programme.

But by 1537 Las Casas the indefatigable had developed a counter-programme. Monasteries were to take charge of the settlements of Indians, and under their tutelage the Indians were to work, not for Spaniards, but for themselves. We have mentioned in the last chapter the demonstration from 1537 to 1542 of how the monks could succeed in winning Indians to the Spanish sovereignty where force of arms had failed and how, as a result of this, the Crown ordered the abolition of the secular forced-labour system. And how the colonials refused to permit the forced-labour system to be abolished.¹

With the failure of the New Laws in 1542 which aimed at this abolition, Las Casas retired from active life to become an historian. But now the Society of Jesus, organized in 1539 and given Papal recognition in 1540, a critical year for the American Indian, brought a new enthusiasm, intelligence, and determination into missionary activity, and immediately became ascendant in missionary affairs. In 1549 Jesuits entered Brazil, and in the same year certain Dominicans consulted with Las Casas and immediately were off to Florida.

The failure of the New Laws had taught the monks it was no longer of any use seeking to free Indians already in the bondage of the existing forced-labour system. They turned their eyes instead to the millions of Indians as yet unsubdued by Spain or Portugal. They would compete with the conquistadores for the control and guardianship of these as yet savage pagans. They had the promise of the king that whatever savage

¹ See above, p 857f.

Indians they could win over to accept the sovereignty of the Crown would never be turned over to the colonists, that the missionaries should administer the villages of their neophyte Indians. No enterprise in the world's history was ever more vast in its ambitions; and none so vast was ever carried on against larger odds, or with more intelligence, heroism, and energy.

The conquistadores were often men of noble blood; so were the missionaries. The missionaries had the same vaulting spirit. Many of them were learned men, but not pedants. Like Fonseca, they were able administrators, but they were humane. The tale of their adventures as explorers and as conquistadores of souls in the jungles and in the plains and deserts is as moving and vivid a narrative, as full of the heroic, as that of the quests of the men of blood and iron in the Americas. It forms a vivid picture which is inseparable from the medieval background to which it belongs. It is a pity that the average American knows so little of their marvellously interesting romance. In our treatment, however, we must confine ourselves here to a brief summary statement of their work.

(b) *The Jesuit Missions of Paraguay.*

The greatest material achievement of the mission policy was in a region which included a large section of what is now Paraguay and of adjacent sections of the Argentine, Uruguay, and Brazil.

The Paraguay enterprise is significant not only in its magnitude but in its unqualified success during more than a century, and as a demonstration that the mission policy was adequate to the civilization of the Indians.

In 1609 a few Jesuits entered the Paraguayan wilderness. By 1614, 119 missionaries were there. At first their missions were repeatedly destroyed by Brazilian slave-raiders, but in 1636 the mission Indians were given fire-arms and the raiders did not reappear. But, thereafter, the government at Buenos Aires, despite the fact that so early as 1612 there was a population of some 200,000 whites and half-breeds and civilized natives in

the five chief cities of the Argentine, repeatedly drained the missions economically in requisitions for labour for building of fortifications and for Christian Indians to use as soldiers in defending Buenos Aires against Brazil.

Meanwhile the Abipones and other horse-riding Indians of the plains were a menace, and difficult to convert to settled life. But all obstacles were surmounted until in 1767, as a result of European involvements, the Jesuits were expelled from all Spanish territory, and their work was ended.

Beginning with nothing, virtually without aid from the Crown or the colonists, raided by Brazilian slavers, scoured by attacks of several European diseases, exploited by Buenos Aires, they numbered some thirty rich and prosperous missions with 140,000 Indian population, largely of the Guarani race and language. *To each family of five in the villages there were thirty-five head of cattle, two oxen, two horses, seven sheep, and vast acreage of wheat fields, of orchards, and of fields of the herba maté, which had been domesticated by the Jesuits and was grown for export as a means of paying for the European goods imported by the missions. Any community in the United States to-day would be glad to be so rich per capita!*

Upon the expulsion of the Jesuits the missions were made into secular reservations. Inefficiency and dishonesty on the part of the agents soon ruined them. Says Doblas:

The Jesuits were skilful, moderate and economical. . . . The secular governors and the administrators appointed by them, besides not having the intelligence of the Jesuit fathers, regarded the goods of the communities as a mine which they might be allowed to work but a short time. It is not strange, therefore, that the communities were impoverished.

The missions fell into ruins and their bell towers were swallowed up by the forest. Their inhabitants disappeared from the missions. But they were by this time civilized and christianized, having been, for more generations than were the California Indians, under the training of the missionaries; they did not turn back to savagery but settled in freedom outside the missions and became part of the ancestors of the million or so

civilized Indians who, still speaking their Guarani tongue, make up the modern population of the Republic of Paraguay.

(c) *Chile and the Araucanians.*

At the same time that these missionaries had entered Paraguay the great negotiator, Father Valdivia, a seventeenth-century Las Casas, aimed to do for the unconquerable Araucanians what Las Casas had done in Guatemala nearly a century before. Down to the memorable Biobio river the conquistadores were able to conquer and to command the Indians, but below the Biobio lay the utterly unconquerable Araucanians whom even the Incas of Peru had been unable to subdue.

In 1610 Father Valdivia received command of the Biobio frontier from the king and the viceroy of Peru. Immediately he ordered that the Spanish soldiery must not cross the Biobio. He then assured the Araucanian chiefs that if they would permit missionaries to enter their country unarmed and alone merely to reason with them, that he would order the fortifications on the Spanish frontier to be demolished as evidence of a desire only for peace and friendship. In 1612 the chiefs agreed, and Valdivia, true to his word, had the fortifications demolished.

Nine years of great promise then followed for the missionaries to the Araucanians. But the greedy militarists on the Spanish side of the frontier chafed at the restraint which kept them from commanding the now peaceful Indians. In 1621 Philip III died, and his successor ended Philip's concession to Valdivia. The Spaniards above the Biobio again attacked the Araucanians. Missionary activity was at an end.

From 1621 to 1870 the Chileans were still trying to conquer the Araucanians, but failed, and the Indians remained as savage in 1870 as they had been in 1610.

In 1870 they came to terms with the government of Chile. Since then their story is one of decline similar to that of the plains Indians in the United States. Had Father Valdivia had his way in 1621, 250 years of war would have been avoided, and the death of a great native people been averted.

(d) Spanish Missions in the South-Eastern United States.

Before the first Dominicans reached Florida in 1549, De Narváez, and again, De Soto, had vainly attempted conquest there. For three years or more, with an army of 1,500 Europeans, De Soto ravaged the territory of what are now the States of Florida, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, and adjacent Arkansas and Texas, marching as far north as the site of the present city of Nashville, Tennessee. But De Soto met death, and only forty of his army survived to wander down to the Paruco in Mexico. The first Dominicans, under Fray Luis Cáncer—who had been associated with Las Casas in missionizing Guatemala—sailed from Vera Cruz, Mexico, in an unarmed vessel, without soldiers, but they too met disaster, several being slain by the Indians.

Not until the pacification of Florida, in 1565, by De Aviles was missionary effort resumed again. De Aviles was a humane and wise 'conqueror'. He did hardly any fighting, and then only when persuasion failed. Through clever and patient persuasion, backed by the *threat* of force, he won over the Indian nations of the peninsula and the coast of what is now Georgia. In order to win the Calusas he himself married the sister of the chief of the nation!

He had the power to introduce the encomienda system if he chose to. But he did not, and instead encouraged the development of the mission system.

Owing to the insufficient number of missionaries available for the vast work undertaken in all the Americas, missionary progress was slow in Florida and Georgia even after De Aviles's pacification. Jesuits began work in 1565. By 1570 they were preaching (but in vain, here) even to the Cusalas tribes of the coast of what is now South Carolina. In 1587 the Franciscans arrived to take over the Jesuit work in the province of Guale (coastal Georgia). From 1597 to 1602 these Guale Indians were in revolt against the government, but repeated destruction of their villages and fields by the garrison sent up from St. Augustine brought them to terms, and missionary activity was resumed with great success. In 1655, on this Georgia coast,

there were four mission villages with churches. They each had names beautiful in their combination of Spanish with Indian. There were San Buenaventura de Boadalquivi; Santo Domingo de Talaje; San José de Tapala; and Santa Catarina de Guale. By 1680 in addition there appears on record the mission town of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe de Tolomato.

From 1606 on, the work in north Florida and Georgia progressed most rapidly. In 1606 there were some 6,000 Indians (not all Christian) in the mission villages. Just two years later, in 1608, there were 12,000, 10,000 of whom were Christian. In 1612 thirty-two more Franciscan missionaries arrived. By 1617 there were 16,000 mission Indians. In that year the curse of small-pox appeared, and one-half of them died.

In 1633 the missionaries entered Apalatchee—north-western Florida, home of the Apalatchee Indians. In the course of some decades the entire Apalatchee country was converted, and every Christian town was furnished with a stone church and belfry. In 1676 twenty-four additional Franciscans arrived.

By 1649 greater Florida was so prosperously Christian that the Crown was considering erecting it into a bishopric. During all this period the bishop of Cuba was the virtual ruler of greater Florida, and the garrison at St. Augustine existed merely to afford protection to the missions when called upon by the missionaries. The garrison was never to be used for conquest, merely for defence. One-half of the cost of the military establishment was borne by the Church. No European immigration was permitted. The south-eastern United States was to be for ever a land of Christian natives.

(e) *The Slave-Raiders of Carolina destroy the Missions of Georgia and Florida.*

Statistics are not available on the population and wealth of all the districts of Florida in the days of its greatest prosperity, about the year 1680. Those available, however, some of which we have already given, suggest that the state of the Florida missions compares favourably with that of California in the eighteenth century.

Soon these achievements were to be destroyed. The first attacks were made upon the missions of what is now the coast of Georgia (Guale). The first aggressors were the savage cannibal Yuchi Indians, a people who had been driven out of their home in the north by the Iroquois who had been provided with fire-arms. About 1670 they reached Georgia and annoyed the missions, but they were not too serious a menace. The great changes came to them when the slave-raiding English from Carolina turned greedy eyes on the mission populations. These raiders first appeared in 1680 with some 300 Yuchi, Creek, and Cherokee auxiliaries. The Indians were supplied with fire-arms, in the use of which they had been previously instructed.

The mission Indians had no fire-arms, and the St. Augustine garrison was too far away for prompt action, and, in any case, was too small. By 1688 the burning and slave-raiding had so ruined the Georgia missions that they were abandoned and the remnant Indians moved south to the protection of St. Augustine.

Invasion by slave-raiding Creeks and Yuchi reached down even into the peninsula. But the missions of west Florida, the 'province' of Apalatchee, the most fruitful and flourishing of the missions, were not seriously injured until the outbreak of war between England and Spain. For several years the Carolinians instigated the powerful Creek confederacy to raid the missions, promising to buy all captives as slaves. In 1704 came the culmination of the destruction with the expedition of Colonel Moore of Carolina.

The Carolinians were particularly grieved by Spanish control of Florida because Florida offered a haven for runaway slaves. Any slave from foreign regions became free on reaching Florida. It is a fact, of course, that it was politically desirable for Carolina to end Spain's control of Florida; but it is certain also that the ruthless destruction of native mission civilization there was unnecessary and criminal, and that it was done by people whose only immediate motive was slave-raiding. Moore, with an army of only fifty English volunteers—whose pay was to be their plunder—and one thousand Creek Indians, advanced on the Apalatchee mission villages of northern Florida and of what

is now southern Georgia. Each of these Indian mission villages possessed a stone church and bell tower, extensive cultivated fields, and good fortifications—all developed by the Indians under the tuition of the friars.

By royal edict the mission Indians had been forbidden the use of fire-arms; they had to fight the Creeks, armed with English guns, with their hopelessly inadequate bows and arrows. Only thirty Spanish soldiers, under the control and command of the missionaries, were available for the defence of the whole of the 'province of Apalatchee'.

The result was the wiping out of the budding civilization of Apalatchee, and the reversion of the country to wilderness—in which, however, in Bartram's day the ruins of the beautiful old churches were still visible in the semi-tropical forests. The English and Creeks deliberately slew six thousand head of cattle, horses, and sheep; and slew and took prisoners from six to seven thousand of the Indians of the missions. *The Creek auxiliaries were permitted by the English to burn at the stake fourteen mission Indians and three Franciscan fathers.* The remnants of the natives of the missions were scattered.

Moore and his Carolinians took 1,400 captives. Thirteen hundred of these, however, had surrendered without resistance, and according to Moore's orders from the government these could not be made slaves; Moore and his men then had only 100 captives available for the slave market. The 1,300 were colonized near Charleston.

But 3,500 captives had been taken by the Creeks! These plainly were purchased as slaves for the Carolina rice and indigo plantations and for sale to Puritans of New England.

(f) *Retribution.*

Now comes a strange story.

One of the pagan tribes which had helped destroy the missions, the Yamasee, settled down in the deserted mission village of San Antonio de Aracopia, on the Georgia coast, for a time, then moved on up to the equally depopulated South Carolina coast. Some of the Georgia Guale mission Indians who had

been moved by the missionaries down to St. Augustine for protection decided to try living on the winning side, deserted the missionaries, and joined the Yamasee either while these were in San Antonio, the depopulated mission town, or when already in Carolina. In Carolina these Yamasee and ex-mission Guale Indians became friends of the 1,300 Apalatchee ex-mission Indians who had been colonized in South Carolina by Moore. These three groups collectively were now known as the Yamasee; linguistically they were somewhat related.

Swanton, who has exhaustively studied the Carolina sources for these years, asserts that all the South Carolina Indians were now gradually becoming sick of being used as raiders for the traders, and of the extortions of the traders, and that the offences of the traders caused the Yamasee conspiracy of 1711. This was only four years after the devastation of Apalatchee. At any rate, the Yamasee laid plans to revenge themselves on the traders. The massacre planned appears to have been aimed only at these, not at the much more numerous population of planters, nor the merchants in Charleston. There were about 100 traders out among the Indians and they had the Indians in debt. The Indians prepared to exterminate their creditors and then, it seems, to flee from Carolina. They first sent their women and children down into Florida. Then, without warning, ninety of the hundred traders were slain and their stocks confiscated.

The other whites promptly set out to punish the Indians; and quickly North Carolina and her Indian allies came to the rescue. The Yamasee stayed long enough to capture a Carolina fort and put its garrison of seventy whites and forty negroes to death, and then fled to Florida, where several thousand of them, ex-Christian and pagan both, accepted mission life.

The expense of the military forces called out against the Yamasee was great. To meet the costs paper bills of credit were printed as money. The currency inflation ruined the merchants of Charleston, and the colony ended the 'war' in debt with no chance of collecting the money owed by the fleeing Indians!

But the attacks on the mission, of the pagan Creek Indians

particularly, continued. The Yamasee and their ex-mission fellows in Florida were shortly almost exterminated. Yet one little group of about a hundred¹ appears to have slipped up again to the Georgia coast to its old mission home near the destroyed mission of Nombre de Dios de Anacarisso, and when Oglethorpe arrived to found the colony of Georgia in 1732 these were the only Indians to be found in fifty miles around; beyond that were the Creeks. Ten years after Oglethorpe arrived—he too was an enemy of mission Florida²—the utter extermination of the mission Indians was completed. Their place in Florida was taken by the pagan Seminole Creeks who had done so much to exterminate them. Elsewhere we shall briefly note what happened to these Seminoles, some of whom are still in southern Florida on the edge of the millionaires' colonies there, still pagan.³

(g) *The Tragedy of Huronia. The Missions to the Hurons and Iroquois.*

The Recollects began work among the Algonkian river tribes on the St. Lawrence in 1615. In 1626 the Jesuits arrived and took over the field. In the 1630's the Algonkians down-river and in Acadia were decoyed and corrupted by the fur-traders. The permanent population of Canada numbered about two hundred, nearly all in the fur-trading post of Quebec; but in summer the river was alive with trading-ships come for furs. Montreal was at first little more than a mission establishment. The Jesuits, hindered by the hostile fur-trading interests in which the Huguenots were powerful, decided to push on into the western wilderness beyond European influence, much as they had done in Paraguay.

Father Brébeuf, a man like so many other missionaries, of noble extraction, university education, and fine bearing, with several lay assistants pushed on to Huronia, the country of the Huron Indians, between Lake Simcoe and Nottawasaga Bay in what is now Ontario. These Indians numbered considerably more than 30,000 living in fortified villages, each having a population of from 1,000 to 3,000.

¹ The Yamasee—see *The American Frontier*, p. 257.

² See above, pp. 871 ff.

³ See below, p. 1035.

In 1635 the missionaries had their head-quarters in the Huron village of Ihonatiria. In 1636 there were six priests there, including by this time Father Jogues. Other missions then were begun, but the decimation of the plague and the menace of Iroquois attacks led the Father Superior, Father Lalemant, in 1639, to concentrate the work in a fortified mission village on the banks of the Wye river, a village which they called St. Mary. In 1641 missionaries were sent out to the Petun Hurons, the Mohawks, the Ojibways at Sault Ste Marie, and the Nipissings. The whole of the Great Lakes area was to be missionized.

Just as the epidemic of 1636 passed—an epidemic which was described in Chapter I—the pagan Iroquois, furnished with fire-arms by the Dutch fur-traders at Albany, New York (then Rensselaerwyck, New Netherlands), began to push with a new violence their long-standing hostility to the Hurons. The Hurons, weakened by the plague and without fire-arms, were destined to be easy victims for the Iroquois with their extensive equipment of fire-arms. In 1640, somehow, a peace between the French and their Indians and the Mohawks had been signed. But the other four tribes of the Iroquois confederation were insistent on continuing the war, and the Mohawks rejoined them. In 1642 the first great blow came, in the successful Iroquois attack on the frontier town of Huronia, the fortified town of Contarea, the bulwark of Huronia. The town was burned down, and its population of thousands put to death or taken away captive to worse than death.

The fall of Contarea left the town of Teanaostaia (of 2,000 population) and the mission of St. Joseph exposed to the Iroquois. But the Iroquois for the next six years were to concentrate their attacks on the Ottawas and the Algonkians of the St. Lawrence river. The latter they quickly destroyed, the refugees fleeing west to settle among the Hurons, and beyond, on Green Bay.

Had the missionaries been able before this to bring peace and Christianity to the Iroquois, this and other terrible acts of the Iroquois against other Indian nations would have been pre-

vented. But neither in these days nor in the next century were the missionaries able to win over this haughty people. They were drunk with the vanity which the power of the Dutch fire-arms gave them. Ultimately, the crime is the guilt of the Dutch fur trade.

Father Isaac Jogues had been preaching to Algonkians, Petuns, and other tribes, and in Huronia since 1636. Canoeing from Quebec with supplies for the Huron missions in 1642 he and two lay assistants were taken captive by the Iroquois. One assistant, Goupil, was put to death; the other was scalped. Jogues was cruelly tortured, kept a prisoner for a year, and then assisted to escape by the Dutch of Albany and Rensselaerwyck, and sent home to France.

In 1644 the Italian father, Bressani, was likewise taken prisoner with a French lad whom the Indians put to death. Bressani was tortured and then given as a slave to an old woman who, finding him useless because of his fingers mangled in torture, sent him for sale to the Dutch, who ransomed him and also sent him on to Europe. In 1645 both Bressani and Jogues returned to Canada. This year a new and also very transient peace again had been made with the Mohawk tribe of the Iroquois confederation, and a missionary was to be sent to them. Father Jogues and Lalande his lay assistant had the courage to go.

One cannot fail to admire the tremendous courage of these pioneer fathers, who knew too well that they were taking their lives in their hands when they canoed out into the wilderness, savage and cannibal: for the Iroquois were indeed cannibals. They knew that mere death was not the worst danger they faced. For the fiendish cruelties of the Iroquois torture awarded prisoners cannot be equalled in any grim dungeon which has ever disgraced society. Not hours, but days of torture which defies imagination, followed by a cannibal feast, was the fate of selected captives, and this the pioneers of the missions consciously and calmly knew.

Just as Father Jogues arrived among the Iroquois, so did drought and small-pox. As we have described elsewhere, the native sorcerers blamed these on Jogues, put him to death,

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and sent his missal and breviary to the Dutch preacher in Rensselaerwyck.¹

In 1647 the Iroquois began to turn with renewed attention from devastation of the Moundbuilders and various Algonkian tribes, back to the Hurons. A Huron ambassador pleaded with the Susquehannocks, who bordered the Iroquois on the south, for aid:

The speech he made was not long. He told them that he came from the land of Souls, where war and the terrors of the enemy had laid everything waste, where the fields were covered only with blood, where the cabins were filled only with corpses, and that there remained to them no life except what was needed to come and tell their friends that they might have pity on a land that was drawing to its end.²

In 1648 the Iroquois and Dutch fire-arms finished their task. By this date the Jesuits had Huronia well on the way to complete christianization after many trying years of preparing the soil, with Christians outnumbering pagans in Ossossame, with the Petun Hurons at last permitting the establishment of a mission, with crosses studding the land; the Iroquois renewed their attacks on Huronia and utterly destroyed it, scattering the remnants of its inhabitants.³

The missionaries martyred in the attempt to found a Canadian Arcadia like those of Florida and Paraguay have been canonized lately—in the year 1930; these, of glorious memory, were Fathers Jogues, Brébeuf, Lalemant, Garnier, Daniel, and Chabanel, and the lay assistants Lalande and Goupil. It is interesting to note in one of Father Brébeuf's letters of 1638 his expressed wish: 'Grant me, O Lord, so to live, that You may deem me worthy to die a martyr's death.' In reverencing these, however, one cannot forget the fine courage of those like the

¹ See above, p. 839.

² *American Indian Frontier*, p. 271.

³ I have summarized the above chiefly from the Jesuits' own letters, found in the *Jesuit Relations*, pages referred to above, p. 839 n. On the Iroquois, see *The American Indian Frontier*, and below, pp. 979 ff. On the dispersion of the Huron remnants after 1648, see Coyne, Withrow, Jones, and Marquis, referred to below, p. 899. For other general references on the Canada missions, see the references in my 1928 book.

Italian father, Bressani, who repeatedly faced again the tortures which they had already experienced and witnessed.

(h) *Maryland.*

It is little known that missionization in Catholicism made a promising beginning under the second Lord Baltimore. Subsequently the Jesuit missionaries here were faced by the fact that they were limited to the very narrow field which Maryland represented. At times the period of the Civil Wars in England brought Puritan insurrection and dominance into Maryland itself, breaking off all forms of activity. The christianized Indians were involved in the almost universal devastation wrought by the Iroquois and their Pennsylvania relations, the Susquehannocks. Those tribes who were not christianized during the early efforts we have to note briefly here were soon brought under the influence of the Dutch from the Delaware Bay and otherwise involved in tribal warfare which radiated from the north into Maryland Indian territory. The early promise of the Jesuit missions in Maryland, under the circumstances, could not possibly be realized. However, the almost forgotten fact of their remarkable early achievement is significant, particularly in comparison with the contemporary destructive Indian policy pursued in Virginia.

In 1634 the first colonists arrived in Maryland. They founded the only colony in English North America to be established under a Catholic proprietor, Lord Baltimore—the first colony in North America to grant religious freedom to all,¹ the only colony to give a Celtic name to its eventual metropolis (for Baltimore was the name of an old Irish manor), the only English colony to permit the Catholic missionaries to work among the Indians.

Only six short years after the arrival of colonists and missionaries, the conversion of the overlord or 'emperor' of all the Indians of the Maryland side of the Potomac river, numbering some 5,000, could be announced, and, along with him, his

¹ Lord Baltimore even invited the Puritans of Massachusetts to send colonists to Maryland. No Catholic, on the other hand, nor even any Anglican, dared settle in Massachusetts!

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of the Araucanians, the Guatemala tribes of Tuzulutlan, and others had been of no avail.

In one expedition alone the viceroy of Mexico had vainly expended some \$225,000! So in 1686 the Viceroy gave the Jesuits temporal as well as spiritual sovereignty over the peninsula, promising them financial aid of about one-sixth of that amount, aid which it appears never materialized.

Great success against great odds attended the missionary efforts. The Crown was delighted, and when a company of financiers wished to buy the peninsula for a great sum, having learned of its pearl fisheries, the king refused, fearing corruption of the Indians. The pearl fisheries the missionaries ignored, fearing lest, if they were exploited, official greed might win against the mission ideal.

In 1765 the Jesuits had to turn the work over to the Franciscans. In 1773 these turned it over to the Dominicans, having themselves in 1679 moved up into the then savagery of what is to-day the California of the United States.

The Franciscans built missions up to and including San Francisco, twenty-three mission villages in all. In 1773 they turned the missions of the lower peninsula over to the Dominicans, confining their efforts to the newer territory in the north.

The Indians of California were not agriculturists. They were hunters of wild animal and vegetable food, living in the crudest huts. The Franciscans turned them into relatively prosperous, relatively civilized farmers and agriculturists.

The California missions not only were self-supporting but produced a surplus for expansion. This was so despite the facts that after about the year 1800 the colonial Mexican Government, later the Empire, and then the Republic of Mexico, ruthlessly robbed them in one way and another, and that governmental interference with the civil administration of the Franciscans weakened the morale of the missions and spread disease.

Between 1800 and 1819 these Upper California missions (only twenty-three villages with 20,000 Indians!) were called upon to give up to the military, which was now virtually out of the

control of the missionaries and doing them more harm than good, commodities to the value of about \$400,000; and besides had to furnish much labour gratis to the military and to the settlers whom Mexico was now permitting to enter. Yet in this period of exploitation the population of the missions slightly increased (5 per cent.) and their wealth in cattle and sheep increased about 20 per cent.

So that in 1819, to each family of five in the missions, there was on the average thirty-eight cattle, forty sheep, and one horse. In their fields these Indians, who not long since were primitive hunters, produced to the family of five, eighteen bushels of wheat, six bushels of barley, seven and one-half bushels of corn, and large quantities of cotton, hemp, grapes, olives, vegetables, &c. In 1834 with a mission population including pagan Indians under instruction, dwelling in the villages, there were left only 15,000 Indians; still they had 424,000 head of cattle, 6,200 horses and mules, 321,000 sheep, goats, and hogs, and extensive orchards, vineyards, workshops, dwellings, and other buildings, and in that year they produced 122,000 bushels of wheat and other grains.

In 1908 there were only 3,000 out of these one-time prosperous tribes left! And these were in wretched poverty!

The decline began with the weakening of the power of the Crown in Mexico. In 1822 Mexico became a kingdom under the Emperor Iturbide; in 1825 the nation became a republic. The rulers of the new nations endeavoured to secularize the missions and allot their lands and property to the mission Indians. They stirred up the Indians against the rigid but wise paternalism of the friars. The soldiery irritated the natives and angered them to revolt. The mission Indians often fled to their compatriots in the wilderness. They had been forbidden the use of horses, save for ploughing and traction, by the missionaries; now they learned to ride and took to marauding on horseback, giving up their settled life. They raided the stock of colonists and the military posts. They killed and ate their own stock.

In 1845 Pio Pico made himself governor of California and

defied the Mexican Government, which was attempting, by this time, to stop such complete disintegration. Pio Pico planned to take most of the mission lands and put the mission Indians on barren reservations. Before he could carry all his plans into effect there came the influx of Anglo-Saxons from the United States, the acquisition of California and what is now our south-west by the United States from Mexico, and the discovery of gold in California with the rush of massacring miners.

The 15,000 or so Indians who were still left in 1848 in their villages could have been brought back to their old stability and progress. But the United States Government herded them on to barren reservations which were continually encroached upon: left them to their own resources to decline in prosperity and in numbers.

Naturally, with the deathblow to the old missions came an end to expansion. Under the United States, those of the remaining 20,000 or so of as yet 'wild' Indians in the rest of California who survived the wholesale massacres of the forty-niners were herded into reservations and left to shift for themselves as best they could, there to rot and die in ignorance and disease, so that to-day, where *there might, under a wise policy, be hundreds of thousands*, there are but several thousands.¹

2. THE NEGLECT OF THE OPPORTUNITY IN PROTESTANT NORTH AMERICA

The story of Protestant Christianity on the frontier is largely one of a neglect of an opportunity to save souls, and to preserve and civilize the indigenous population.

The sovereigns of the states of northern Europe, when trespassing upon the Portuguese and Spanish claims in America, were sensible of the fact that the Hispanic nations were given the New World by the Pope on condition that they attempt the christianization and civilization of the Indians. As Christian

¹ On the United States and the California Missions see below, p. 1040f. For other mission areas see *The American Indian Frontier* and its bibliography, and below p. 899, n. 2. The Pueblos of the south-west United States, the Iroquois Christians settled in Ganawaugha village, the Texas missions, the attempts in French Louisiana, and Brazil and the Amazons would require description in a fuller study.

sovereigns these others of north-west Europe felt called upon to avow the same objects in beginning enterprise in America.

So, in chartering companies for colonial enterprise, or in granting lands to proprietaries, these monarchs were careful to express in writing, in the grants of privileges to their agents, that the purpose of the 'plantation' was not to destroy or rob the natives, but to lead them to Christianity and civilization. The agents of the Crown likewise expressed their purpose repeatedly to help and teach the natives.

Thus, the royal charter of Massachusetts Bay Colony insisted that 'the principal end of the plantation' is 'to win and incite the natives of the country to the knowledge and obedience of God'. The governor of the Virginian Company in 1609 announced, concerning the Indians, that 'we propose to make it known to them all by some public proclamation that our coming hither is to plant ourselves in their country, but not to supplant and root them out, but to bring them from a base condition to a far better'. The non-Hispanic European sovereigns and their agents were conscious of the fact that Spain and Portugal actually made very serious efforts to comply with the condition imposed by the Pope, preventing intimate contacts between the Indians and any Europeans except their tutors. These tutors, in the case of the official policy, were their taskmasters or *encomenderos*. In the missions they were the missionaries. In the *encomienda* the Indian was forcibly obliged to accept European tutelage. In the *administrações* and the missions he was merely persuaded to accept the settled life. But once accepting life in an *administração* or mission the Indian was then, under the Crown, obliged to obey the orders of his tutors.

The mission Indian was forced to labour, in that he could not refuse to obey the order of the mission authorities, given at dawn each morning, to go out in the fields or shops and to the herds and do the tasks allotted to him. Moreover, in the missions, as in the *encomienda*, labour was by gangs under the direction of overseers, at least pending the appearance of individual enterprise and willingness on the part of the Indians to labour

without close supervision. In the missions, as elsewhere, police and soldiery stood at hand to enforce the order to labour. The Indians were often led to accept subordination to the mission authority from fear that, in the course of time, the military forces of the conquistadores would overwhelm them and enslave them, or put them in *encomiendas*.

The missions are comparable to reservations in that they reserved land for eventual allotment in fee to the Indians, and that, meantime, the land could not be alienated, and in that, pending the economic development of the Indians, a segregation policy was enforced. They differed from reservations in that the Indians were forced to labour under instruction; they were subjected to compulsory education.

The mission policy, differing not very essentially from other Latin American forced-labour policies, was an effective alternative to the official or secular policies, and where it had the opportunity to carry its plans on to fruition it proved itself as a preservative of the Indian race and as an efficient method for the social and economic Europeanization of the natives.

Already in 1617, when the little English settlement of Virginia was just beginning to give assurance that it would be a success, there were 16,000 Indians in the Jesuit missions on the coast of Georgia (Guale) and Florida just below the territory claimed by Virginia.

In 1641 the Jesuit missionaries in Maryland just above had converted the emperor or overlord of nearly all the tribes of Maryland, and were on their way to missionize the entire native population—this after just six years of work! But Virginia, the first actually established colony of England overseas, so far as I can discover never even sent out a single missionary to the Indians! Even when Pocahontas, daughter of the great Indian king Powhatan, was married to a leading colonist and baptized, there was not the slightest attempt to follow up this union by an attempt to persuade Powhatan and his 15,000 subjects to consider adopting Christianity and accepting English political sovereignty and tutelage.

The colony of Carolina, established in 1663, was equally

negligent. Carolina's place in the history of Christian missions lies in her only achievement in this field—the utter destruction of the missions of Guale and Apalatchee in Georgia and Florida below, achieved with the aid of cannibal bands of savages, followed by the burning at the stake by the savage auxiliaries of three Franciscan fathers, missionaries, and fourteen Christian Indians¹ and the enslavement of fourteen hundred other mission Indians.

In Puritan New England John Eliot and Thomas Mayhew are lonely and almost lost figures who, without moral or other support, in the middle of the seventeenth century missionized a few hundred Indians in Massachusetts. The officials of the Puritan colonies called these Christian Indians into military service against the pagan Indians,² and the Christians rapidly died off, the remnants retiring to secular reservations. As in the other Protestant colonies the official Indian policy involved rejection of the Indian from the white community, and correspondingly no attempt or desire to assimilate him or convey civilization to him. In none of the New England colonies, not even in Roger Williams' Rhode Island, was there evident even a sincere desire on the part of officials, clergy, or lay leaders, to see the Indians established or absorbed as Christian communities. The official spirit is actually, I honestly believe, after long study of the original records, summed up in the spirit which led a Mather in 1676, after a wanton massacre of six hundred virtually helpless Indians, to enter the pulpit of the leading Congregational church in Boston and (in his own words) 'thank God that this day we have sent 600 heathen souls to hell'.³

The Reformed and Lutheran sects of the Swedish and Dutch settlements were equally negligent. In 1710, however, in a late period when the former New Sweden was in Quaker hands (Pennsylvania), the Swedish Church sent a missionary to the

¹ Undoubtedly the roasted victims were eaten among the North Americans, since on the Piedmont eating of the sacrificial victim was customary. (I am making a study of human sacrifice among the Hurons and Iroquois and their neighbours; at present my materials are in manuscript.) But see above, p. 825 f.

² See Gookin, p. 899, n. 2.

³ See below, p. 952.

Indians of Pennsylvania. He was so puzzled by the questions on Lutheran theology which the Indians asked him through interpreters after one of his first sermons that he promptly returned home, wrote down in book form the problems raised by the Indians, and presented the book to the department of theology of Upsala University for discussion and reply.

The second century of Protestant missionary enterprise opens without more than perhaps some two hundred or so Christian Indians. In the same year, 1710, that the Lutheran Swedish missionary gave up, the British Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts translated the Bible into Mohawk. But it gave the Bibles to the traders(!)—bootleggers and cheats—to distribute to the Indians. Moreover, the Indians could read neither their own language nor any other! From 1715 to 1718 the Rev. W. Andrews preached to the Mohawks. This was after the government of New York had ordered the Jesuits off the ground. Andrews gave up in disgust, with this Christian utterance: that the Indians were a 'sordid, mercenary, beggarly people, having but little sense of religion, honour, or goodness among them; generally living filthy, brutish lives, and being of such "inhuman savage natures" as to kill and eat one another. "Heathen they are and heathen they will remain."' ¹

The German Moravians and Mennonites went out into the wilderness. In the middle eighteenth century they converted some hundreds of Delaware Indians in middle Pennsylvania and in Ohio, and settled them in prosperous little villages, where the Indians unfortunately accepted the pacifist doctrines of their teachers. These villages were destroyed by massacre by the Scots-Irish Presbyterians of the frontier who, like the Puritans, looked on the Indians as Canaanites who should be extirpated.² The Quakers did practically nothing. The two missionary chronicles resulting from the vain efforts of two of their emissaries are the most pitifully empty of imagination, high emprise, and spiritual sincerity of any frontier chronicles of any kind that I have ever read.

¹ See below, pp. 1011 ff.; and MacLeod, *American Indian Frontier*, pp. 346, 415.

² *Ibid.*

In the nineteenth century Protestant missionaries were more active, but among the reservation Indians. On the coast of British Columbia, the Episcopalian missionary Duncan demonstrated that the Tsimshian head hunters could be made, socially and industrially, thoroughly European, and established a remarkably flourishing village of 1,000 Christian Indians.

Under the administration of President Grant in the United States a new reservation policy was put into effect, under which each Indian reservation was put under the virtual control of a missionary. The several Christian sects were allotted separate reservations as fields of influence.

The apportionment, however, was miserably inequitable, especially to the disadvantage of the Catholics. Tens of thousands of Catholic reservation Indians were on reservations in which Protestant clergymen were given almost absolute control. During the few years that the new plan operated, the United States reservation system was almost comparable to the mission village system of the monks in Paraguay and California, and was consequently really effecting some measure of civilization on the reservations. But the sectarian squabbles resulting from the bitterness and greed of the sects which aimed to profit from inequitable apportionment of spheres of influence put an end to the system of missionary control and the reservation system reverted to type and the Indians to decay and extermination.¹

In conclusion now let us return to the Latin missions and consider their system as a technique of conveying civilization to the Indians, for the mission system called not only for the conversion of the Indians, but for their assimilation, as autonomous communities, of whatever social and economic aspects of European civilization might be of advantage to them.

3. THE FORMAL ASPECTS OF THE CATHOLIC MISSION INDIAN POLICY

(a) *Mission opportunism.*

Protestant missionaries, like the Dutch Megapolensis, have been scathing in their denunciation of the methods of the Latin missionaries. The Latin missionaries never hesitated to win

¹ On the background of 1871, see below, pp. 1043 ff.

over the Indians by keeping the old pagan ceremonials and, by adaptation and remodelling, making them serve as a part of the Christian ceremonial. The great hunting festival of the Kootenay Indians of our own north-west, for example, was made a harmless part of the Christmas celebration. These critics forget that Europe was christianized in the same way. Our Easter and Christmas celebrations, for instance, afford various examples of absorption and adaptation.

The Latin missionaries were not joyless utilitarians. Neither did they stand much on their dignity as divines as did their bibliolatrous rivals. The Jesuits in Brazil, like Andrews among the Mohawks, met the fact of cannibalism. One Jesuit succeeded in getting it abolished by the Indians of one tribe 'by going through their villages and flogging himself before their doors until he was covered with blood; telling them that he thus tormented himself to avert the punishment which God would otherwise inflict upon them for their crying sin'. Rather than see their friend suffer thus the Indians were persuaded to give up their cannibalistic practice. The Jesuit Aspilcuets, 'when he became sufficiently master of the language to express himself in it with fluency and power', adopted the recitative chanting manner of the medicine-men or shamans, 'and sang out the mysteries of the faith, running around his auditors, stamping his feet, clapping his hands', and copying all the curious tones and gesticulations which the shamans used.

One cannot fail to be interested also in Father Le Jeune's observations in the use of pictures on instructing the Indians. Very manifestly, and we know it well enough to-day, pictures are invaluable in instruction and in stirring the imagination and emotions. But Father Le Jeune is particularly keen about the value of pictures which arouse the emotions of fear. Some Indians down-river had protested to him about the emphasis on the fear of hell; they would be more tempted, they said, by promise of health here and heaven beyond. But, says Le Jeune as a result of his experiences, and so far as I can see back into Huronia of those days he was probably right: 'Fear is the forerunner of faith in these barbarous minds.'

He gives an example of how, showing a dying Huron a picture of hell fire and hell's torments, he persuaded the Huron to believe and die in faith, and observes (and again he is certainly right):

Heretics are very much in the wrong to condemn and to destroy representations which have so good an effect. These sacred pictures are half the instruction that one is able to give the savages.

But the good father was very disappointed with the quality of some pictures sent to him on his order from Quebec—pictures of hell's torments to aid in the work of conversion:

They are too confused. The devils are so mingled with the men that nothing can be identified therein, unless it is studied closely.

If someone would depict three, four, or five demons all tormenting one soul with different kinds of tortures, one applying a torch to it, another serpents, another pinching it with red-hot tongs, another holding it bound with chains, it would be of good effect. Especially if everything were very distinct. And if rage and sadness appeared plainly in the face of the lost soul.¹

The worthy missionaries, as we have observed, were realists, and, moreover, had a sense of humour, even those faced as they were with ever-present danger of torture at the stake. The Indians considered beards a deformity and plucked their own out. Pictures of Christian story showed men with beards. Sometimes the Indians were worried lest they should have to wear beards in heaven; some just laughed uproariously.² Back to France wrote Father Garnier: 'For God's sake send me a picture of Jesus without a beard!'³

(b) *Mission Soldiery.*

The Latin missionaries never deliberately sought martyrdom, although they faced it fearlessly when necessary. But they have been criticized because they used soldiery in their mission work. Let us note the significance of this military aspect of the policy.

¹ *The Jesuit Relations*, vol. ii, p. 89 (1636).

² *Ibid.*, p. 209. On Raleigh's idea about using pictures, see above, p. 845.

³ On beards and religion note the prohibition below, p. 1023.

Each mission organization in the Spanish colonies in its initial stages supported a body of Spanish soldiers at its own expense. These soldiers were used for defence and defence only: largely for the defence of the Indians of the missions against the wild tribes. In employing their own defensive force the missionaries had the opportunity of selecting as soldiers and captains only the better type of available men who were without disease. In fact, the type of soldiers the missionaries themselves selected and commanded became equally imbued with the mission spirit and purpose and frequently consented to serve without pay when the mission had no money to pay them.

The mission soldiery became a native militia in the Paraguay missions and others where the mission Indians were at last brought to the point of development where they no longer needed Spanish support, and Spanish soldiers were then dispensed with.

In California, however, before this point could be reached and while European soldiers were still needed, chiefly for defence of the missions from wild tribes, the presidios and their forces were taken from the control of the missionaries (1822), although the missions were still chargeable with their support. The most degraded types of men, rotten with disease, were then sent as privates and officers. Almost immediately after this change (1824) the result was a revolt by the mission Indians directed not so much against the missionaries as against the exactions and brutality of the soldiers.

The soldiery, Spanish or native as the case might be in different stages of mission development, were used first of all as guards for missionaries in their embassies to wild tribes to plead with them to come in to the missions and settle down under the control of the missionaries. Back in the missions the soldiers were used not only for defence against attacks of wild tribes, but as police to keep order and to prevent the running away of any mission Indian who should change his mind about remaining under the authority of the mission and might wish to leave for the wilderness; for in mission practice once any Indians accepted the mission life they accepted the supreme authority of the

Spanish Crown and the immediate jurisdiction of the mission government. They could not renounce their citizenship and its obligations. If they ran away for one or another reason, soldiers were sent to hunt them out and bring them back.

All in all the Latin missionaries were realists, seeking only the surest means to a given end. They could not afford to be humanitarian to the point of silliness out on the edge of the wild frontiers they settled, and in the midst of the many enviroing dangers to the life and organization of their missions. They were never squeamish about using their soldiers in defence, or about ordering them to flog a lawbreaker such as a returned runaway. One missionary in Lower California was sent back to Mexico in 1747 because 'unfortunately his extreme delicacy of conscience developed into undue scrupulousness, possibly the result of overwork or the loss of sleep. . . .'

Nevertheless, they were in fact always essentially gentle and humane. For instance, in 1697 wild Indians attacked a recently established mission. Father Salvatierra, who was in charge, forbade the soldiers to shoot until they were absolutely forced to save their lives, 'so that none may die without baptism and so go to perdition'. In the attack he risked his own life, weaponless. He forbade the soldiers to follow or punish the wild Indians when they retreated. Salvatierra's show both of force and of humanity soon won over this wild tribe to accept mission life.

The unfortunate thing in this connexion is that the Latin missions were not better equipped to return bullets for bullets. Had the Huron mission about the year 1649 been adequately armed or supported by a French force they could have been saved from the Iroquois. Had the Florida mission militia been provided with fire-arms or supported by a few hundred more Spanish soldiers, they could well have been saved from destruction by the Creeks and English.

(c) *Mission Organization.*

In the missions the native political organization was retained, modified somewhat so as to accord with Spanish models. The

native chiefs became municipal officers. The missionaries were the supreme municipal authorities with power to check the activity of the native officers, but this was designed to be temporary, as it was expected that eventually the mission villages would become free municipalities without missionary censorship.

The economic organization of the missions was communistic. For this especially have the missions been severely criticized. I am in full agreement with the critics who point out that communism is, normally, spiritually and economically evil, but I feel that they are in error in condemning it in the missions. They generally overlook the fact that the missionaries did not make use of the communist organization save as a temporary expedient which would be brought to an end when the mission Indians were ready to take their place in the Spanish organization as citizens of a free municipality (*pueblo*).

This communistic organization was not a feature of native Indian life. It may have originated in the missionaries' imitation of the communism of the early Christian Church, or in imitation of the communism of monastic organization. It was designed as an educational expedient. Missionaries were too few for the task of quickly converting all the wild Indians, so economy of effort was necessary. Only two missionaries could be spared for each missionary village, and sometimes only one. The educational work piled on the shoulders of each missionary was enormous. The communist organization facilitated his work. It made control simpler.

In the California missions the more capable individuals, however, were already being permitted to work independently with certain acres and certain herds, free from communal supervision, and, as an incentive to increase their production, were allowed to hold for themselves the produce of their labour. This change to private property was being prepared for in other missions. In many missions in Mexico, Peru, and elsewhere this stage had been passed; the Indians, at last being taught to labour and preserve their capital and land, were allotted their shares of the communal property, and the missionary tutors moved on to new fields.

(d) Biased Critics.

Much of the contemporary criticism of the missions and their policy came from persons and organizations who were greedy to exploit either the lands and property of the missions or the labour of the mission Indians. During the eighteenth century the agitation for 'liberty' in the missions was actuated by such greedy motives. Once the Indians, while still only half-civilized, could be made free of missionary control and given as private property their share of lands and implements, it was then easy, by getting them drunk, to have them sell their all; 'the astuteness and sagacity of the Spaniards would triumph easily over their rusticity'. And, as Cunninghame Graham, student of the Jesuit 'Arcady' of Paraguay, observes, the slogan 'liberty' was used as a stalking-horse by political thieves and enemies of Indian welfare, 'as greasy testaments are used to swear upon in police courts'.

Eighteenth-century rationalists and anti-clericals, very learned doctors of philosophy, whose biases got the better of their common sense and practicality, furnished slogans which greedy colonials could use for their own less disinterested purposes. Some varieties of learned doctrinaires affected, like Rousseau, the idea that the primitive savage lived a noble and free life and that the missionaries substituted forced labour and all sorts of horrible coercion for this. Thus the Venezuelan sociologist Salas has recently compared the mission Indians with the 'savages who wander in the forest, free lords of the soil which they tread and of the elements which were afforded them by the prodigality of American nature', and so on after the usual fashion.¹

This sort of uncritical nonsense is too typical. Such authors should read a few good monographs on the economic life of typical wild tribes of, for example, California. They would see that the aboriginal Indian had a life full of what the distinguished anthropologist Mooney calls the 'infinite forms of cruelty, brutishness, and filthiness which belonged to savagery from Florida to Alaska', and that to exist they had to undergo

¹ J. C. Salas, *Civilización y Barbarie: estudios sociológicos americanos*, 1919 (p. 71).

a ceaseless round of unremitting labour. The economic statistics which I have already given are enough to show the ridiculousness of the claim that the mission Indians were not economically infinitely advanced beyond the wild state; or that the missionaries sacrificed temporal needs to spiritual ones.

In retrospect, now we can see that the mission policy was devised to compete with the official forced-labour policy expressed in the *encomienda* and the *administrações*. It borrowed many of the features of the official forced-labour policy. For one thing, it borrowed the segregation idea, whereby the Indians, for their period of tutelage, were kept away from immediate contacts with the colonists, their liquor, and their diseases. Like the *encomienda* plan, the mission plan provided for the instruction of the Indians in the ways of civilization. On the *encomienda* the instruction was directed by the exploiter of the natives; in the missions, it was by the missionaries, who took nothing from the Indians save in that old missions bore much of the expense of establishing new missions. Both the *encomiendas* and the missions were planned to, and did, eventually lead to the freeing from tutelage of the civilized Indians; but, while the terminated *encomienda* left native peons on a colonist's land, the terminated mission left free Indians on their own land.

The Indian reservation which developed in North America segregated the Indians, as did the *encomienda* and mission. Unlike the Indians of the mission and the *encomienda*, reservation Indians were not obliged to adopt civilized employments. And unlike the Indians of the missions, the tutor furnished them, when any one was furnished, was an 'agent', a political appointee, invariably an incapable 'job' seeker, possessed of no interest in his charges and incapable of doing anything except harm.

Slavery, the *encomienda*, and the mission were all systems of compulsory education in essence. All had merits when compared with the *laissez-faire* of North America. But it is obvious from our analyses that the *encomienda* forced-labour system was preferable to slavery; and that the mission system was preferable to the *encomienda* system.

(e) *Some contemporary Protestant views.*

In 1709 John Lawson, the surveyor and historian of Carolina, who travelled from one end to the other of the colony, knew the Indians thoroughly, and apparently knew something of the missions established in Spanish Florida, advocated white-Indian intermarriage, and also the adaptation for the solution of Carolina's Indian problem of the Catholic mission plan.¹

But Lawson was soon a victim of an Indian massacre provoked by slave-raiding fur-traders; and we have seen above something of the attitudes of official Carolina and Georgia to the idea of missionizing Indians.²

Lord John Russell, in 1821, then British prime minister, in a letter to the governor of the Colony of New South Wales in Australia, recommended for handling the Australian frontier native problem a plan of armed mission settlements similar to that of the Catholic missions in America. And, in the United States, the Protestant clergyman and governmental investigator, Jedidiah Morse, in his report on the problem of the Plains Indians in 1821, made to the President of the United States, advocated something similar. (We have seen that in 1870 there was an unfortunately brief trend in this direction in the United States.)³ I doubt that either Lord Russell or the Rev. J. Morse knew anything about the fundamentals of the Catholic missions in America; more likely the fact of the frontier problem pointed to the same solution. It was not until a decade later that America (U.S.A.) came into close contact with the great California missions and observed their success. Then we find such observations as that of G. Bailey, Special Agent for the United States Interior Department, who wrote to Washington, the 4th November 1858, that:

Whenever in California an Indian is discovered superior to the mass of his fellows, it will be found, with scarcely an exception, that he speaks Spanish (not English), from which it may safely be inferred that he was once attached to some mission. There is about

¹ See J. Lawson, *Carolina*, 1709 (published in 1714); and his *New Voyage and Journal*, 1709.

² Above, pp. 871 f.

³ Cited in Snow, *The Question of Aborigines*, 1921.

the same difference between these mission Indians and the wild tribes as there is between an educated American negro and a wild African; these have both undergone the same process, and with very nearly the same results.¹

The observation of mission results is first-hand and valuable; but Bailey is of course wrong in his idea that the negro slave and mission Indian had undergone quite the *same* process; here Bailey is speaking quite offhand and not from observation.

Let us finally quote from Denig, a fur-trader, another non-Catholic contemporary observer, whose own personal interests, as he notes, scarcely comported with his honest recommendations, who, however, had an Indian wife and several mixed-blood children and was clearly interested in seeing the native preserved. In 1854, on request of the governor of the Oregon territory, he made a report on the condition of the Plains Indians (a report just published, however, in 1930!). The governor had warned that 'in all questions where the interests of the tribes clash with those of the persons whom you may consult, there is much caution required'. This caution Denig made note of in writing this conclusion:

Now, our personal interests and those of every trader are at direct variance with any innovations in the present employments² or organization of the Indians.

Any improvement in their condition mentally, or the introduction of other pursuits such as arts or agriculture, even the inculcation of the Christian religion, would immediately militate against the trade and unfit the Indians for being only hunters or being regarded only as a source of profit.

We are perfectly aware that the policy advised in these pages, if acted upon, *would effectually ruin the trade*³ and with it our own personal interest and influence in that capacity. All these things have been well considered, and had they any effect would only have led to our remaining silent on the subject; but, having written, we prefer placing things in their proper light, aiming at great general good, and thus, without comment, the whole is left in the hands of those for whom it is intended.

¹ *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1858, p. 304.

² Speaking for the fur trade.

³ Our italics.

What he had advocated was missionization of the Indians by the Jesuits. It is the only hope of the Plains Indians, he says. He had even himself urged it upon the Jesuits of St. Louis University of Missouri. And he explains:

Not being of the Catholic persuasion, it is not on that account that the Jesuits were thought of in that connection, but that they have more zeal, knowledge, perseverance, and tact to manage Indians than any others I know of.¹

This was a vain suggestion to make to the governor of Oregon territory! At that time—but of this Denig, twenty years in the Plains, probably did not know—the Know-Nothing Party in league with the Methodist clergy were implicated in encouraging the most horrible massacres of Indians in the north-west, and in the editorials of their newspapers calling alternatively for the removal from Oregon or the extermination of all Indians and Catholics!² But very probably the governor of Oregon never read the report.

¹ Denig, his summary observations in his report.

² See below, p. 1041.

In addition to the bibliography on missions in my 1928 work I would add the following, since come to hand, and referred to above. J. H. Coyne, 'The Jesuits' Mill or Mortar: the Great Dispersion of the Hurons, 1649-1651', *Proceedings, Royal Society of Canada*, Series 3, Section 2, vol. xx, 1926; E. T. Denig, 'The Indian Tribes of the Upper Missouri', 1854, in the *46th Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology*, 1928; E. R. Forrest, *Missions and Pueblos of the Old Southwest*, 1930; J. Pedro Gay, 'History of the Paraguay Missions', MS., translation, in library of Bureau of American Ethnology, Washington, D.C.; D. Gookin, 'A Historical Account of the Sufferings of the Christian Indians in New England in 1675, 1676 and 1677', published in the *Transactions of the American Antiquarian Society*, vol. ii, 1836; F. W. Hodge, 'Pawnee, Tatarra, and Harahey', *American Anthropologist*, vol. xvii, 1915 (on the exact locale, with tribes, of the first martyrdom in the United States in Kansas, 1541); A. Bandalier, 'Fray Juan de Padilla, the first Catholic missionary martyr in eastern Kansas, 1540', *American Catholic Quarterly Review*, vol. xv, 1890; 'Documentary history of the Rio Grande Pueblos, New Mexico', *New Mexico Historical Review*, vol. iv, 1929, and vol. v, 1930; R. Jones, 'Old Huronia', *5th Annual Report, Bureau of Archives, Ontario Province*, 1920; O. Maas, *Documentos sobre las misiones del Nuevo Méjico*, Archivo Ibero-Americano (Madrid), vols. xxxii and xxxiii, 1929-30; T. G. Marquis, *The Recollect-Jesuit Mission in Canada*, 1917; W. H. Withrow, 'The Jesuit Mission in Canada', *Transactions, Royal Society of Canada*, 1915. Interesting comparisons are made in R. Ricard, *Indiens et Morisques*, cited above, p. 864.

CHAPTER V

THE *LAISSER-FAIRE* INDIAN POLICY IN NORTH AMERICA

I. THE NORTHERN FRONTIERS OF LATIN AMERICA, 1607

THE North American Indian frontier of the English, Dutch, Swedes, French, and Russians must be considered, in a sense, a frontier of frontiers.

In the first place, it is true that advancements in culture tend to spread outward from centres of origin like the ripples arising in water when a pebble is dropped in. Advancements in civilization in the aboriginal Americas appear to have entered the central region from over the Pacific¹ and thence spread north and south into North and South America. Thus, at the time of the coming of the white man, to the highly civilized Aztecs and Mayas the relatively rude agriculturists beyond in what is now the United States were frontier barbarians; and to these, in their turn, non-agricultural hunters beyond their zone were frontier barbarians. The introduction of Latin civilization into what we call Latin America increased the cultural gulf between the highly civilized centre and the relatively primitive peoples of what is now the United States.

Spain, through her colonial agencies in Mexico, was moving civilization northward into what is now the United States long before the first real settlement of non-Spanish Europeans was made (Jamestown, 1607). Missions were already flourishing in Texas (from 1580 on) and, as we have explained in Chapter III, the whole coast of what is now Georgia had been pacified and christianized, with towns somewhat similar to those of the better-known California missions. Exploration had reached as far as Nashville, Tennessee;² and a missionary had already been martyred among the Pawnee or their kin in what is now east-central Kansas (Quivira and Harahey).³ Shortly after the inception of English, French, and other non-Spanish enterprise,

¹ See above, p. 825.

² De Soto, 1541.

³ With Coronado, 1541, see Hodge and Bandalier references, above, p. 899, n. 2.

the great success of the missionaries in Huronia about 1640-5 demonstrated further the practicality of mission technique for the civilization of the North American Indian; as, later, its practicality was demonstrated on the west coast among the non-agricultural Californians. Sporadic Protestant efforts, in time, demonstrated the practicality of this technique among the Delaware Indians (Moravian), and among the head-hunters of the far north-west coast in the former Russian sphere (Metlakatla).¹ In Virginia, John Smith's experience—and so he reasoned to himself²—made it plain that the alternative Spanish encomienda system could be applied successfully to the North American Indian; and much later British Columbian experiences certainly tend to confirm this deduction for the north-west.³ In other words, the North American Indian was no irreclaimable savage.

Spain's accomplishments in Latin America certainly indicate her worthiness to continue the work she had already, before 1607, pushed on north into Georgia (Guale). The Aztec, Maya, and Incaic Indians and the economic fundamentals of their civilization remained (and still remain), but on to this base had been grafted a Spanish populational element and the best of what European civilization had to offer the Indian. The constant internecine warfare of small tribes and petty city states was abolished. A great peace fell upon the land, a *Pax Iberica*. The eucharistic sacrifice replaced human sacrifice. Steel tools replaced bronze, copper, and stone. In Spanish America in 1574 there were—Indians aside—about one hundred and sixty thousand Spaniards. Only four thousand of these were holders of Indian peons (encomenderos); the others were settlers, miners, traders, and soldiers. Many of course were creoles, that is, whites born in America, but it is evident that little Castile, to which emigration was limited, was more fruitful of emigration to America than we sometimes think.⁴

Of civilized, christianized Indians living under Spanish rule in cities and towns there were about five million. In the forests and

¹ See *The American Indian Frontier*, pp. 346-7.

² See below, p. 912.

³ See below, p. 920.

⁴ Compare below, p. 984.

plains and deserts there were yet many more to be brought to subjection and civilization. Further, there was a considerable population of mixed-bloods, principally mestizos; and, besides, 40,000 negro slaves.

To these figures of Spanish America, in order to visualize the whole of Latin America, one must add the many thousands of whites, negroes, and civilized Christian Indians on the coast of Portuguese Brazil. Of the Spanish provinces, Mexico undoubtedly stands out in this period as culturally most advanced, although it furnished less silver from its mines than did Potosi in the Andes. And Mexico City was the metropolis of all America. *In 1574 it had a population very much larger than the capital of England of that date.* There lived in Mexico City then 150,000 Indians, still speaking the Aztec language, and 15,000 Spaniards. The city boasted a university of quality, a boys' and girls' high school, and four hospitals, one of which was for Indians. Latin American culture in Mexico reached up along the Gulf Coast towards the Mississippi river. The town of Vera Cruz comprised 200 Spanish families and 600 negro slaves; but no Indian population.¹ And as far north as the Rio Panuco there was Spanish settlement so early as 1542, and to this river the survivors of the De Soto expedition came for refuge down from the mouth of the Mississippi.

In 1553 in Mexico City the University of Mexico was founded. Two hundred and forty years before Harvard taught medicine this university opened its medical school. Eighty-six years before Hunter opened the first school with dissection in England the Mexican school had begun the study of anatomy and surgery with dissection. About 1600 the great and famous hospital in Guadalajara was opened by a bishop; even to-day this hospital is a model of its kind.

The first archbishop of Mexico and the Viceroy Mendoza set up the first printing-press in America in 1536, and at a time when there were few enough in the Old World; only a few

¹ For statistics, see de Velasco Lopez, *Geografía de descripción universal de Las Indias*, 1544; and for a quarter century later, T. Gage, *A New Survey of the West Indies* (all the Americas), 1648.

years after the subjugation of the Aztecs this press was turning out books of genuine importance.¹

In these same early years of the sixteenth century, in Santa Cruz, Mexico, a college for Aztec and other Indian students was opened, and soon Indian professors made up its Faculty. Under the same first archbishop who established the printing-press to publish both Aztec and Spanish books, an Indian graduate of this school became governor of the city of Mexico—Spaniards and all!

Far from destroying all Indian culture and Indian prestige the Spaniards preserved most of it. What North American document of the colonial period presents a treatise of any intelligence or real worth on North American Indian culture?—but one stands amazed at the patient and brilliant scholarship of the monumental treatise on Aztec civilization, *written in Aztec* from first-hand information, by Father Sahagun in Mexico City.² From the large class of Indian intelligence, the large class of wealthy Indian dons, the large class of Indian merchants whom the laws so favoured that Spanish merchants were disadvantaged,³ have come and still come great Indian names such as Porfirio Diaz, Majía, Urrutría, Munquía, Carrillo y Azcona, Alarçon, Attamirano, Estagnol, Sanchez Santos, Panduro, and Velazquez, in politics and the military sphere, in government, poetry, theology, surgery, philosophy, art, law, and journalism: while Indian policy in the United States was to produce only such as Sitting Bull, Geronimo, Chief Joseph, Pontiac, or such as the various Indian pagan messiahs.

By 1607, when Jamestown, Virginia, was founded, the forced-labour system was disappearing in Latin America, and the mission policy was working on the remaining savage Indians. For the most part the Indians were already as free as peasants

¹ See J. Torre Revelló, *Los orígenes de la imprenta en la América española*, 1927; and article in the *Boletín de la Biblioteca nacional, Caracas*, vol. iv, No. 18, 1928, p. 566.

² Consider also the magnificent literature largely concerning the natives represented by *La Florida*, written in 1588 by Garcilasso, whose mother was one of the Inca royalty, his father Spanish; and the *Araucana* for some decades earlier of Ercilla.

³ See the letter of Father Toribio to the king, 1555, in appendices to Simpson (referred to above, p. 863).

in Europe, settled in villages each with its church, and attached to each church its school.

Indirectly the Spaniards, or, more properly, the fusion of native and European culture which the Spaniards created in Latin America, contributed to the development of civilization in North America. Note, for example, that the tobacco, cotton, rubber, potatoes, sweet potatoes, asphalt, pineapples, and so on, *all elements of greater and less significance in the economic culture of North America* of to-day, are of Latin American derivation.¹

2. ENGLAND'S CELTIC AND AMERICAN FRONTIERS, ABOUT 1607

Since the English were to become the dominant element in North America, brief mention may be made of another aspect of North America as a frontier of frontiers, or as linked with other frontiers. England herself was marginal to the Latin culture of France and Spain. Her population numbered, in 1570, only about 4,000,000; and London counted only about 100,000. Now, half the area of the British Isles was then in the control of Celtic tribesmen, Scottish Highlanders, and Irish, who, all told, counted a population of perhaps 700,000, economically rather primitive and living in a state of constant intertribal war. The prospects of colonizing and conquering beyond their Celtic frontier intrigued the English, and shared their attention, even while they were working on the American Indian frontier. There was rivalry between the two frontiers for colonists and investment. On the 12th October 1605, for example, Chichester wrote from Ireland to Cecil, earl of Salisbury, that it was 'folly to run over the world in search of colonies in Virginia or Guiana, whilst Ireland was lying desolate'.² And a 'Planter's Plea' of 1630 cites the popular argument that, if England has any population to spare for colonization, it should be settled in Ireland rather than Virginia, since Ireland is nearer, is English property, is in some parts depopulated, is necessary to defence

¹ The white or 'Irish' potato was domesticated first by the Incas. Sir Walter Raleigh, despite popular fable, probably never saw a potato. The potato did not finally reach the United States until 1712.

² Brown (editor), *The First Republic* (Virginia), 1910 (see for date 1605).

of the English coast, and that the Irish 'need our help for their recovering out of blindness and superstition'.¹ But, on the other hand, Sir Walter Raleigh reminded the queen that a million pounds sterling had but recently (1600) been wasted in Ireland, and (thinking of Virginia and Guiana), 'a better kingdom might have been purchased at a less price'.² The English, however, found money and colonists for both frontiers, and at last Cromwell was to help the Irish 'out of blindness and superstition' by undertaking to 'send heathen souls to hell'³ in the same fashion that English colonists were about to help the Indians.

In the ensuing parallel development of both Celtic and Indian frontiers remarkably similar techniques were used. In 1599 King James VI of Scotland (later James I of England) chartered a joint-stock company to finance and carry out the conquest and colonization of the islands of the Celtic tribes of the Hebridean or Western Isles (one of which tribes, may I add, was the MacLeod!). This was seven years before the organization of the Virginia Company; and the story of the failure of this Celtic frontier enterprise is amazingly similar to the later story of the initial failures in Virginia—even with the massacre of the colonists by the 'savage' Celtic MacLeod islanders (in 1600), an event very comparable to the Indian massacre in Virginia in 1622.

The financial influence on the technique of English frontier enterprise became increasingly evidenced in the Celtic frontier activities of King James, and the same motivation and technique was *later* worked out on the American frontier.

Two years after the settlement of Jamestown, Virginia, James worked out a plan for the final subjugation of the Irish of Ulster and the colonization of Ulster by English. Since 1556

¹ *American Indian Frontier*, p. 152.

² *Ibid.*

³ Although not relatively well advanced politically and economically the Scottish Highlanders and the Irish were possessed of a rich culture preserved by the monks and were Roman Catholic in faith. M. V. Hay in his *A Chain of Error in Scottish History*, has, we may observe, corrected the error, so widely adhered to to-day, which mistakenly teaches that the Scottish and Irish Churches did not acknowledge the supremacy of Rome. For the first time he makes available in English a remarkable and fascinating letter of the Celtic missionary Columbanus.

a reservation system had been thought of for the native Irish,¹ and now one was to be applied to the north. The Celtic Irish of Ulster were herded into scattered reservations, the area of which totalled one-fifth of their territories, and made virtual peons of the particular English noble to whom the land of the reservation was assigned. The province of Ulster in time was settled by English and Scotch, and even some French Huguenot settlers, and the Celtic Irish were almost wholly displaced, even from the reservations. So much of an insecure frontier settlement of conquerors—or robbers, as you choose—did Ulster become that the peculiar psychology of the frontier, mingled of greed, hate, fear, and ethnocentric arrogance, has persisted to our own day as typical of the Ulsterites. Even to-day,² with the Ireland they hated and both despised and feared removed from them by a Free State border, this peculiar and not exactly attractive psychology causes them as a collectivity to bristle and strut and go through all the old but now purposeless motions, much like the wolf in the zoo who paces methodically and looks ferociously out upon the world years after all the objects of its hate are out of its reach on the other side of the fence.

Royal James, the Scots Anglican, achieved his ends in his clever fashion in Ulster. Cromwell, in the middle of the seventeenth century, used a different technique in the rest of Ireland, a technique of ruthless massacre very comparable in its worst aspects to the technique used by the English Congregationalists and Dutch Presbyterians on the North American Indian frontier between 1630 and 1650, and again in 1676. One-fourth (about 250,000) of the native Irish were put to death by starvation and the sword, and 80,000 were shipped as chattel slaves to the West Indies. Hope of exterminating the other 700,000 failed, and then it was planned to drive them all to a segregated area in the west (like the Cherokee and other Indians in later America), but this plan failed likewise.³

¹ *American Indian Frontier*, p. 163, and R. Dunlop, 'Sixteenth Century Plans for the Plantation of Ulster', *Scottish Historical Review*, 1925.

² I have just lately revisited Ulster. On Ulstermen on the American Indian frontier see below, pp. 1011 ff.

³ In *The American Indian Frontier*, p. 163, is noted the comparable practices of

3. THE FINANCIAL FOUNDATIONS AND DEVELOPMENT OF ENGLISH AND RELATED FRONTIER POLICIES IN NORTH AMERICA

We may now approach an analysis of the basic facts concerning the American Indian policies pursued in North America by England, and, similarly, by Holland, Sweden, Russia,¹ and France.

Fundamentally, it appears to the writer, the difference between these and the Spanish-Portuguese Indian frontier policies goes back to a difference in the technique of colonial finance. Perhaps one should allow more for the psychology of the seventeenth-century European nations interested in North America as compared with that of the Iberians working out their policy in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. In any case, it is certain that the initiation and actual development of the North American policies in their formative stages can largely be comprehended in terms of a difference in the financial organization and direction of overseas enterprise.

The difference goes back to the rise of the private and semi-public joint-stock chartered limited companies—to the rise, as we would say in the United States, of the business corporation. Joint-stock or business companies (limited) were a form of business organization well known in Italy, Spain, and Portugal in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. But in Spain and Portugal colonial trade and colonization was a State monopoly, and industry and internal trading seldom used the joint-stock form of organization.

Except apparently for southern France and Germany, the joint-stock company had *no* existence in trans-Pyrenean Europe until the organization of the first chartered company in England in 1535. English merchants had just initiated trade with Archangel, Russia. The Crown conceded them a monopoly. They

paying subsidies to the hostile tribes beyond the frontier on both Celtic and Indian frontiers—in Scotland, as late as 1688, in America, to the present day. See, in addition, on payments to Irish chiefs in 1372, E. Curtis, 'The Relations of the Irish Chiefs with the English Crown up to 1395', Part I of his *Richard II in Ireland, 1394-1395, and the Submission of the Irish Chiefs, 1397*

¹ Russia entered very late, in remote Alaska; on the Russians, see *The American Indian Frontier*, p. 139.

organized under the direction of Sebastian, son of the Italian John Cabot, who came north from Spain for this task; and, plainly under Cabot's influence, they *imitated Spanish and Italian business corporation models* and organized the first north European business corporation, the Russia or Muscovy Company. Thenceforth English, French, Dutch, Swedish, and Russian colonial trade, colonization, and conquest in both the East and in the Americas were to be in the hands of the great business corporations to which the respective sovereigns delegated most of their powers in overseas affairs. In North America it was the London or Virginia Company which started Virginia; the Swedish West Indian Company which started and ended New Sweden; the Dutch West Indian Company which started and ended the New Netherlands; the Massachusetts Bay Company which in 1629 began, and controlled, Massachusetts until 1689; the Company of One Hundred Associates, the French West India Company, and other such, with some instances of business partnerships¹ which initiated and controlled Canada and Louisiana.

The formative period in all the North American colonies was directed by these business companies chartered essentially for the purpose of pushing foreign trade. The aim of these companies in the early seventeenth century was, of course, profit for their stockholders. And their aim was nothing *else but profit*—wherein lay a fundamental difference of aim between them and the Spanish Crown, whose primary aim was the cultural and political assimilation of the Indians.

In his speech to the stockholders of the Virginia Company in 1610 the Reverend Dr. Crashaw exclaimed, apropos of English colonizing entrepreneurs: 'But tell them of planting a church, of converting ten thousand souls to God, and they are senseless as stones, they stir no more than if men spoke of toys or trifles.' . . . 'But', he also exclaimed, 'tell them of making 20 per cent.—oh, how they bite at it; oh, how it stirs them!'²

¹ See, for example, Biggar, *Early Trading Companies of New France*, 1910.

² Here I modernize the antiquated financial expression for percentage; see *The American Indian Frontier*, p. 127, where are also other contemporary views.

The Spanish colonization in its initiation was, financially and administratively, closely under the direction of the Spanish Crown. Conquistadores might volunteer to pay the cost of their own expeditions on the promise from the Crown of reimbursement from the spoils of conquest and an administrative post on the lands conquered; but never did the Crown relegate any of its powers to private parties or permit any deviation from its Indian policy, which *required always the absolute and unqualified submission to Spanish administration and one or another of the forced-labour systems used by Spain, including the mission system, in which under the eyes of soldiers and missionary administrators, the Indians were obliged to learn Spanish economic methods, and eventually to pay the cost of colonial development.*¹ *The initial cost, sometimes very heavy, of absolute conquest never deterred the Crown from insisting on no compromise with the erstwhile independent Indian tribes or states.*

The Spaniards in the days of their colonial vigour found subjugation, social assimilation, and economic exploitation of their Indians not a particularly difficult task. They pursued the task promptly before one and another tribe could acquire fire-arms and horses, while the Indians had only primitive man's weapons to resist the superior military means of the Europeans.

They carried out the task with professional soldiery, who were not diverted from it in a given area until it was completed. They cleverly used diplomacy, playing tribe against tribe, and holding the threat of force to obtain voluntary submission on the part of many native tribes. Thus they conquered much American territory with virtually no fighting. By striking at the Indian's means of subsistence, his cornfields, they forced the Indian to the alternative of starvation or submission, and refused always any peace except upon conditions of complete subjection and the acceptance of measures of social and economic assimilation invariably involving a forced-labour system under civil or religious control.

¹ In an early sixteenth-century attempt to missionize Venezuela Las Casas organized a joint-stock company of very brief life; this was chartered by the Crown. This was the only time the Crown ever considered this plan of finance for its colonies, and it was without effect, terminating within several years. See *The American Indian Frontier*, p. 128, where the date 1520 instead of 1535 should be read.

The Indians of what is now the State of Florida, for example, were subdued and missionized almost without the firing of a shot, merely through the threat of an attack by the formidable soldiery at hand and the diplomatic playing of hostile tribe against hostile tribe.

On the coast of Georgia the Indians gave some trouble in 1592, but the Spanish soldiery struck at the native cornfields and granaries and starved the rebels into submission. 'No harm, not even death,' wrote the commandant, 'that I have inflicted on them has had so much weight in bringing them to obedience as the act of depriving them of their means of subsistence.'

Incidentally, the 'pacification'—as Latin conquest was called—of Florida proceeded during the same years that the pacification of the Philippines was progressing (1565). The 'Indios' of the Far Eastern islands were treated in the same way as the 'Indios' of Florida, and subdued quite as bloodlessly; and in the Philippines the Spanish were left to work out the civilization of the natives.

The Indian policy in North America, outside the Spanish sphere of influence, was, in contrast to the energetic subjugation, exploitation, and assimilation of the Spaniards, a policy of what we have termed *laissez-faire* or 'hands off'. The Indian was treated as unwanted, pushed back and kept outside the range of European culture, left politically independent and unassimilated socially and economically.

The business corporations to whom the trans-Pyrenean sovereigns turned over colonial enterprise had themselves the task of getting the necessary money from the pockets of their stockholders and providing military defence and government for the established colony. The sovereigns themselves were financially unable to undertake the costs of colonial enterprise, while private capital was available chiefly through the medium of the corporation with its distribution of risk through limited-liability stockholding. In political power, in capital resources, in world-wide ramification of interests established through interlocking directorates, in achievement, these seventeenth-century busi-

ness corporations do not pale in comparison with the magnitude of our great modern corporate combinations of capital.

These business corporations, unlike the Spanish Crown, had but little of that zeal for propaganda of the faith which was the urge behind the crusading methods of the Spanish Crown. What they sought, as we have emphasized, was profit.

Moreover, to satisfy their importunate stockholders they sought *immediate* profits. Therefore they dared not, or so they thought, lay out too much in 'organization expense', that is, in promoting the project and developing it to the dividend-paying point.

In North American promotions '*too much*' was *very little*. In the formative period of the early seventeenth century, British, Dutch, French, and Swedish investors were lured by the wealth of the Far East and by the sugar and tobacco plantations of the tropical Americas. Abundant capital was available for the East India companies, and enormous dividends were paid on the stocks of these companies.

North America was out of the limelight. It promised little. The mines of silver and of gold first hoped for did not appear. Money sunk in enterprise in North America was more often than not a total loss, and seldom yielded profits in any way to be compared with those derived from investments placed elsewhere. There was never any encouragement to induce directors of North American enterprises to 'go in big'.

The subjugation of the Indians would require what was always considered too great an outlay for 'organization expense'.

And when Indian wars eventually arrived, the aim of all concerned was, not to carry on until the Indians were subdued, but to stop the economic and financial loss as soon as possible.

Some preliminary exemplification of this is desirable and we will choose particularly the first Nordic colony in America, Virginia, founded with the English settlement at Jamestown in 1607. This colony was founded and governed until 1624 by the Virginia Company, sometimes known as the London Company.

Virtually without precedent, save that of the Spanish, which required a larger initial outlay of funds than the Virginia

Company was prepared to make, its Indian policy wavered. In 1609, under the local directorship or 'presidency' of John Smith, it began conquest of the natives after the Spanish fashion, and then, after some promising success, owing to the bickering and dissension consequent upon the bad management of the period relinquished the gains made and busied itself with attempts to make the colony self-sustaining and dividend-paying without Indian labour or taxation. By 1619 the colony was self-supporting owing to the cultivation of tobacco begun in 1612.

That the following up of the occupation of Indian villages and cornfields begun at the Falls and at Nansemond in 1609 would have ended in successful subjugation of the then some 10,000 of native population under the rule of Powhatan there can be no reasonable doubt. After fifteen years of colonization (in 1622) there were in Virginia only about 4,000 settlers, including several hundred negro slaves; and, since the importation of white debtor-servants and of negroes was very expensive, the employment of the labour of Indians, who since unnumbered centuries had been used to hard labour in the cultivation of corn and tobacco, would have been an economic boon.

The first secretary of the colony, Strachey, resident in Virginia, advised in 1612 the subjugation of the Indians and their reasonable exploitation. But more interesting is the eminently practical soldier, sailor, and administrator, John Smith.

He tried to impress upon the directors of the Virginia Company—directors whose office was in London and who merely managed the business end of their enterprise from the home office—that the task of subjugating the Indians would be simple and easy if properly financed and managed. He himself offered to go through with what had been conspicuously begun in 1609, when he was for a time in command of the colony, and, sure of success, asked for no salary for himself, *only a right to profit by the exploitation of the subjugated Indians after the Spanish fashion*, in which the Indians were 'commended' to their conquerors and forced to labour for their profit.

He explained that the Indians should be kept from acquiring

fire-arms to the lessening of the relative military superiority of the whites. Under his administration the death penalty was the reward for any one selling fire-arms to the Indians, but since then the authorities had winked at the practice.

Still, as yet, the Indians had acquired but few, and Smith was sure that by undermining Powhatan's power through promising perhaps special privileges to discontented chiefs under him, and by getting the tribes hostile to Powhatan to attack simultaneously, within one year, with a small command of only forty professional sailors and 100 professional soldiers, he could subdue the Indians of Virginia and have them working, not for Powhatan and his under-kings, but for the colony through the mediation of John Smith and his garrison.

Smith emphasized this all-important point: *that what was, above all, necessary was a permanent garrison of professional soldiers, always under arms, always ready for action in offence and defence, never distracted with business as were the colonists.* Colonists, he explained, were too much concerned with the constant importunities of farming and trade to be able to afford the time and energy for warring with the Indians.

Some of the directors were willing to accept Smith's offer. But the majority replied that *the working capital of the company was insufficient* to finance even the small garrison Smith asked for, and that the economic rack and ruin consequent upon the massacre of colonists by the Indians in that year had destroyed the possibilities of further interesting investors in the stock of the company.

The result of the *laissez-faire* policy of the Virginia Company was its own economic failure. In 1622, before the Indian outbreak, there were in Virginia about 4,000 settlers, including the then very few negro slaves. These were scattered about in eighty settlements. The Indian massacre of that year was the beginning of twelve years of desultory guerrilla warfare. After two years of this there were left in Virginia only 1,253 whites and 22 negroes, and these were concentrated in six settlements; the other seventy-two plantations and their improvements had been ruined.

And this was what was left, after an investment of English capital in Virginia, between 1606 and 1622, of the then enormous sum of £200,000 taken from the pockets of more than 1,000 stockholders; not until 1619 had the colony become self-supporting, and only three years later had come this devastation and heavy capital loss.

The men on the directorate of the Virginia Company who had chosen the *laisser-faire* Indian policy rather than Smith's plan were big promoters and financiers who, in large part, were also heavily interested financially in the profitable East India Company and in profitable West Indian promotions.

Such was similarly the case with the directors of the Dutch West India Company, which in 1623 began its development on the Hudson and Delaware rivers, with the field office on Manhattan. At a time when this company could find any amount of money for the immensely profitable poaching it was doing in the sugar country of the Portuguese in northern Brazil, adopting there the prevalent Latin-American forced-labour system for the Indians,¹ it begrudged every dollar spent on the Delaware and Hudson. Despite the bitter lesson experienced in Virginia in 1622, it followed the Virginia *laisser-faire* policy of dealing with the Indian problem. There was no very serious restraint on the sale of fire-arms to the Indians because the company expected its profits to come chiefly from trade in the furs which the Indians brought in. So in 1643 and 1644 the company's local representative, Director Kieft, finally found an Indian war on his hands, not as a result of a programme of subjugation, but of the nasty irritations set up when sovereign political groups try to operate in the same sphere or territory. As a result of this Indian war the Dutch colony suffered as the Virginia colony did from 1622 to 1634.

The directorate of the company—meeting of course in Holland—seeing their North American promotion near ruin, appointed a committee of its members to investigate the situation. This committee reported on the 15th December 1644.

They pointed out the fact that, although Dutch traders had

¹ See above, p. 850.

been operating on and about Manhattan since 1598, and the present company had been pouring guilders into the Hudson and Delaware since 1623, the net result to the company had been a loss of 550,000 guilders (\$220,000), an enormous sum when measured in the then purchasing power of money.

Director Kieft proposed to the committee that the company forthwith undertake the subjugation of the Indians, or exterminate them. But the committee recommended against this, primarily because 'it would necessitate so heavy an expenditure on so uncertain an event and *so little appearance of profit*'. The committee saw no 'appearance of profit' in any case in North America. They recommended, however, that the New York office be kept open, but only because the Company owed a moral obligation to afford defence to settlers already placed on the Hudson and Delaware.¹

Director Printz, Delaware representative of the New Sweden Company, which founded what are to-day New Castle, Wilmington, Chester, and Philadelphia, likewise wanted his company to finance a campaign of subjugation and christianization of the Delaware Indians, but that company also objected *on the grounds of too great an expense in view of the small prospects of profit*.

The Crown of Great Britain watched with interest the struggles of British private enterprise in planting the British lion's feet firmly in North America, but would never lift a hand to aid in time of trouble. During Indian massacres the king merely sat back and drew more tightly the strings of his usually slender purse.

When the insolvent Virginia Company in 1622 asked James I for aid in its Indian war he promised much, and gave nothing. The company's bankruptcy was imminent. They were appalled when news of the 1622 massacre reached them. They appealed to the king to send soldiers and munitions of war, since they could not afford such. But the king felt that he could only afford to send arms and munitions, not soldiers, to the English in America. And when his orders were given, they were for what? In the Tower was an arsenal of old arms, obsolete and

¹ See the background of this, below, p. 993 f.

out of use, no longer available for contemporary European warfare, but, in the king's opinion, although 'altogether unfit for modern service', they were 'very serviceable against that naked people', the Indians. So, besides a variety of old pistols and daggers, he ordered the delivery to the company of '*one hundred brigentines, forty plate coats, four hundred shirts and coats of mail, 2,000 shulls of iron, 1,000 holberds and brownbills, and fifty murdering pieces*'. As for ammunition, he would lend the company twenty barrels of powder *on condition of repayment within six months*!¹ There were only 100 able-bodied men in Virginia to use these thousands of antiquated things 'altogether unfit for modern service'! So, the colonists were left to work out their own salvation.

When in 1715 the Carolina colony, then in its youth, was going through the throes of massacre by the Indians, when the Indians cancelled their debt of some £10,000 sterling to their creditors, the fur-traders, by massacring the traders, when the colony was already £80,000 in debt as a consequence chiefly of the Indian wars and the issues of bills of credit were ruining the merchants there, the Crown declined to open its purse.²

So parsimonious, or pecuniarily cautious, with regard to the southern colonies, the Crown could hardly be expected to be less so with regard to the nests of heretics in New England. So the United Colonies of New England fought out alone their Indian war of 1676. In this later war, with King Philip and his allies, one-tenth of the adult males of the United Colonies fell in battle, as many women and children had been slain, hundreds of homes destroyed, thirteen towns wiped out, a year's harvest lost, and English civilization in New England would have been wholly wiped out had it not been for the timely assistance of some christianized Indians who served the Puritan armies as scouts. The financial drain was almost ruinous, the cost to the United Colonies being about £80,000, or the equivalent of about \$2,000,000 in the present purchasing power of money.

¹ Brown, *First Republic* under 1622.

² See below, pp. 973 f.

These colonies did not trouble to ask for the aid they knew they would not get. Even the then English colony of New York smiled serenely at the misfortunes of the Puritans, *and at the trade mart of Albany sold King Philip's Indians all the arms and ammunition they had wampum and furs enough to buy.* The Puritans met a part of the costs of the 1676 war by the sale of 1,000 or more Indian prisoners as slaves in the slave markets of the West Indies and North Africa.¹

In the course of time the British Crown took control of one and another North American colony out of the hands of the various private enterprises, and the colonies became 'Crown Colonies', with policies to be determined by the Crown. But by the time the colonies became Crown colonies they were self-supporting and profitable, the *laissez-faire* Indian policy was set, and continued as the policy of the Crown and, eventually, of the United States, and the dominion of Canada.

This policy might have been accompanied by a mission policy. The missionaries had demonstrated their ability to convert and civilize the Indians with negligible financial cost. In French Canada for a period of a few years, as we have seen, missionized Huronia flourished, and its tragic story we have briefly recounted. The Protestant North American Colonies, as we have seen, cared nothing about the spread of Christianity. In general—witness for example our citation from Denig in the last chapter—fur-trading interests did not want the Indians to be made sedentary, civilized villagers such as was the aim of the missionaries, but, while these interests attempted to check missionization in French Canada, they were not the cause of the neglect of missionization in Protestant North America. That cause goes deeper—probably in the absence among Protestant sects of anything comparable to the Orders of the

¹ The reader will be inquiring about the 'proprietary colonies' under other than business corporation control. These are of very minor importance. Maryland was merely a small slice cut from the territory of the Virginia Company. The Carolina proprietors promptly organized themselves into a business company for exploitation of their territory. New York, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey had been under Dutch and Swedish business corporations for more than forty years before the English Crown acquired them. The English New Jersey proprietors organized business companies to hold and exploit their territories.

Catholic Church, Orders of men like the Jesuits, men without families, wanting nothing for themselves, burning with zeal to save souls.

4. CERTAIN ASPECTS OF NORTH AMERICAN POLICIES

In North America the Protestant colonies, early—beginning with Dutch practice initiated with the settlement of Manhattan—began the practice of acquiring lands from the Indians by purchase. The French did not imitate this practice, but acquired land by gift from the Indians in the course of treaty-making. The purchase method was used in the other colonies for one and another variety of peculiar reasons, none of which had (despite occasional hypocritical statements then occasionally made)¹ anything to do with concern over the welfare of the Indians. It was begun, following Dutch practice, in 1633 in New England, in 1638 in Maryland, in 1655 in Virginia, in 1664 in Carolina. It was continued as a policy of the English Crown, and, in time, of the United States and of the Canadian provinces. Paying the Indian for land from which he was shoved back into the wilderness or offside into a dump or 'reservation' of course did nothing *towards* civilizing him. Such a policy had made Esau a murderer, and often made the Indian one too—when he sobered up and found what had transpired.

This and other aspects of the North American or *laissez-faire* policy flow from that aspect of it which involved recognition of the Indian tribes or nations as independent sovereignties, not in any way to be coerced—which, in its turn, as we explained, goes back to certain financial difficulties.

This treatment of the usually very petty Indian tribes made them very vainglorious. Whenever they prospered they swelled up and considered themselves equal or superior to the sedentary Christian whites. In defeat they became embittered and drew in upon themselves and nurtured their pagan culture. Either condition was inimical to their absorption by European culture.

Consider, for example, the ridiculous crowning in 1608 of Powhatan, overlord or emperor of the Virginian natives. The

¹ See the chapter entitled 'Jacob and Esau' in *The American Indian Frontier*.

directors of the Virginia Company—‘by whose advice I know not’ wrote the disgusted old soldier Captain John Smith¹—sent to Virginia with Newport’s second voyage a copper crown (with a scarlet cloak) that Powhatan might be crowned ruler of his own nation in proper English style. Powhatan’s ego was inflated. Upon request to come to Jamestown to be crowned he refused. ‘If your king has sent me presents’, he said, ‘I too am a king and this is my land.’ The officers went to his capital town. The old king apparently thought the crown a mere present and stored it and other presents in his treasure-house temple under guard of his priests and idols.²

This practice of giving Indian chiefs European tokens of their rulership continued through the whole of our frontier history.

Another curious and trouble-making aspect of this matter of sovereignty appeared when, quarrelling with the colonists, the Indian ruler would refuse to recognize the sovereignty of the colonial government, insisting that, if he owed fealty as an underlord to any one, that it was directly to the Crown overseas. Thus King Philip declared to the ambassadors of Massachusetts when the terrible ‘King Philip’s War’ was brewing: ‘Your governor is but a subject of King Charles of England. I shall not treat with a subject. I shall treat of peace only with the king, my brother. When he comes, I am ready.’³ This in deathly seriousness from a king whose own subjects numbered only 2,000!

Throughout the history of North America—colonial, American (U.S.A.), and Canadian (the Dominion)—the Indians remained technically sovereign states, to be dealt with by

¹ November 1608 letter to the company sent on Newport’s second return.

² Spelman’s narrative in Smith’s *History*, 1624. In his ‘Virginia from the early Records’, *American Anthropologist*, 1907, plate 5, is a photograph of the native cloak which apparently Powhatan presented to Newport at this time. See also a coloured reproduction by E. B. Taylor in the *Internationale Archives fur ethnographie*, vol. i, 1888, pp. 215–17, plate 20; and also Bushnell, ‘The Virginia Indians’, *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, 1927. King Charles II of England sent a silver crown in 1677 to Anne, Queen of the Virginian Indians, widow of Totopotamoi. This is now in possession of the Society for the Preservation of Virginian Antiquities, Richmond, Va.

³ Drake, *Old Indian Chronicle*, p. 68; see *The American Indian Frontier*, p. 237; and compare below, p. 967.

treaty. As one or another of these native states dwindled in numbers and its territory became surrounded by settlers, it became a reservation tribe—still, however, a sovereign nation. Sometimes removals would take place, the sovereign nation by treaty exchanging its homeland for other land offered by the government of the whites!

British Columbia among the Canadian provinces put an end to this ridiculous pretence in 1858 under initiative of Governor Douglas, who on his part was inspired by the then African Cape Colony precedent. Thenceforth the Indians were handled as wards. Thereafter there was an end to removals and to Indian wars. The Indians were satisfied with the end of the pretence. But unfortunately there was no preliminary tutelage of the Indians in groups segregated from the contact of the social-diseased miners and traders of British Columbia, such as only the Spanish systems have afforded in America, and the Indians have rapidly died out in British Columbia—from disease. At least, however, they died off without the accompanying brutalities and war which were associated with the continuance of the old colonial policy elsewhere.

The rest of Canada, and the United States, have been much slower in ending the old farce, and, in fact, it is not yet wholly ended. Treaties in existence cannot be abrogated though new treaties are not entered into.¹ The gradual liquidation of the old faulty Indian policy, however, is a matter of little historical interest since all damage possible has been done and the actual Indians, that is persons wholly or largely Indian in blood, in the whole of the United States and Canada number perhaps only about 200,000 at the outside, amid a population of 120 million whites and 15 million negroes. To begin with there were probably some 3 million Indians; and despite small-pox, given a reasonable degree of assimilation economically to Euro-American culture, surely they would at least have to-day been as numerous as the 15 million negroes of the United States. And with the Indians as a labour supply, there may well have been no introduction of negroes at all.

¹ See MacLeod, 'Indian Problem', *Social Science Encyclopaedia*, vol. v, 1931.

In our next chapter we are going to follow chronologically the development of the Indian frontier and its policy in North America. But in passing on from our analysis of its technique there are some contemporary observations of old days which are worth citing as illustrative of what the frontiersmen wanted of a frontier policy.

In Latin America there was early used the saying, *Sin Indios, no hay Indias*, that is, 'Without Indians there are no Indies'. In other words, the Spaniards wanted to preserve the native peoples and realized how invaluable economically could be the native labour force.

In North America to this day, on the other hand, there has been popular the saying that 'There is no good Indian but a dead one'. The thing desired and aimed at was the dying off or killing off of the Indian.

Andrew Jackson, President of the United States, in his annual message to Congress in 1829, in a year which marks the beginning of an intensification on a large scale of the policy he is condemning, observes regarding the essential conflict in the Indian policy of the United States:

Professing a desire to civilize and settle them, we have at the same time lost no opportunity to purchase their lands and thrust them still further into the wilderness. . . . Thus, though lavish in its expenditures, . . . government has continually defeated its own policy, and the Indians in general, receding farther and farther to the West, have retained their savage habits.

Seven years later, after the completion of the setting up of the great Indian reservation of the Plains—perhaps three-quarters of a million square miles in extent¹—a report of the Senate committee on Indian affairs exclaimed with pleasure regarding the large-scale exclusion of the Indian from white contacts: 'They are on the outside of us, and in a place which will ever remain on the outside.'

But soon whites were to filter into this great 'Indian Country' and the day of the typical reservation came. Soon a penetrating observer, a special investigating agent for the Interior

¹ See below, pp. 1032 ff.

Department, in 1858 observed that the Indian reservations were 'government almshouses where an inconsiderable number of Indians are insufficiently fed and scantily clothed, at an expense wholly disproportionate to the benefits conferred'.¹

Of the further development of this reservation system in the nineteenth century after 1858, a French student of social psychology wrote in 1899: 'The Americans got rid of . . . the Indians by enclosing them in territories surrounded by vigilant guards armed with repeating rifles, having orders to slaughter them as soon as the pangs of hunger drove them to leave these enclosures.'

This is a rather imaginative generalization, and yet, unfortunately, essentially true.²

The actual data on the working-out of this North American policy we shall now survey.

¹ *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1858, p. 298.

² See *The American Indian Frontier*, p. 504; and compare the NOT atypical examples below, pp. 1041 ff.

CHAPTER VI

THE EVOLUTION OF THE INDIAN POLICY OF THE FIRST ENGLISH COLONY: VIRGINIA

I. ROANOKE AND JAMESTOWN

THE first successful planting of an English colony overseas was begun in the spring of 1607 when the three small vessels of the Virginia or London Company sailed up the Chesapeake Bay and on up the James river. This was some thirteen years before the settlement of Plymouth in New England, the second plantation of English overseas. After many bitter struggles to maintain itself the Virginian colony was on its feet by 1618 and in that year was established as an autonomous representative democracy—the ‘first republic in America’ as Brown¹ has called it. This republican foundation dates two years before the pilgrims sailed; and eleven years before even a move was made towards establishment of representative democracy in Puritan New England. Virginia is prior, further—but of this she can scarcely boast—in the development of Indian policy in English North America.

The Virginian plantation begun in 1607 was in a very real sense merely a renewal of the earlier attempt to plant an English colony initiated with the settlement in Roanoke (in what was then a part of the ‘Virginia’ of that day but is now North Carolina). This attempt was first made in 1585 and, failing at first, was revived in 1587. Then, at home, the war with Spain and the attack of the great Spanish Armada occupied all attention while the Virginia colony was forgotten. When a new supply arrived in Virginia, the Roanoke colonists had disappeared. All evidence seems to point to their having moved inland and become assimilated to one of the coastal Algonkian Indian tribes.

¹ A. Brown, *The First Republic in America: An Account of the Origin of this Nation written from the Records then (1624) concealed by the Council*, 1898. See also his compilation *The Genesis of the United States: a series of Historical Manuscripts now First Printed (Virginia, 1605–1624)*, &c., 2 vols., 1890; and *English Politics in Early Virginia History*, 1901.

One branch of the Roanoke colony had been settled on the Chesapeake Bay at the mouth of the James river. Acquaintance with this area resulted in the Virginia Company ordering its colonists of 1607 to settle *up* the James river.

The story of the dealings of the Indians and the Roanoke colonists from the first settlement in 1585 to the end of their story we shall not recount, since space is limited. Suffice it to say that the story is exactly similar to that of the Jamestown settlement from 1607 on through those early years which led up to momentary abandonment in 1610. The small Roanoke colony sparred with the Indians for position, made no demand for submission—they were not backed by force enough to exact it—but meantime expressed themselves arrogantly and brutally on occasion, taking what land they needed when they could, and finally precipitating a war with the Indians which led to their own destruction as a colony.¹

In popular circles, schoolbooks, and among historians other than specialists on early Virginian history, even in Virginian antiquarian' circles, the success of the Virginian colony proper as compared with the Roanoke colony is attributed to the masterful management of Captain John Smith. This misunderstanding interests us, since, as we have indicated,² Smith was the only colonial Englishman who really understood how to settle quickly the Indian problem, and the man who, had his recommendations been adopted, would certainly have markedly changed the course of history in North America.

But Smith's significance historically lies in what he could have done, not in what he did do. He did nothing. This fine old soldier has been much misrepresented. His significance lies, too,

¹ On the Roanoke colony see chiefly E. E. Hale (editor), 'Original Documents illustrating the History of Sir Walter Raleigh's Colony', *Transactions, American Antiquarian Society*, vol. iv, 1860, T. Hariot, *Historical Narrative of Virginia*, 1588, reprinted 1893; I. N. Tarbox (editor), *Sir Walter Raleigh and his colony in America*, 1884; S. B. Weeks, 'The fate of the Lost Colony of Roanoke', *Magazine of American History*, 1891. Of prime importance, however, and little noted elsewhere, are data touching on Roanoke in A. Brown, *Genesis and First Republic*. See also T. Williams, 'The Surroundings and Site of the Roanoke Colony', *Annual Report, American Historical Association*, 1895.

² See above, p. 912 f.

in his character, his personality, his charm, in the fact that he is in himself one of the most fascinating of personalities of the first quarter of the seventeenth century. No writer has ever done him justice. He was not a great man. He was experienced in his line of soldier of fortune; he had ideas, but the evidence is against his being a man of very notable capabilities. I, myself, compare him with another futile person, the poet Villon, of Paris of the fifteenth century. Villon was no great poet, but he affords an amazingly fascinating focus around which some of us set Paris of his day, to make it live. Around John Smith I set London of his day. To many, thus to magnify Villon and Smith is ridiculous. There are greater men to think of. It is a matter of taste, and the kinship perhaps of temperament. In any case, it is not so ridiculous as for other temperaments or types of mind to attempt to claim such men as their own, and thus thoroughly to misrepresent the poor fellows. I have just this week taken myself down to St. Sepulchre at Newgate, London, the church where John Smith used to make his communions, near which he died, and in which he was buried in June 1631. Two brass plates were recently placed there by the Society for the Preservation of Virginian Antiquities. One of these calls him a former 'Governor' of Virginia, which he never was. Another states that his remains lie under a tombstone there which bears his arms. Smith was buried in the church before the great London fire made wholesale renovation necessary; and as a matter of fact the tombstone designated by the brass plate is dated 1688 and belongs to a Mason; poor Smith's remains, if they were replaced at all after the fire, are unmarked. Yet recent perorations in the London *Times*, and orations in St. Sepulchre celebrating the 300th anniversary of the death of this old swash-buckler, try to make him appear to have been a petty colonial bureaucrat and a founder of a nation. Smith would have chuckled.

Having disposed of a myth which often has stood in the way of a comprehension of the facts concerning early Virginia, we may explain that Virginia was a continuing failure during Smith's sojourn as an ordinary member of the local Council,

during the short time he was President of the Council, and even after his deportation. It remained so until after 1614, when the cultivation of tobacco gave the colony an economic basis for self-support. Success was achieved in contrast to the Roanoke failure because of continued support by the home base in England which went on furnishing new colonists to replace the earlier ones who died off nearly as fast as they arrived. *In the whole story there is no single figure of magnitude, of ability, of positive historical significance.* Young Percy, younger brother of the Duke of Northumberland, along with Smith, is alone in even holding our attention. In general, the colonists of the decisive first ten years are not what the schoolbooks of England would want to tell the schoolchildren the first founders of the first successful colony of the British Empire really were. Percy and Smith aside, the rest were lacking in character, bravery, ability to co-operate one with another, and most other positive qualities. Their story as a group is amazingly interesting. In our next pages we shall touch on it only in so far as it is desirable to elucidate the origins of the British American Indian policy.

2. INDIAN RELATIONS UP TO THE MASSACRE OF 1622

The spring of 1607 saw 104 Englishmen settled on the James river around a log hut called Jamestown, located in the territory of the Paspahegh tribe, one of the tribes under the overlord Powhatan, 'emperor' of the Virginian coastal tribes. The settlers had obeyed the instructions of the Virginia Company's directorate seated in London, and sailed many miles up the James in order to be better defensible against possible Spanish attacks. They had also been ordered, to avoid being cut off completely by the Indians, to clear out the Indian tribes between their settlement and the sea. This, it appeared, they were not strong enough even to think of attempting.

They were invaders in Indian territory, and, shortly, stealthy Indian attacks began. From now on for seven years there alternated months of war and months of peace or truce, but at all times a condition of restlessness. The next spring the crown and presents for the great Indian 'emperor' arrived, the story

of whose coronation in 1608 we have already reviewed.¹ Still another year, and in 1609 we find John Smith trying his hand at conquest after the Spanish fashion, and failing chiefly because of the riotous character of the colonists.² Smith was deported.

In the summer (1609) 500 colonists left England for Jamestown. One boat with twenty went down at sea; another with more than 150 was wrecked off the Bermudas;³ four of the ships were infected with London plague and picked up yellow fever *en route*, between sixty and ninety passengers dying at sea. Malaria, typhoid, and dysentery awaited the survivors on shore. But, all told, there were nearly 300 colonists at Jamestown on the 30th September 1609. Then the Indians refused to sell any more corn. Powhatan had hitherto been seeking to profit as middleman between the English and the Indians to the west. Now, perhaps, he was realizing that the English source of his business was ambitious to become more than a trading-post. During October nearly 100 of the colonists died. Famine was setting in. Thirty of the colonists were sent with the one boat to seek corn at the head of the bay. They sailed away to England, deserting the others, who were left with neither corn nor a boat. During the ensuing winter even cannibalism was known. The houses were torn down to be burned for warmth against the cold. The Indians slunk outside the palisade, within which were mostly graves. One hundred and thirty-five more died, mostly of starvation. In the spring—after three years' colonization—there were sixty-five hungry men at Jamestown.

The rebuilt vessels arriving in spring from the shipwrecked lot in the Bermudas brought 280 fresh immigrants, *but it was decided to go back to England, again giving up the attempts to found an English colony.*

The boats sailed down the James, but providentially were met by new vessels from England sent out later when word came from the thirty deserters that the colonists were starving.

The colony was now not to be governed by a committee of

¹ See above, p. 919.

² See above, p. 912.

³ Shakespeare got his inspiration for *The Tempest* from this shipwreck.

colonists but by Lord Delaware, governor, deputy of the Crown, and in effect dictator. Desultory war with the Indians continued during 1610. The Paspaheghs, in whose territory Jamestown had been established without native consent, had their village attacked. Their queen and her children were taken captive by West, and one ordinary prisoner was taken. Percy, coming up later, 'taxed him because he had spared them', but West said Percy could do with them what he pleased now that they were in his custody. Percy ordered the ordinary captives to be beheaded, and the Paspahagh town burnt and its fields destroyed. Leaving Paspahagh in their boats, the colonists 'did begin to murmur because the queen and her children were spared'. A council was called and 'it was agreed upon to put the children to death, the which was effected by throwing them overboard and shooting out their brains in the water'.

'Yet for all this cruelty the soldiers were not well pleased and I had much to do to save the queen's life at that time', says Percy—who a moment before had chided West for sparing her. Captain Davis arrived then, and carried word that Lord Delaware 'seemed to be discontent because the queen was spared', and advised that she be burned at the stake.

'I replied that having seen so much bloodshed that day, now in my cold blood I desired to see no more', but, he adds, 'and for to burn her I did not hold it fitting but rather by shot or sword to give her a quicker despatch'. So Davis took the regal old lady out into the woods with two colonist soldiers, 'and put her to the sword'. Says Percy, though he seems not to have tried to verify his suspicion: 'and although Captain Davis told me it was my Lord's direction, yet I am persuaded to the contrary.' In the fall, the old King of Paspahagh did battle single-handed and naked outside the Jamestown palisade built on his tribal territory and was run through with the sword by an armoured soldier.

Secondary settlement was then attempted farther up-river at Henrico, under Dale. The Indians were glad to receive runaways whom they hoped to use as smiths, and from the beginning

the colony had been troubled with colonists fleeing to an easier life in the Indian villages. Nearly always, through treaty and exchange, the Indians gave up the runaways. Now at Henrico disaffection was especially bad. A number of runaways were returned, and, a severe example being needed, they were put to death on order of Dale: 'some he appointed to be hanged, some burned, some to be broken on wheels, and some shot to death.' Others, who had robbed the common food stores, he had bound to trees and left thus to starve to death in the sight of all.¹ In spring (April) of the next year only 150 colonists were left, but new supplies arrived and guerrilla warfare continued on into 1614.

In 1614 Pocahontas, a daughter of Powhatan, was captured. A colonist, Rolfe, he who had begun the first cultivation of tobacco (the crop which saved the colony which hitherto had been hoping only for gold, pearls, and a route to the Pacific which they thought was a few miles overland) offered to marry the young 'princess'. She was baptized and wedded. For the scene one must envisage a Low Church Anglican ceremony, a log church, a group of malaria-shaken English colonists, and with them a few French, Polish, and Italian settlers brought over for special productions such as the vine, and iron and glass making, several Dutch soldiers stopped over from Manhattan, several Spanish prisoners caught as spies some time before, and several French prisoners from Jesuit mission stations in Nova Scotia and Maine which a Virginian vessel had raided; further, Pocahontas' sister and uncle came down for the wedding. Powhatan was mollified. Peace was made. He and the British were now allied by marriage. Dale wanted a second daughter for himself, but this the old native king refused. Pocahontas, who was a prisoner, he couldn't have refused, and remembering the fate of Paspahugh's children he would have feared to.

This year too the Chickahominies, a tribe independent of

¹ George Percy, 'A True Relation, 1609-1612', this tremendously valuable document was printed in full for the first time in 1922 in Tyler's *Quarterly Historical Magazine*, Richmond, Va. On events following, in 1614, see Ralph Hamor, *True Discoverie*, 1615; reprinted 1860.

Powhatan, made peace. A treaty was drawn up with their oligarchical council of eight, and this provided that: 'Lastly the eight chief men each should . . . have a red coat, a copper chain, and King James his picture and be accounted his noblemen.' But, like Powhatan and his underlords, they remained under their own laws.

Three years later (1617) Pocahontas died, and in the next year old Powhatan died, and his brother Opechancheno ruled. This brother had not approved the peace with the white invaders. Murders occasionally were committed now by marauding Indians and it was apparent that trouble was brewing. But the colonists were frequently short of supplies, even of gunpowder, and this the Indians knew. In 1619 negro labour was first imported.

At eight in the morning of Good Friday, the 22nd March 1622 (Old Calendar), came massacre by the Indians. Within one hour one-third of the 1,240 settlers were dead.¹ Outlying settlements were quickly abandoned; the frontier was retracted to the vicinity of Jamestown. Summer and sickness came as the colonists lay behind their palisades. Before the news of the massacre had reached England 1,000 new colonists had set sail. But in the spring of 1623, out of the total of the 1,240 and the additional 1,000, there were only 900 survivors!

There may well not even have been these were it not for the fact that the one known Christian Indian, Chanco, a servant of Captain William Perry, had brought word of the plan of massacre just in time to get it to the vicinity of Jamestown and below on the James, which saved a part of the colony. Very few were slain around or below Jamestown. Were it not for Chanco, the sole Indian Christian, fifteen years of the first English colonization would have been wasted. John Rolfe appears to have fallen in this massacre.

In 1623 the colonists pulled themselves together, as it were, and began counter-attack.

Twelve years of continuous exterminatory war against the Indians followed.

¹ And see above, p. 915.

2. (a) TWELVE YEARS OF EXTERMINATION, TEN YEARS OF PEACE, AND THE NEW MASSACRE OF 1644

On Christmas Day 1622 Captain John Martin drew up a paper arguing against complete extermination of the Indians 'yet'. The paper is not extant, but one may presume he appreciated the fact that, were it not for the Indians, servants and slaves could not be kept but would run off to the forests. The colony physician, Dr. John Potts, however, favoured extremities. He worked out a plan to poison the water supplies of the Indian villages and the next year this was tried out. In England some argued for enslavement of the Indians; and John Smith, as we have seen,¹ argued for the adoption of the Spanish type of Indian policy. But the king and the company in England gave the colonists no help in any plan and the colonists were left to their own devices.² They decided on extermination. By the fall of 1623, however, they appreciated what a task they faced, and their lament at this time recalls Smith's arguments for his plan. 'The chief time of doing the enemy most spoil', they complain, is at his planting and harvest times; but the colonists are 'a people dependent on their own labour for support' and so are themselves busy at seedtime and harvest. They also complain that what is necessary is a band of professional soldiers.³ Then, they said, in two or three years the Indians could be all starved to death or otherwise wiped out.

We have mentioned the poisoning of water which worked for a while in 1623. There is another instructive incident. The Indians held fifteen women and girls prisoners. They agreed to meet the whites, talk peace, and arrange a return of the prisoners. In the large assemblage, after gathering the prisoners, the colonists turned on the Indian chiefs and warriors suddenly, fired into them where they sat, killing forty of them including three chiefs. But then, later, the Indians were offered peace and invited to settle down again in their villages and harvest their corn and beans. But as soon as they returned to their villages

Above, p. 912. The Mormons some 200 years later were poisoning the water which the Ute Indians depended on; see *The American Indian Frontier*, p. 487, n. 1.

² Above, p. 915 f.

³ Compare above, p. 915.

the whites surprised and massacred them just as the Indians had surprised the whites the year before. The Indians lost their harvest, but, as we just noted, the colonists too had neglected their own. During the winter the Indians starved in the woods.

In the summer of 1624 the colonists again offered the Indians peace and the opportunity to return to their villages. But the Indians remembered what had happened before. They decided, instead, on a most amazing thing. Always hitherto, war with the whites had been carried on with stealth and ambush, for (especially since 1610 when the whites appear first to have had armour), the naked Indian, with only copper and stone weapons, could not face a man with a steel sword and pistol. Now the Indians decided to try it. Something we do not know about made them plan a fair trial of open combat. Perhaps they thought that if they tried they could win; perhaps some of their shamans had given them false promise of spiritual aid.¹

If they should win, it appears that they expected to make powerful alliances with other remoter Indian tribes against the whites. At any rate we hear at least of their having invited the king of the Potomac tribe to come and witness the battle, and come as an observer he did to report back to his councillors.

The remnants of old Opechancken's tribes gathered amid the great cornfields of the Pamunkey villages and prepared to defend it against the English.

The English organized to go out and to harvest this grain for themselves. Governor Wyatt in person commanded the expedition—thirty-six armed men with pieces, accompanied by twenty-four men equipped with scythes to cut down the Indians' corn!

The Indians' courage held. The Pamunkeys alone had 800 bowmen, and there were others from the other Powhatan groups. For two days, keeping in the open field, they stood their ground, 'the young men being beaten up (to the front) by the elders'.

Probably they used the relief system, which they fully under-

¹ As happened at Tippecanoe; see below, p. 1027.

stood, fatigued warriors falling back and fresh ones taking their place. It was ball-headed clubs, stone knives, and bows and arrows against swords and firearms. *In the first day they had not succeeded in killing a single Englishman* though half the English were wounded. After another day of this, during which the ground must have been strewn with the slaughtered bodies of natives, the Indians ceased to come in to the attack, 'and dismayed, stood most ruefully looking on whilst their corn was being cut down', corn enough, the English reported, to have fed 4,000 persons for a year!

I have read the contemporary accounts of most of the battles of Europeans and Indians in all the Americas, but of none do I know (unless it be *la noche triste* and the fall of Tenochtitlan of the Aztecs so vividly described by Bernal Diaz, Cortes's literary soldier), which can equal this in picturesqueness, in tragedy, and in significance for the fate of the American colonies. Could the thousand naked Indians have proved themselves in this two-day battle the equal of the thirty-six armoured whites in pitched battle, the word would have been passed north and north and still farther north from tribe to tribe and no small colony could have maintained a hold on the North American Atlantic seaboard without the practical assistance from Europe which Europe was never willing to give. But, of course, the naked Indian warrior with a stone knife could not stand against the mailed fist.

After this amazing episode one is almost reluctant to relate the details of the ten years more of guerrilla warfare which followed, during which sometimes the Indians did the colonists more harm than the colonists did to them. Resolutely the settlers pursued their objective—extermination—and always refused peace.

In 1628 the governor promised peace and invited the Indians to settle down again in their old cornfields. But this was with his tongue in his cheek, for his intention was to again attack them in their villages as had been done in 1623. But still the Indians remembered their lesson, and refused to bite at the bait. At last, in 1634, the year of the revocation of the Virginia

Company's charter, with reversion of its powers to the king, peace was sincerely offered the remnants of the Powhatan-Indian tribes, now called the Pamunkey; honourable terms were decided upon and Opechanckenno permitted to remain emperor; the remnants resumed their planting, and the colonists came out of their palisades.¹

Still there was no plan to christianize or otherwise civilize the Indian remnants, no missionizing, not anything except edging them away on their side of the frontier, and drawing up treaties with them as independent nations. And it was still during ten years of truce, the old chief Opechanckenno, uncle of Pocahontas who lies in a Christian grave in a church in Gravesend, England, he who had precipitated the massacre of 1622 and directed the war from 1622 to 1634, who was still emperor of the Virginian Indians in 1644. And it was he who directed the massacre and renewal of war in 1644.

Opechanckenno had probably never become satisfied with the domination of the whites in Virginia, and in 1644, when he learned of the civil war between the whites in England, he thought that then would be an opportune time to attack those isolated in Virginia. A Virginian of the day writes:²

Those that are planters there write that the occasion of the Indians doing so wicked an act was: that some of them confessed that their great king was informed by some English that all was under the sword in England, their native country, and such divisions in our land, that now was his time, or never, to root out all the English; for those that they could not surprise and kill . . . the rest would be in want, and, having no supplies from their own country . . . be suddenly consumed and famished.

So at dawn, on Holy Thursday, in April 1644, Opechanckenno's tribesmen fell upon all the weaker settlements of Virginia, and shortly 500 settlers were slain. This initial act of war was

Most of the data above following the 1614 period of the Hamor and Percy narratives is extracted from Brown's source compilations, especially *First Republic*, pp. 502, 507-8, 562, 565, 567-8, 576-7, 589, 610-11, 639; see also for 1617 *Records of the Virginia Company*, vol. ii, p. 483.

² Anonymous, *Perfect Description of Virginia*. . . *There having Been None . . . These Twenty Five Years Past*, 1694, in Force, p. 81, *Tracts*, vol. ii, p. 11.

enacted by a much smaller Indian population than that which massacred in 1622. War and disease had devastated the Indians in the intervening twenty-two years. But the slaughter was of a much smaller percentage of the white population, which had increased greatly since 1622.

The Virginia settlements extended only along the north and south sides of the James river and south of the Pamunkey, and the massacre fell most heavily on those up near the head of the river, those on the south side of the James and those along the Pamunkey.

Opechanckenon personally directed the massacre and subsequent fighting. This king was now physically in the last stages of decrepit old age. So old was he that he had no power to lift his eyelids. When he wished to see, his attendants had to raise his eyelids for him. Presumably he had suffered some paralysis, because he could not walk either, and was carried about in a litter by his bodyguard. At this time he was certainly between eighty and one hundred years old.

Insisting on being at hand near the scene of action, he rendered himself liable to capture for, in a litter, flight was not very practicable. So when Governor Berkeley promptly organized an offensive and led his soldiers to the head of the James, the old emperor at last fell into his hands and was carried down to Jamestown a prisoner. With the emperor taken the war was over. The Indians were disheartened.

Berkeley, gentleman and soldier, treated his captive honourably, indeed magnanimously, considering that the Indian attack had been a surprise and a massacre rather than an act of pre-declared war:

To the honour of the governor it should be recorded that his conduct to his illustrious and venerable captive was invariably marked by great tenderness and humanity; and the members of the council and the assembly partook in the interest and pity excited by his majestic and manly appearance. In general too, the feelings of the colonists did honour to their nature on this occasion. They saw the terrible enemy, who had been the author of so many mischiefs to Virginia, now a captive in their hands, bending under the

load of years. They generously resolved to bury the remembrance of their injuries in his present melancholy reverse of fortune.¹

Berkeley was delighted and proud of having captured the dangerous old emperor. He himself planned a voyage to England and hoped to take the old ruler to London for display to the curious London public. And while in Jamestown crowds flocked to view the old Indian, few ever having seen him. This public display the old ruler objected to, and when his eyelids were raised and he could see the curious looking at him, he told Berkeley that, were Berkeley his captive, no such indignity would have been imposed upon him.

But Opechanckenos's discomfiture was soon at an end and Berkeley's public triumphal parading of his captive in London was not to be, for a common soldier, self-selected as the agent of public indignation at the two massacres committed by the old emperor, basely shot him in the back.

Berkeley had led several large expeditions to the Indians' towns at the head of the James and Pamunkey Rivers. The Indians, remembering their incapacity in open warfare in the great battle of 1623, fled the villages and tried only sniping. So the Virginia soldiery had directed their efforts to burning the villages and destroying the Indian corn, thus dooming the natives to starvation. At the same time, just as in 1622, white settlement was again ordered to be concentrated. Outlying plantations were abandoned and the settlements clung closely about the palisaded strongholds. Then came a peace parley with the Indians. Necotowance was Opechanckenos's heir to the sovereignty over the Indian tribes. Presumably this Necotowance was a great nephew of Powhatan's and Opechanckenos's on the maternal side, for Powhatan's two sisters were then certainly dead. These two sisters had two daughters² and Necotowance was very likely, judging from the Indians' rule of maternal inheritance, the oldest son of the daughter of Powhatan's and Opechanckenos's eldest sister. This new emperor

¹ Cited from Burke, *History of Virginia*; and for other comments on Berkeley, see Wertenhaker, *Virginia under the Stuarts*, 1920.

² MacLeod, *American Indian Frontier*, p. 177.

had no desire to carry on the war which his old predecessor had begun, and in the early autumn signed articles of peace.

Berkeley was surprisingly moderate in the terms conceded. Our sources for this period are inadequate and it is impossible to decide whether expediency or the innate kindliness of the governor dictated the terms. The 'articles of peace with Necotowance, king of the Indians', made this king a vassal, not of the colony itself, but directly of the Crown, providing:

that Necotowance do acknowledge to hold his kingdom from the King's Majesty of England, and that his successors be appointed or confirmed by the King's governors from time to time . . . and as an acknowledgement and tribute . . . the said Necotowance and his successors are to pay unto the King's governor the number of twenty beaver skins at the going away of the geese yearly.

The treaty provided likewise for *the first 'official frontier' established on the American frontier*.¹ The area between the James and the York-Pamunkey from the falls to the bay was to be completely evacuated by the Indians. A system of forts was established with garrisons of a sort.² *No whites were permitted to cross to the north of this territory into the Indian country without passports. No Indian was permitted even to come into the white's country, even on official business, save with the proper credentials, badges or the like, by way of passports, issued by the authorities. Agreements between Indians and whites provided for the return of any white servants or negro slaves who might flee to the Indian country*.³

Thus the exact segregation of Indians was for the first time established.

The agreement regarding territories to be vacated meant among other things the surrender to the whites of the village just below the Falls of the James, an important strategic position. But it was long decades before the site was occupied by the whites and the city of Richmond founded. The old village

¹ Turner's article 'The first official frontier', describing the much later official frontier is in error, in that the Virginian frontier was the first official frontier to be besieged, fortified and controlled. See reprint in F. J. Turner, *The Frontier in American History*, 1920, chapter ii

² The forts were kept by 'private undertakers'.

Bushnell, 'Native Villages', *Bulletin, Bureau of American Ethnology*, No. 69, 1919.

was at the mouth of Shaccoe Creek, at the foot of the present Sixteenth Street in Richmond, now covered with tracks and warehouses.¹ From data appearing in this treaty it seems that already by 1644 the Monohoac Sioux of the Piedmont were dying off, for in the territory around the old Monacan town the Powhatan Indians were now freely hunting. The Piedmont was thus, perhaps by reason of an invasion of small-pox in the Piedmont Indian territory, already prepared for English settlement.

But it was long before the whites took advantage of the opportunity.

One must not neglect this fact, which was noted in the above treaty, that peaceful Indians on the edge of the colony were of service in preventing running away on the part of negro slaves. And it fell to the lot of the former Powhatan tribes, now called merely the Pamunkeys, to be, in 1656, of service in another way. Beyond the peaceful Indian frontier lay unspoiled, 'wild' Indians. In this area beyond the Virginia frontier, the Iroquois with their Dutch fire-arms were devastating right and left. Life being unbearable in the far interior, a tribe of Yuchi Indians 700 strong, learning of the vacated village of Powhatan at the head of the James River, strategically located between Piedmont and tide-water, moved into it and occupied its cornfields. Virginia could not dare permit hostile Indians at this point. Immediately one hundred colonists with one hundred Pamunkeys under Totopotomoi, heir of Necotowance, attacked the falls village. The invading Yuchis defeated the colonists and slew Totopotomoi and nearly his whole force of one hundred. The Virginians themselves in this battle came off very badly and some leaders were disciplined afterwards.

Virginia then entered into a treaty of peace with the victorious invaders. But these, for some unknown reason, moved into the interior again. Like the rest of their nation, the Yuchi, they probably went south, where they devastated the Catholic missions in Georgia.²

¹ Bushnell, 'Native Villages,' *Bulletin, Bureau of American Ethnology*, No. 69, 1919.

² See above, p. 872.

(b) *The 1676 Episodes.*

Now, let us complete the story of the Virginian Indian policy. For thirty-one years there was almost complete peace. The Indians lived beyond the frontier. Not one was christianized, employed, save as a hunter, educated, or in any way assimilated to the European economy. Meantime they were slowly dying off.

The year 1676—the year in which King Philip's war was raging in New England, and during which Iroquois ravages were continuing with increasing vehemence west to the Mississippi–Ohio valley¹—brought the one eventful moment in the slow death of the Virginian remnants. Trouble had arisen between Maryland and Virginia and the remnant of the Susquehannock Indians. These Susquehannocks (a people of Central Pennsylvania) now numbered about 300, the remains of some 30,000, the rest having been exterminated by small-pox and the Iroquois from 1654 to 1676. They settled down on the Potomac on the edge of both Maryland and Virginia territory and in time were blamed for a murder they had not committed. The story of the events of 1676 need not be recounted here. Suffice it to say they led to the Virginians, under the planter Bacon, revolting against Governor Berkeley, he who had piloted the colony ever since the massacre of 1644 and was still desirous of dealing beneficently with the Indians. After the burning down of Jamestown the revolt was in time crushed, but not before an Indian war had been precipitated and fought. The war began against the remnant of the Susquehannocks who now had fled to the Piedmont of Virginia, west of the coastal estuary settled area, the home of the Powhatan or Pamunkey tribes. Then it was directed against the Sioux² who lived on

¹ See, for example, the contemporary *Observations* of W. Greenhalgh, for May to July 1677, printed in O'Callaghan, *Documentary History of New York*, vol. III, pp. 248–52. For other documentation of the events of 1644 and after, see Appendix II.

² These eastern Indians were very close kin of the Dakota Sioux of the great Plains of the west, and spoke a closely related dialect or language. Place-names such as Lakota (= Dakota) still remain in Piedmont, Virginia.

this Piedmont elevation. In this war between Virginians and Sioux, the remnants of Powhatan's empire were enlisted as scouts and allies of the whites, and King Charles sent the Queen of the Pamunkeys a silver crown as reward.¹

¹ See above, p. 919, n.

CHAPTER VII

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE INDIAN POLICY OF THE PURITANS AND THE DUTCH

I. THE PILGRIMS OF PLYMOUTH COLONY

IN November 1620—a year and a half before the massacre of 1622 in Virginia—the *Mayflower* pilgrims arrived in New England and settled at Plymouth. They had set sail intending to settle on the Hudson river or any available place below the Hudson but north of Jamestown. Had they succeeded in reaching their objective they would have become the second colony planted in the lands of the Virginia Company. But the Dutch were planning to colonize on the Hudson; they had wanted the pilgrims, then resident as refugees in Leyden, Holland, to sail as colonists for their company, but the pilgrims refused; it would appear then that Dutch agents bribed Jones, captain of the *Mayflower*, to dump the pilgrims somewhere in New England. So, when the waters off Cape Cod were reached, Jones made many excuses for not being able to go south. The pilgrims insisted, but unofficially it was indicated to them that, if they didn't hurry and find a site, they would be put off on shore and left.¹ The crew led them around the inhospitable shore above the Cape and finally persuaded them to settle on the deserted cornfields of the plague-emptied Indian village of Patuxet, a village populous when Champlain in 1605 mapped its harbour, with soundings, and still populated when in 1614 John Smith visited there and on his map of New England named it Plymouth, after the English port.² Slave raiders had been there too in 1614 and then came the plague. We have briefly surveyed that episode, and told how the one survivor of the Patuxet

¹ G. Mourt, *Relation*, 1622, in E. Arber (editor), *The Story of the Pilgrim Fathers as Told by Themselves, Their Friends, and Their Enemies*, 1897. This 'relation' is one of the best written of the entire English colonial period. 'Mourt' is certainly a pseudonym; the narrative was probably jointly written by Bradford and Winslow.

² The fishers and traders of the coast, however, called it Thieves Harbour. (Mourt, *Relation*)

Indians arrived in the spring of 1621 just in time to save the few tens of survivors of the winter of disease of 1620-1.¹

The *Mayflower* captain and crew had left them on an impossible site.² The pilgrims had come over to establish *merely a fur-trading post* for an unchartered London joint-stock company. They had to make the enterprise pay. Fur posts had to locate on great rivers. The Indian Squanto led them to the Connecticut and to the Kennebec. On both rivers they founded posts, and under Squanto's direction soon learned the Indian speech and how to trade. Meantime—exactly as in the case of the first Maryland group of colonists—the corn from the Indians' deserted cornfields grown with Indian instruction and direction kept them alive.

The intention of the pilgrims had *not* been to establish a self-sufficient colony in America. The intention was to import most of the means of livelihood in exchange for exports of furs and other forest products. But their backers in London soon deserted them as not likely to be profitable and they were thrown upon their own—and Squanto's—resources. They could not, and would not care to, return. They had broken certain laws regarding passports in England, and prison would await them. And as for Holland, they had feared that wars between the Netherlands and Spain would again break out, and they had no desire to fight for the religious freedom of the Dutch, despite the shelter Dutch freedom had afforded them—not, surely, because of cowardice but, one may rather believe, *because they themselves hated few things so much as religious tolerance*. As for danger of famine and Indian cruelty in America they reasoned: 'The Spaniard might prove as cruel as the savages of America and the famine and pestilence as sore here (in Holland) as there (in America).'³

¹ Above, p. 834f, and see E. E. Cornwall, 'Medical History of the Pilgrims', *New England Magazine*, N.S., vol. xv, 1897, on scurvy and tubercular bronchopneumonia.

² Dermer (*Letter* cited above, p. 835 n) had recommended it as a site in his letter of 1619, but his judgement was bad.

³ W. Bradford, *History of Plymouth Plantation, 1620-1647, 1648*, edited by W. C. Ford, 1914; also Bradford, *Letter-book, 1624-1630*, Massachusetts Historical Collections, Series 1, vol. iii, 1840.

In the nine years of struggle for maintenance of the little pilgrim colony of several hundred the surrounding Indians appear to have been nearly always eager to help. At times the pilgrims blundered and quarrelled, but in general relations were those of independent peoples on good terms one with the other. From the beginning the pilgrims were surprised at the good nature and friendship of the Indians. For instance, in June 1621, Squanto took them on a visiting tour round the bay to the Cape. At Nauset they meet Iyanough, chief of Cummaquid, a savage about twenty-six years old, 'but', they write in pleased surprise, 'very personable, gentle, courteous, and fair conditioned; indeed, not like a savage, save for his attire'. Here at Nauset they also met an old woman, whose three sons were among those kidnapped and sold into West Indian slavery by the raider Hunt a few years before.¹ When she saw these English (the pilgrims) she 'went into a great passion; weeping and crying excessively'. Next, at Nauset, they met its head chief, Aspinet. The previous fall, as they had wandered about looking for a site to settle on, they had been fired on by Indians. Now Aspinet explained to them that this was because, unable to see in the dense fog they themselves did not know that they, armed strangers—and for all the Indians knew, slave-raiders—had been marching down on Aspinet's village of Nauset.²

2. PILGRIMS, VIRGINIANS, AND PURITANS

The historical significance of Plymouth Colony lies not in what it was or became itself, for it achieved nothing of significance in itself; it lies merely in that it demonstrated to English entrepreneurs that a self-sufficient colony of English could be established in New England, a thing which had hitherto seemed impossible. This demonstration it was which led half of the Puritan emigration from England from 1629 to 1640 to go to New England while only half went to the British West Indies, where they achieved nothing of historical moment. The

¹ See above, p. 835.

² Nauset is now Eastham. On the above, see Mourt, *Relation*, 1622.

pilgrims were merely, as it were, the spies sent into the land of Canaan bringing back grapes and tales of a land full of milk and honey.

And, so far as the Indian frontier in particular is concerned, their experience demonstrated that the great plague had left empty land enough in New England for all comers for a long time yet, and those vacant Indian cornfields could quickly have added to them abundant fertile land by clearing the woodlands with steel axes. Moreover, their experience demonstrated the essential amenability of the New England Indian. 'Give me some beer' was the first thing Squanto said when he met the pilgrims, and the colonists' supply of English products from beer to iron hoes was something the Indians wanted in New England.

From 1600 or thereabouts the New England Indians had had long experience with the English, French, and Dutch fishers and traders, and on the whole relations had been amicable despite some incidents such as Hunt's slave raid. From 1620 to 1629 their experience with the pilgrims had been on the whole pleasant. There was a generation of background of rather satisfactory relations upon which the 20,000 Puritan immigrants who came over to Massachusetts from 1629 to 1640 and their descendants could have built upon.

In Virginia there had not been this background of easy relations. The Roanoke colony, from 1585 on, had created bad feelings even in the Chesapeake region. The Jamestown colony had never been friendly in its attitudes. The peace from 1614 to 1622 was only a truce, following upon the virtually forced marriage of the great Indian overlord's daughter. When she died in 1617 the Indians again grew restless. The Virginians with the crowns and scarlet cloaks for Indian chiefs had exaggerated the Indian political ego. The political structure of the native state in Virginia was richer and more centralized or bureaucratic and made more for native pride and self-determinative arrogance than the political structure of the New England Indians.

So, in Virginia, the blundering colony let itself in for two

horrible massacres by the Indians, in 1622, and again in 1644, massacres directed by the great native 'emperor' Opechanc-keno. The 1622 massacre came after eight years during which the perpetrators of the 1610 crimes against the natives had long since passed off the scene,¹ and during which the Virginians had evidenced the best goodwill to the natives. The resulting reprisals on the part of the colonists, following the 1622 massacre, can be understood, if not condoned. I doubt that any other way of handling the situation could have been found by those who had lived in Virginia from 1622-34 in view of the fact that the Virginia Company and the Crown had refused to finance John Smith's plan of forced-labour tuition.

On the other hand, in Puritan (not Pilgrim) New England (the mother and body of which was Massachusetts) the massacres were by the whites. *No Indians ever massacred whites in New England*, and at least before the first massacres by the whites it is not apparent that the Indians ever would have even thought of it. The Puritan massacres of natives in New England were as little provoked as the native massacres of whites in Virginia.

3. THE PURITANS OF MASSACHUSETTS AND THEIR COLONIES

THE INFLUENCE OF HEBREW HISTORY ON THE AMERICAN INDIAN FRONTIER

Rather amicable relations with the Indians persisted in New England for eight years after the first settlement of Massachusetts by the Puritans in 1629. Then, in 1637, the Massachusetts authorities precipitated the Pequot War. At the time there were 14,000 whites settled in Massachusetts, and some 6,000 in the other lesser colonies of Plymouth, Connecticut, New Haven, and Rhode Island.

Three years before (1634) the Pequot Indians, who inhabited the Connecticut wilderness quite remote from Massachusetts' sphere of influence, had murdered a dissolute Virginian coast-wise trader, Stone, a man whom all accounts indicate as having been much of a nuisance. His associate Norton was killed at the

¹ Above, p. 928.

same time. This was a year or so before the colony of Connecticut was initiated and while Massachusetts was challenging the rights of the Dutch in the Connecticut valley. Massachusetts and the Pequot chiefs began negotiations looking to a settlement regarding the murders. Negotiations dragged along. Then, in 1636, a Massachusetts trader, Oldham, was murdered on Block Island off the Rhode Island coast. The Block Island villages had been under the overlordship of Sassacus, the Pequot overlord, but at this time Canonicus, overlord of the Narragansetts, the Rhode Island tribe, inveterate enemies of the Pequots, appears to have controlled Block Island.

This war of 1637 was precipitated by the very rash, indiscreet, high-handed, reckless, and unnecessary act of violence committed by Massachusetts in August 1636. So foolhardy was this act that it is almost inexplicable. The clergy had sanctioned it, even urged it and, inasmuch as this was in Massachusetts the period in which the clergy were just coming into the full swing of their power, the act is perhaps most adequately explained as a sudden decision to pattern the New England Indian policy more completely upon the examples set in the Old Testament of the Canaanites by the Israelites. For, it must be remembered, the leaders of Puritania envisaged themselves as the new Israelites in a new Canaan.

The New Canaan policy inaugurated in August 1636 was designed to meet a problem in Indian affairs. And although any action taken to settle that problem might be interpreted as a result of the creation of that problem such interpretation would be short of the truth. The fact is that the problem referred to could have been satisfactorily and honourably settled in several alternative humane ways. One would have been to conquer and subdue the Indian tribes, and assimilate them politically and economically. This would probably have necessitated some war, but war can be carried on humanely and honourably, and the purpose and effect of such a war would have been to end war. Such was the Spanish method.

The Puritan policy involved more war and bloodshed than the Spanish policy did. Its stupidity and brutality shows in the

fact that it was almost without purpose. It had no real settlement as its object. Things were left nearly as bad as they were, and led inevitably to the terrible King Philip's War of four decades later. Little came out of the Pequot war precipitated by the New Canaanite delusions of Puritania, little more than a glorious soul-thrilling debauch of the stink of burning flesh and the reddening of Indian fields with outpourings of the blood of massacred women and children, sights and odours which inflamed the souls of the clergy of Puritania to a frenzy of praise and exaltation, throwing them into paroxysms of religious fervour.¹

4. (a) THE PEQUOT WAR, 1637-8

During August of 1637 the Massachusetts diplomats had apparently dropped the question of satisfaction from the Pequots for the death of the Virginian, Stone, in 1634, and negotiations with Canonicus, the Narragansett king, were proceeding harmoniously and satisfactorily concerning the Block Island murderers, who, it was claimed, came under his jurisdiction. Honesty and good intentions appear to have been shown on the part of Canonicus.

Then, suddenly, and without warning to the other colonies, Plymouth, the Connecticut settlements, and Roger Williams's settlement in Rhode Island, and without warning to Canonicus, or to Sassacus, king of the Pequots, the rulers of Massachusetts decided to end parleying with the Canaanites and to revive the gory days one reads about in the Old Testament. Ninety volunteer soldiers were armed under the chief command of John Endicott, a notoriously tactless and militarily incapable person, who a year before had cut the cross out of the British flag and who eight years previously had cut down the Maypole at Merry Mount. This young army was ordered to go to Block Island and massacre all the Indian men there, young and old, guilty or guiltless, and to capture, above all, the women and children

¹ Dr. E. S. Jelliffe in the *Proceedings* of the 1931 annual meeting of the American Neurological Association, 9th June, has presented a paper on 'The Psychiatry of our Colonial Forefathers' dealing with what he calls the 'Jehovah Complex' and its historical persistence in the United States.

and bring them back to Boston. These, undoubtedly, were to defray the £200 cost of the expedition by being sold as slaves.

Then they were to proceed to Connecticut, unannounced, demand the surrender of the murderers of Stone, damages of one thousand fathoms of wampum, then worth about \$15,000 or nearly \$100,000 in modern money purchasing value, an enormous amount for the Indians, and the delivery of some Indian women and children as hostages. The army of Puritania went forth to massacre on Block Island. The Indians fled the island, but the Puritans burnt down the two Indian villages there, and destroyed the harvest of two hundred acres of corn and beans. Then they sailed to Fort Saybrook, the independent colony of Lord Saye and his associates. The commander there, Lyon Gardiner, protested against the plans of Endicott and his soldiers. The Puritans, he argued, would inflame the Pequots to war, return safely to Boston, and then leave the actual frontiersmen in Connecticut to the wrath of the Indians.

But, heedless of the danger they were bringing to the Connecticut settlers, the Puritans sailed up to the mouth of the Pequot river (the Thames), stopped near the Pequot village there, and demanded of the Indians that they go and bring Sassacus, the king, to parley. His fortified village was not very far distant, and the messengers went to him. The English were notified that Sassacus would not come unless they agreed that both English and Indians should lay aside their arms and parley in peace.

But the Puritans refused such a peaceful overture. They were out to imitate the old Israelites. So they picked a quarrel with the red-skinned Canaanites, fighting started, and fourteen Pequots lay dead, with no Englishman injured. Having committed an act of war, the Israelite army returned to Boston, leaving the frontier of Connecticut to pay the penalty.

Now, Sassacus, king of the Pequots, prepared for war. He made overtures to Canonicus, king of the Narragansetts, ancient enemies of the Pequots. In face of the common white enemy they should ally themselves, forgetting old animosities. Pequot and Narragansett embassies met in Rhode Island. The 1,000

warriors of Sassacus with the 1,000 warriors of Canonicus, aided perhaps by the Iroquois, could successfully challenge the whites.

The Puritan oligarchs of Massachusetts then grew panic-stricken. Just a year or so ago they had exiled Roger Williams, who found shelter in Canonicus's country. He alone could win the Narragansetts. The Puritans swallowed their pride, from fear, and begged the exile to plead with Canonicus. Williams forgave and proceeded to the village where the two embassies were conversing. The result was victory for Williams and the salvation of the English. The Pequot ambassadors were dismissed and, late in October, Canonicus and twenty of his nobles went to Boston, dined with the governor, and signed a renewed treaty of peace and friendship, agreeing not to assist the Pequots.

So the Pequots had to make war without allies, and they did. Immediately in October they attacked the garrison at Fort Saybrook and they burned and murdered throughout Connecticut. When spring came, the Connecticut settlers realized that starvation would set in if they could not safely cultivate the fields. They informed Massachusetts therefore that, inasmuch as she had foolishly brought down this terrible situation on the Connecticut Valley, she should go through with it, and fight the Pequots to the end. On the 11th May, Connecticut, tired of waiting for aid from Massachusetts, herself finally declared war on the Pequots and prepared for organized offence and defence. Ninety men under Captain John Mason were enlisted for service from the three towns. These co-operated with a force of twenty men under Captain Underhill, who had been hired by Saybrook to defend the fort from the Indians, and also from an anticipated attack by the Dutch.¹

Then Massachusetts took more definite action. She approached Plymouth for aid in the war. Plymouth reminded her of how she had denied Plymouth assistance against the

¹ John Winthrop, *Journal History of New England, 1630-1649*, 1649, in *Original Narratives of American Series*, 2 vols., 1910; see also Winthrop, *Letters*, 2 vols., published in 1869.

French in Maine in 1629, and Massachusetts acknowledged her wrong. Plymouth then agreed to send a body of soldiers against the Pequots, persuaded that the danger to the frontier was a danger to all the colonies. The apologies of Massachusetts at this time are rather ignominious. In her heedless Israelitish rage she apparently had not realized what consequences she would bring to herself as well as other colonies. Plymouth accepted the apologies and sent out a small force of men under Mason to co-operate with the Connecticut forces. Massachusetts then was delayed in getting her own forces on the field; it had been found that other than Congregationalists in good standing were in the companies of troops and it took time to muster them out. Meanwhile the great Pequot fort was burned—as we shall describe below.

The Narragansett Indian chiefs had offered to serve as scouts for the New England soldiery, and undertook to explain how the Puritans could strike a blow at the very heart of the Pequot strength.

It is a fact which I have never seen noted that it was the Narragansett chiefs who showed the New English how to win this, their first Indian war. And that it was the worthy Roger Williams (see his *Letters*) who made notes of the advice and instructions and sent them out to the English in authority. The Narragansetts through Williams advised a surprise attack on the Pequot fortified village on the Mystic River, a village ruled by Mononotto, and somewhat beyond the capital village. They gave instructions concerning the location of this Pequot village, and offered as guides several Pequot renegades then living among the Narragansetts. They advised the placing of an ambuscade behind the Pequot village to prevent the villagers from fleeing north to a certain swamp. The Narragansett idea was adopted and the guides accepted. A force of seventy-seven soldiers under Captains Mason and Underhill, with the seventy Mohegans under Uncas and the 1,000 Indians from the Narragansetts, set out, in a night brilliant with moonlight, for the Pequot palisaded village on what is now Pequot Hill, near the Mystic River. At sunrise, on the 25th May, while all the four or

five hundred Indian villagers soundly slept, unsentinelled, undreaming of danger, the enemies came upon the village and made their surprise attack.

Mason conceived the idea of setting fire to it and himself carried the idea into execution. His associate, Underhill, thus exultantly and gloatingly describes the consequent burning alive and slaughter of all men, women, and children in the village:

Most courageously these Pequots behaved themselves. . . . Many courageous fellows were unwilling to come out, and fought most desperately through the palisades so that they were scorched and burned with the fiery flame, and were deprived of their very arms, in that the fire burnt their bowstrings; and so perished valiantly. Mercy did they deserve for their valour, could we have had opportunity to bestow it. Many were burned in the fort, both men, women, and children. Others, forced out, came in troops to the Indians, twenty and thirty at a time, which our soldiers received and entertained with the point of the sword. Down fell men, women, and children; those that escaped us fell into the hands of the Indians that were in the rear of us. It is reported by themselves that there were about four hundred souls in this fort, and not above five of them escaped out of our hands. Great and doleful was the bloody sight to the view of young soldiers who never had been in war, to see so many souls lie gasping on the ground, so thick in some places that you could hardly pass along. It may be demanded: 'Why should you be so furious? (as some have said). Should not Christians have more mercy and compassion?' But I would refer you to David's war. . . . *Sometimes the Scripture declareth women and children must perish with their parents. . . . We had sufficient light from the word of God for our proceedings.* [My italics.]

The Indian allies, observes Underhill, came to him, delighted with the 'victory', and greatly admired the manner of Englishmen's fight, 'but protested that it was too furious and slays too many'.¹

The governor of the pilgrim colony thus notices the victory:

It was a fearful sight to see them frying in the fire and the streams of blood quenching the same, and horrible was the stink and stench

¹ John Underhill, *Newes from America*, 1638, in Massachusetts Historical Collections, Series 4, vol. vi, 1837.

thereof. But the victory seemed a sweet sacrifice, and they gave praise thereof to God. . . .¹

These New Israelites were still, spiritually, in the era when God desired burnt sacrifices of sweet savour. When the Rev. Cotton Mather, the great intellect of Puritania, heard of the massacre, he hastened to his pulpit and praised the God of New Israel, blessing Him for that '*on this day we have sent six hundred heathen souls to hell . . .*'; that 'six hundred of these barbarians were sent from a world that was burdened with them'.

Roger Williams exults about the success—'it hath pleased the Father of Mercies to vouchsafe the first attempts of our countrymen against these barbarians'.² And the Puritan historian, Niles, adds sweetly: 'Thus did God judge the heathen, filling their places with dead bodies.'

After this battle, the traitor Pequot, Wequash, who had guided the English to the Pequot fort, '*had his mind wonderfully struck with apprehensions about the Englishman's God and became converted*, but the Indians murdered him and poisoned him for his religion'.

In this engagement only two Englishmen were killed, but twenty were wounded. They had no surgeon along, and, with arrow-heads sticking in their flesh, the wounded were carried in litters. On their way, the English and their allies met 300 Pequot warriors sent out by Sassacus to succour the fort at Mystic. Word had come to him that it was to be attacked, but word had come too late. The Pequot warriors did not battle long, but passed on to inspect the scene of the battle at the Mystic fort and, writes Cotton Mather:

When they came to see the ashes of their friends mingled with the ashes of the fort and the bodies of their countrymen so terribly barbecued where the Englishmen had been doing a good morning's work, they howled, they roared, they stamped, and were the picture of so many devils in desperation.

The dispersing Pequots were killed off like flies as they scat-

¹ Bradford, *History*.

² Roger Williams, *Letters*, 1632-82, Narragansett Club Publications, vol. vi, 1892.

tered about. Every man's hand was against them. Mohegans and Narragansetts went out hunting them and brought in their heads to the authorities at Windsor and Hartford. Hundreds surrendered themselves to the mercy of Uncas and the Narragansetts. Hundreds were taken prisoners by the English. Win-cumwar and Mononotto's wife and children were among those taken prisoners.

Pequots, male and female, who surrendered to Uncas or to the Narragansetts were colonized, 'made Narragansetts' or Mohegans, and were quite safe. But the English wanted only the extermination of the Pequots. Late in June, the Massachusetts forces under Captain Stoughton, just before Sassacus fled to the Mohawks, came upon a band of Indians settled temporarily beside a swamp near the present Fairfield. There were about 200 women and children and eighty men. The Indians fled into the swamp and were surrounded. The 200 women and children were captured, and thirty-seven of the men. The boys were shipped to the West Indies to be sold as slaves. The women and girls were kept as slaves in New England. *The men captives were tied on board a boat, taken outside Boston harbour, and the boat sunk*, 'for it was found the quickest way to feed the fishes with them'.

Sassacus among the Mohawks appeared to receive very encouraging promises from them, and other of his tribesmen began to join him there.¹ But then something happened, we do not know what or why, and the Mohawks turned on their royal refugees and his followers. There was a battle between Pequots and Mohawks, and Sassacus, his brother, and twenty other Pequots were slain. Mononotto, however, escaped wounded. On the 5th August 1637, the scalps of Sassacus, his brother, and five other Pequots were brought from the Mohawks through Connecticut to Boston.²

Most of the many scalps, heads, and hands taken and sent to the English were those of the chiefs or sachems of the Pequots. The aim of Uncas, and of Miantonomo, who was now virtual ruler of the Narragansetts, was not to exterminate the Pequots,

¹ Williams, *Letters*, 31st July 1637, p. 51

² Winthrop, 5th August.

but to kill off the Pequot nobility and assimilate the *hoi polloi*. Small-pox had worked havoc with the Indian population and there were plenty of vacant cornfields to be worked by assimilated captives. The Narragansett rulers say, reports Williams, 'that if they can take the sachems' heads, they can make the rest Narragansetts'.

The English worked at cross purposes with the two Indian rulers, Uncas and Miantonomo, in this matter. They sought out fugitive Pequots and either slew them or sold them as slaves. At this the Narragansetts protested, for as early as June they had asked that the English recognize the distinction between refugees and captives taken in actual war, pointing out that 'the refugees will come in and voluntarily submit to peaceable colonization and assimilation if they know they will be dealt with fairly'; while otherwise, as Williams put it for the Indians, they 'will go to our enemy or turn wild Irish(!) themselves.'¹

So nicely in fact were both Connecticut and Massachusetts soldiers doing in the way of extermination of the Pequots that they began to think it would be a good idea now to turn around and exterminate their allies, the Narragansetts! Were they not Canaanites too? Their leaders, who assented to the killing of Pequot prisoners, and the massacring of old men, women, and children, were able to prevent this foolhardy idea of turning on the Narragansetts.

All this came to the ears of Roger Williams and he was startled. He was rather more humane than the other Puritans, even than Winthrop, the least brutal of those of Puritania. In his letters he gives evidence of the fact that the English were more savage than the savages. For one of the several things requested of the English by Canonicus as he prepared to join with them, and planned the attack on the Pequot fort, was *that women and children should be spared*. 'It would be pleasing to all natives that women and children be spared' the stipulation reads.²

¹ Williams, 21st June 1637 (*Letters*, p. 34), and see for May 1637.

² Williams, *Letters*, May 1637, p. 17. The descendants of the Puritans some 250 years later were still discussing the problem of women and children—see below, pp. 1042, 1048.

So general was the feeling even among the leaders of the English that wholesale massacre was not unethical in New Canaan that when Williams was informed in July 1637 that just two of the Connecticut leaders, Heynes and Ludlow, were then '*almost adverse* to killing women and children' that even this mere rumour of an open mind on the subject made Williams rejoice.¹ But the Puritan leaders in general submitted scriptural (Old Testament) grounds to justify any such brutality, and Williams, who also stood on Biblical grounds, was hard put to refute them.²

It never seemed to dawn on even the mildest of them that on Biblical grounds they might once in a while depend upon the precepts of Jesus. It is hard even for a student, and it must be for the reader, to actually realize how almost completely these Puritans had wiped away their Christianity and become a peculiar sect of heretical Israelites in whose doctrines there was but a tincture of Pauline theology. The symbol of the cross and of the sacraments of the cross were nowhere in New England and the Saviour walked nowhere in this New Canaan.

Williams even objected to the Indian and Puritan customs of dismembering the dead. Once, in the early autumn, Williams consented to send on to the Massachusetts officials, for the Narragansetts, the six hands of the three slain Pequots. One pair of hands were reputed to be those of one of the Indians who murdered Stone in 1634. In his letters Williams wrote: 'I was fearful that those dead hands were no pleasing sight. I have always shown dislike to such dismembering of the dead.'³

In concluding with the Pequot war, now let us re-emphasize the fact that the Pequots had not massacred any English settlements. *The Puritans had nothing serious to revenge on the Pequots.* Everything in the ample details of the attacks on the Pequots

¹ Letter of 6 July, 1637.

² Letters of 10 July, 1637, p. 43; 15 July, 1637; 31 July, 1637, p. 57; *Williams hoped for some light from 'the two Kings'*, xiv. 5-6. In his letter of May 1637, p. 23, Williams shows himself as trying to wheedle himself back into Massachusetts favour, and is even willing to join in heretic-baiting of a sort.

³ Letter of 21 July, 1640, p. 137.

which we have for our information indicated that the two massacres which constituted the only noteworthy engagements of the war *were not prompted by any military necessity whatsoever*. At this time there were only thirty-six fire-arms among the Pequots. And, as a matter of fact, there was no squeamish contemporary justification attempted.

A recent historian of colonial America, in a paean of praise of the Reformation, naïvely avers that 'the dissemination of the Bible in the vulgar tongue was followed by astonishing results. The unlearned could search the Scriptures for their rule of conduct without the intervention of a priesthood, and an upheaval of the human mind followed.' We have witnessed one of the upheavals which Professor Cook overlooked in his census. When the Bible was translated for the Goths, clever Ulfilas omitted the bloody Book of Kings. But it is clear that the uncensored Bible of Puritania was best thumbed exactly through 'Kings First' and 'Kings Second'.

(b) *An Aftermath; the Clergy and the Cannibal.*

Seven hundred Pequots had been slain in 1637 and two hundred more had been enslaved. Many had starved; many had fled. Out of a population of perhaps 4,000 in 1636, there remained by 1643 about 2,000. These were forced by the Puritans to accept the overlordship of Uncas, the Pequot chief who had turned against his own king and aided the English. But Miantonomo, now virtual ruler of the Narragansetts in place of old Canonicus, was angry because he thought the Narragansett services in the war of 1637 warranted his receiving rulership over most of the defeated Pequots. Bitter enmity, with occasional attempts at assassination, broke out between Uncas and Miantonomo and their respective tribes. The Puritans backed Uncas, in part because they hated Miantonomo, who sheltered Gorton and certain other heretics exiled from Massachusetts.

At last Uncas and Miantonomo came face to face on a battlefield. This was in 1643. Uncas demanded single combat between himself and Miantonomo, despite the fact that Mian-

tonomo was clad in a heavy suit of armour lent him by Gorton. But Miantonomo refused, and the two armies fought. The Narragansetts were routed and fled. The warriors took Miantonomo and his brother—also in armour—prisoners; also the two sons of old Canonicus. Thirty Narragansetts lay dead.

The captive Miantonomo stood mute. Uncas demanded of him why he could not speak. 'If you had taken me,' he said, 'I would have besought you for my life.'

But Miantonomo replied nothing. He probably expected death and, with such an ignominious disaster as he had just led his army into, he probably did not find living so desirable. Before Uncas could determine what to do with his captive, the heretic Gorton of Rhode Island whom Miantonomo had befriended, as he had befriended Roger Williams at an earlier date, sent word to Uncas to free Miantonomo, writing in the name of the governor of Massachusetts: a clever trick which perhaps saved the Narragansett from a prompt death. For, somewhat worried, Uncas took Miantonomo to Hartford to ask advice of the officials of Connecticut. Miantonomo there earnestly entreated that he be given into English custody, and Uncas passed over his captive as a prisoner to the English to let them decide on the punishment.

This was in August and the commissioners of the United Colonies were shortly to meet in Boston. Miantonomo was then held for consideration as to disposal by the commissioners. The commissioners were in a quandary. Miantonomo's offence was against Uncas, not against the English. He had made war on Uncas in accord with the treaty of Hartford. Uncas had, for reasons known only to himself, given up his right to slay his prisoner. The commissioners therefore had a free hand in the matter. They would like to have seen the restless Miantonomo dead, but they could find no grounds for putting him to death. Yet they were reluctant to free him. They certainly must have cursed Uncas for having passed the problem on to them instead of killing the prisoner himself.

So the commissioners turned to the gentle shepherds of New Canaan for succour! A general assembly of elders of the

churches was then convened in Boston, and 'five of the most judicious elders' were called to advise.

(c) *His fate left to the Churches.*

Now, Miantonomo was thoroughly detested by the Church officials of Puritania because he had sheltered heretics such as Roger Williams and Gorton—principally because of his sheltering of the notorious Gorton. And although there was pretence of various other reasons for wanting to get rid of Miantonomo, all facts considered it is apparent that the religious leaders of Puritania wanted Miantonomo put to death 'as the friend of the heretic Gorton and the tolerant Williams'.¹

What was the subtle recommendation of the gentle shepherds of the churches of New England? As subtle and as brutal as one might expect. The prisoner was to be returned to Uncas at Hartford. Uncas was to conduct the prisoner into Mohegan territory, '*into his own jurisdiction*', so that it would not appear to be an English act, and put him to death. But so that the Narragansetts should see that Uncas had the moral and military approval and support of the English, twelve musketeers should go along with Uncas to the execution and Uncas should be promised assistance in case of war.

The sage and godly elders anticipated that, even with all this, Uncas might yet refuse to accept the responsibility for the execution of this clerico-judicial murder of a noble prisoner whom he had turned over to their tender mercies. So, in such case, they advised, Miantonomo should be brought to Boston and *held until they could search the gospel (!)* for some Israelitish precedent.

But the savage Uncas, a cannibal, and enemy of Christianity down to his death, accepted the commission of the Puritan wolves in pastoral garments.

Followed by the twelve musketeers, Uncas and his men conducted the victim to a point between Windsor and Hartford, and a brother of Uncas struck Miantonomo from behind with a tomahawk, cleaving his head. Uncas then cut a large slice of

¹ J. T. Adams, *Founding of New England*, p. 241.

flesh from the shoulders of the victim, roasted it, and ate it, remarking that it was the sweetest meat he ever ate, and that it made him strong of heart.¹

5. THE DUTCH IMITATE THE PURITAN INDIAN POLICY

(a) *A 'Deed of Roman Valour'.*

In this same year the Dutch of the Hudson river—New Netherlands—adopted Puritan methods with regard to their Indian problem. Since their settlement of Manhattan (the town and fort of New Amsterdam) in 1623, following some years of fur trading at this point, the Dutch had used the technique of treating the Indian tribes as sovereign. One innovation they introduced, which we have elsewhere mentioned—they went through the process of formally buying land from the Indian, drawing up formal deeds, whereas in Virginia and New England land was acquired through unwritten agreement without formal payment. This innovation, taken up between 1640 and 1650 by New England and Virginia, in imitation of Dutch practice, was not a material one. The procedure of *laissez-faire* was essentially as before. The native was edged away into the wilderness, and his remnants in time surrounded in preserves like animal parks, called reservations.

As in New England, Indian-White relations in New Netherlands had been fairly cordial for twenty years, interrupted only occasionally by what in the international relations of great peoples are called 'incidents'. And the change to a policy of extermination was as sudden and unannounced as in New England. There can be little doubt that the New England example was the stimulus. In New Netherlands, however, there was *not even any imaginary provocation* for the first massacre, no outstanding unsettled murder, for example, to be avenged.

In February 1643 the Mohegans from up-river attacked two tribes of down-river Algonkians. These fled to the shelter of the fort on Manhattan (New Amsterdam) for protection. After several days some remained here but most crossed over the river to join the Pavonia Indians in their village.

¹ Miantonomo was buried on the spot and a heap of stones raised over the grave.

Now, Shrovetide, the 25th February, 1643, had come, and a drunken party was held by Director Kieft, head of the colony, as local representative of the Dutch West India Company. It appears that often business of importance was transacted at such parties in early New York under the Dutch. For example, just a year before, in 1642, at a drunken wedding-feast some one recalled the fact that after nineteen years of colonization, though they had a minister in New Amsterdam, they had no church. A subscription list to build one was circulated and every one drunkenly subscribed heavily. The next day, sobered, they tried to reduce their subscriptions, but Kieft refused. The building of this first church in America of Presbyterian affinities was begun but, the Indian war of 1643 having started, the remaining funds were diverted to killing Indians and the building remained roofless until 1645. For, at this 1643 Shrovetide party, some of the celebrants bethought themselves of the sleeping Indians who, not being Christians, would not be celebrating the holiday. Kieft declared himself in favour of 'some deed of Roman valour'. The majority of his town officials favoured a massacre and Kieft so ordered. Some one raised the question of God's approval. But the leaders of the majority decided that 'not only God but the opportunity should be considered'. The opportunity was here, and Kieft prayed that 'our God may bless the expedition'. At midnight on Manhattan one armed party massacred forty sleeping Indians. Another fell on the sleeping Pavonia village across the harbour and slew eighty before the villagers awoke and fled thinking the cannibal Mohegans had attacked again.

The colonist De Vries had disapproved. He stayed the night at Kieft's house, sitting in the kitchen until midnight; and the next day the murderers gave him the details—some of which, at his farm across the river, he later could observe for himself. He tells something of the story of what happened. The narrative is as vivid as many a chapter in the Old Testament of the Puritans:

I remained that night at the Governor's sitting up. I went and sat in the kitchen, when, about midnight, I heard a great shrieking,

and I ran to the ramparts of the fort, and looked over to Pavonia. Saw nothing but firing, and heard the shrieks of the Indians murdered in their sleep. I returned again to the house by the fire. . . . When it was day the soldiers returned to the fort, having massacred or murdered eighty Indians, and considering that they had done a deed of Roman valour, in murdering so many in their sleep; *where infants were torn from their mothers' breasts and hacked to pieces in the presence of their parents and the pieces thrown into the fire and in the water, and other sucklings were bound to small boards and then cut, stuck, and pierced, and miserably massacred in a manner to move a heart of stone. Some were thrown into the river, and when the fathers and mothers endeavoured to save them, the soldiers would not let them come on land, but made both parents and children drown, children from five to six years of age, and also some decrepit persons. Many fled from this scene and concealed themselves amid the neighbouring sedge, and when it was morning, came out to beg a piece of bread, and to be permitted to warm themselves; but they were murdered in cold blood and tossed into the water. . . . Some came by our lands in the country with their hands, some with their legs, cut off, and some holding their entrails in their arms, and others had such horrible cuts and gashes that worse than they were could never happen. . . .*

(b) *Lent dawns in New York of Three Hundred Years Ago.*

The next morning the murderers returned with eighty Indians' heads as trophies and laid them before the governor's house, the primitive predecessor of New York's City Hall. And Kieft took the soldiers by the hand and congratulated them.

Meantime, the old lady, Mrs. van Tienhoven, mother of the murderous secretary to Kieft, roamed gaily about the yard, kicking the bloody heads like footballs here and there!

And then Kieft and van Tienhoven and Adrianson and the others so inclined, with the soldiers, celebrated with a spectacle. The soldiers took the thirty or so prisoners and submitted them to shocking and frightful tortures of a sort practised only by the scum of soldiery in that day, but which, while Spanish legislation forbidding them considered tortures like these unnameable and used circumlocution in even speaking of them, were here officially sanctioned.

No wonder these horrors cried effectively for vengeance: when all the Indians learned definitely the next morning that

they had not been attacked by the Mohegans but by the Dutch who had for several days tendered them a certain hospitality, they furiously sought their relatives, friends, and allies everywhere and initiated a devastating war of firebrand, scalping knife, and bow and arrow¹ against the Dutch. Seventeen tribes or chieftaincies of the tidewater below the Mohegans, of about the strength of 1,700 warriors, the Raritans apparently not joining in, made a joint assault on all the Dutch farms and settlements except two. Those exempt were (1) Rensselaerwyck (Albany) which was in a neutral area and, no doubt, under the protection of the Mohawks, who needed it as a source of ammunition in their wars on the St. Lawrence, and (2) New Amsterdam on Lower Manhattan which the Indians were content to try and starve, carrying their inroads only as far as Middle Manhattan.

Everything else was smoking ruin—except De Vries's farm, which the Indians spared in acknowledgement of his friendship. Adrianson's buildings went up in smoke. An unknown number of settlers were slain. The remainder fled to shelter at Rensselaerwyck and New Amsterdam.

(c) *New Netherlands ruined.*

So, after the harvest, and with the approach of September, Pachim, chief of the Haverstraws, who had made no formal peace, led a renewal of the war along with the Wappinger tribes proper, and soon seven tribes with 1,500 warriors were in the field, and the war was renewed even on Long Island. Anything which escaped havoc in the spring or which had been rebuilt was now burned. The settlements of the New England sectarians on Long Island, except one small Anabaptist settlement of forty persons which successfully held out, were burned and the settlers massacred. Hackensack and Pavonia (Hoboken) were completely wiped off the map. And on Manhattan, from the present Canal Street up to the Harlem River, there was almost complete devastation.

Concerning Fort Amsterdam itself, the settlers there wrote:

¹ With but very few fire-arms.

'resembles rather a mole hill than a fort', so badly had it been maintained; the refugees were huddled around its palisades in straw huts; there was no planting or harvesting possible because the Indians ravaged even down to the walls of the fort; the cattle were killed off, starvation was imminent, the morale of the refugees and of the garrison was bad.

A most amazing series of events now follows which lack of space prevents mention of. But it led to the Dutch, in January 1644, employing the Puritan soldier, Captain John Underhill, he of Pequot War fame, to lead their war against the Indians. The most frightful devastation of Indian villages now ensued. In one expedition on Long Island, a hundred and twenty Indians were slain, while only one Dutchman fell.

In this last expedition, two prisoners were taken. Back in New Amsterdam, in Beaver Lane, the Dutch soldiery put those to torture. One was gradually hacked to pieces alive; the other was gradually flayed alive, and his body shockingly mutilated in an unnameable manner. Kieft and his counsellor, the Huguenot La Montagne, were reported to have countenanced this by their own presence, and undoubtedly Mother van Tienhoven was jubilantly there. The Indian who was flayed was finally decapitated, and his head perhaps given to the old lady as a football to roll down Beaver Lane.¹

(d) *In the Moonlight.*

The great glory of the offensive came in February. Underhill, the massacer of the Pequot Mystic River settlement in 1637, now a settler in New Netherlands, was in charge of the Dutch offensive and put much more vigour and determination into it. With 150 soldiers stowed into three yachts, Underhill sailed up the Sound to Greenwich and from thence marched overland into the mountains for one day, coming at last to the fortress of the chief, Mayano, which could not be located in January.

They came upon the village in the snow-covered mountains during the light of a full moon. The village consisted of three

¹ The story of the wars of 1644 is given in the *Journal of New Netherland*. The mention of Kieft's presence at the tortures is in *The Inquisition of Van Tienhoven at the Hague, in 1650*. These may be found in the *Original Narratives of New Netherland* in the *Original Narratives of America Series*.

rows of houses, ranged in streets each eighty paces long, backed by a mountain which sheltered the 700 inhabitants from the north-west wind.

The Indians were not taken by surprise, but determined to hold their village, about 230 warriors with bows and arrows against 150 Dutch and English with muskets. The Dutch formed a circle around the village. Twice the Indians rushed the circle and twice were forced back. After one hour of firing 180 lay dead in the snow. The others retreated to the huts to fire, from cover, their futile arrows against the Dutch armour.

Underhill then repeated his work in the Pequot wars. He ordered the firing of the Indian houses. The flames sprang up. The Indian men surviving—most of them were now dead—and the women and children fled the flames, but were driven back with a hail of bullets, 'preferring to be consumed by fire than to fall by our weapons'.

About seventy warriors and 520 women, children, and old men were burned to death.¹ Fifteen Dutch were killed, probably in the close-up attack of the Indians with knives, outside the village. Only eight Indians escaped, to spread the news even as far south as the Schuylkill River in a vain attempt to get allies.²

And throughout this carnage *stinking with the smell of burning flesh, not a single Indian, child or adult, was heard to utter a moan or a shriek.*

The Dutch army bivouacked in the moonlit, snow-covered mountain-side, with fires to warm them in the bitter cold, while all around were the ashes of the human holocaust, and the strewn bodies of 180 who had fallen by bullet and sword, in snow, red everywhere with blood. Two days later the soldiery was back in New Amsterdam, and a day of Thanksgiving was proclaimed in the molehill fort and roofless church.

At last the Dutch called upon the great Iroquois people of the interior to arbitrate. The Dutch West India Company, as

¹ The proportions are speculative, based on the usual ration of about one-third of the population being warriors, of whom 180 were slain outside the village.

² See MacLeod, *The American Indian Frontier*, p. 245.

we have seen elsewhere, had refused to finance a war of conquest or extermination, and New Netherlands could not meet any further expenses itself. The colony was bankrupt. The Iroquois assumed a virtual overlordship over the down-river Algonkians and patched up a peace between them and the Dutch.

6. (a) AFTER FIFTY-SIX YEARS: THE FINAL WAR IN 1676 IN
NEW ENGLAND

As in Virginia from 1645 to 1676, so too in New England, there existed relative quiet on the frontier accompanied by a steady decline in the native population of the coastal plain. In New England, however, there was constant diplomatic bickering between the New England Confederation of colonies, which had been organized in 1643, and the Indian sovereigns. Uncas and his Pequots were delicately balanced against the Narragansetts. Then came the terrible King Philip's War. The story of the arguments over political status leading up to this war are a most amazing example of how ridiculous, how demoralizing for the Indian, the North American policy of treating the Indian states as free nations could become! This bitter and disastrous war of 1675 and 1676 in New England, popularly known as King Philip's War, virtually put an end to Indian influence and to the Indian race in New England. Curiously enough, it was not begun by the powerful Narragansetts, and *not* as a general conspiracy of the Indian tribes against the English. It grew out of some minor troubles with one of the lesser remnant tribes in Plymouth's sphere of influence, a tribe which had from the beginning been content to live and die under that influence. This was the Wampanoag tribe.

In 1620 its chief, Massassoit, was the first chief to meet the English. He welcomed them into his plague-desolated country and permitted them to settle on the lands of the depopulated Wampanoag village of Patuxet. Always a reliable friend, appreciating the protection Plymouth Colony afforded him against his own Indian enemies of the country, Massassoit kept the peace till his death at the ripe old age of eighty-two in 1662.

He was succeeded by his eldest son, whose English name was

Alexander. In this same year Alexander was ordered by the Plymouth authorities to come to Plymouth for a conference. The English doubted his integrity. Immediately on his return home he died of fever contracted while detained by the English.

Alexander was succeeded by his next brother, Philip, then only twenty-three years old. Philip now was the object of Plymouth suspicions. It would seem that the English, though having implicitly trusted the aged Massasoit, were afraid that a change in chiefs might bring such a change in policy as Opechanckenno had brought to Virginia, and they had decided not to let themselves be taken unawares. The Wampanoags were by this date reduced to about 2,000 (500 or so warriors), but this was sufficient to constitute, if so desired, a serious danger to the Plymouth settlements.

Year by year the Plymouth authorities nagged Philip most unmercifully, continually suspicious of his intentions. If Philip had not been hostilely inclined to begin with, he certainly was bound to become so. In 1671 the aggravation brought matters to a head. Plymouth informed the chief that they had heard that he was making preparations to war upon them and demanded that he immediately present himself before the Plymouth authorities, for conference and explanations.

Alexander's death immediately after returning from Plymouth had made the Indians suspect that the English had poisoned him. At any rate Philip did not intend to permit himself to be ordered about as if he were not a free sovereign, as Alexander had done.

He remained at his village near Mount Hope, about forty miles south-west of Plymouth town and twenty-five miles down-river from Taunton, and refused to come. Then he changed his mind to the extent of offering to go to Plymouth if two Plymouth citizens would be left with his tribesmen as hostages for his safe return. Plymouth sent the hostages and Philip set out with his attendants. But as Philip approached Taunton he saw that the English were preparing defences in case of war. He then remained outside on a hill and refused to go farther.

The commissioners of Massachusetts Colony then took the part of mediators between Plymouth Colony and Philip. They visited the native prince on his hill-top and persuaded him to enter Taunton for a conference in September 1671. This conference only led to further irritations between the haughty chief and the nagging colony, but difficulties were patched up for the time.

In September of the next year (1672) things had come to such a pass that Plymouth again prepared for war and advised Massachusetts and Rhode Island that if need be she would make war alone on the Wampanoags. Philip, apparently not desiring war, then appealed to Massachusetts for intervention, going himself to Boston. Here the question of Philip's political status was raised. Philip admitted himself as a subject of the king, *but claimed equality under the Crown with the government of Plymouth*. Plymouth argued that if he was subject to the king he then was also subject to Plymouth. *Massachusetts championed Philip's point of view*. But Plymouth threatened to make its point by war, and under this threat Philip agreed to acknowledge himself as a *petty king under the protection and jurisdiction of Plymouth Colony*, and agreed to pay one hundred pounds a year tribute to Plymouth in acknowledgement of his subjection.

It appears, however, that he had made this submission as a mere temporary expedient, and intended now to fight as soon as he could prepare himself for war. For three years he kept the peace and lulled the colony into a sense of security. But in the spring of 1675 matters came again to a head. Then an Indian subject of Philip's, known to be a spy in the service of Plymouth, and a Christian, was murdered. Philip was suspected of having ordered his death. On the evidence of an Indian who claimed to have witnessed the murder, the Plymouth authorities arrested and executed three natives of Philip's tribe, without consulting him in the matter. Philip now immediately and openly prepared for war.

By June, Plymouth had obtained Massachusetts' promise to help her, and shortly thereafter Connecticut also joined, with Uncas and his Mohegans, and his now reconciled Pequot

subjects. Massachusetts obtained a promise of neutrality from the Narragansetts and Niantics. Philip and his 500 warriors were now left to face the United Colonies and Uncas, who alone was as powerful as Philip.

On the 18th June 1675 a colonist at Swansea imprudently killed an Indian he caught stealing. Two days later Plymouth sent twenty soldiers to protect Swansea. In four more days the Wampanoags killed their first English. Then followed guerrilla warfare.

In August *the commissioners of the United Colonies sent agents to Albany, New York, to request the assistance of the Iroquois Confederacy against the Wampanoags!* The Iroquois declined to help, *but promised to remain neutral.*

Massachusetts now accused the Narragansetts of sheltering wounded Wampanoags, and Wampanoag women and children. The Narragansetts were talked to very insultingly, and replied in kind. On the 2nd November 1675 the commissioners of the United Colonies, having demanded of the Narragansetts that they submit to the sovereignty of the United Colonies, and having received a flat refusal, declared war on the Narragansetts!

The Narragansetts, and, despite Ningret's then English inclinations, the Niantics also, now prepared for war against the English. Rhode Island was not a member of the United Colonies and not a party to this declaration of war on the Indians. *The Narragansett territory was almost wholly within the bounds granted Rhode Island by the charter of the Crown. The United Colonies, however, ignored Rhode Island's charter rights and entered Rhode Island territory to war on the Narragansetts!*

The United Colonies had determined once and for all to end their Indian problem by subjugating the more powerful tribes. They had now arrayed against themselves not only the 500 warriors of Philip, but the 2,000 warriors of the Narragansetts and Niantics, and a few hundred warriors of lesser tribes allied to these. Only the sycophant Uncas with his 500 warriors was on the side of the English, while Rhode Island and the neighbouring New York colony remained neutral.

(b) *The Narragansett Massacre.*

On the 19th December 1675 there was a renewal of the barbarities which occurred in the Pequot War nearly three decades before. There was another brutal burning alive of the innocent. A large, fortified village of the Narragansetts was fired, and about 400 Indians slain, mostly old men, women, and children; in this instance most of the able-bodied men had effected their escape. . . .

The shrieks and cries of the women and children, and the yelling of the warriors, exhibited a most horrible and appalling scene, so that it greatly moved some of our soldiers. *They were much in doubt* and afterwards inquired whether burning their enemies alive could be consistent with humanity and the benevolent principles of the Gospel.

In this affair, the Indians having been better supplied in this day with fire-arms than they had been a generation before, they were able to take a toll of English lives. Twenty of the Puritan soldiers were slain, and 150 so seriously wounded that 75 of these died within several days, a total of 95 dead.

In January 1676 Philip fell back for the mid-winter, for shelter in New York, near the neutral Mohawk country, making his winter quarters at Schaghticoke, in van Rensselaer County. *The Mohawks purchased considerable supplies of arms and ammunition from the Dutch traders of Albany and sold them to Philip in return for wampum and skins.*

Governor Andros of New York and the officials of Connecticut now entered into an acrimonious correspondence over Andros's refusal to interfere with these transactions. Philip meantime *negotiated with the French* for their assistance but they refused to help; *then he tried to win over the Iroquois, enemies of the French*, but they too decided to remain neutral. In March, with the breaking of winter, he held his first conference with the Narragansett and other chiefs also at war with the United Colonies, and then resumed his attacks on the English.

On the 3rd April Canonchet, a chief of the Narragansetts, was taken prisoner, with a large number of his warriors. The English slew forty-three of their prisoners in cold blood and

then took Canonchet into Stonington and there executed him. Canonchet was first offered his life if he would persuade his tribe to cease fighting, but he refused.

At his trial he insisted, as had Philip before, *that he was a subject of the British Crown, but not under the jurisdiction of any colony*. Finally, as the English argued with him, he withdrew into himself, and refused to answer any questions, stating '*that he was born a prince and if princes came to speak with him, he would answer, but none such being present he thought himself in honour obliged to keep silent*'. He requested that he be executed only by another noble; the English being all commoners, he selected Oneko, the son of Uncas, to be his executioner. His body was drawn and quartered. A historian writes:

His death was as honourable to himself as its infliction and the shameful mutilation of his body was disgraceful to his enemies. Something of his lofty spirit and dignified character seems to have impressed itself upon the grudging minds of his foes, but called up no corresponding chivalry of action.¹

(c) *Two More Massacres.*

Massachusetts now was *using her Christian reservation Indians as scouts*, and the hostile tribes began to lose because they found it impossible to catch the Massachusetts troops in ambushades. Starvation and disease, and inability to repair their guns, were likewise conspiring against the Indians.

On the 18th May, at Turner's Falls, there was another of these monotonous massacres of non-combatants by the Puritans. A settlement of Indians was surprised. After killing thirty-eight English most of the able-bodied men among the Indians escaped. Captain Holyoke then set an example which was followed by his men. Discovering five old persons and children hiding behind some rocks he put them to the sword. An indiscriminate killing of the aged, the women, and the children followed. They were struck with swords, and their bodies swept over the falls and down the river. Between 100 and 200 Indians were slain. . . . 'The river Kishon swept them

¹ Documentation in MacLeod, *American Indian Frontier*, p. 239 seq.

away; that ancient river, the river Kishon! O! my soul, they have trodden down strength. . . .¹ This was the exclamation, of Biblical provenance, of the Rev. Increase Mather when he heard this pleasant news.¹

On Sunday, the 2nd July, near Natick, Massachusetts, there was another massacre. One hundred and twenty-six Indian women and children and thirty-four men were put to the sword, while of their 200 English and Mohegan murderers only two were slain.

In August the wife and young son of Philip were taken prisoner. The English were overjoyed. The Rev. Mr. Mather as usual was eager for blood. He rejoiced concerning Philip that 'it must be bitter as death to him to lose his wife and only son, for the Indians are marvellously fond and affectionate towards their children'.

Church and State now debated what should be done to the woman and child. Eliot, the missionary, was opposed to enslaving them or killing them, but on scriptural grounds. Mather and the Rev. Mr. Arnold and other clergy called for blood. Mather wrote to John Cotton: 'Philip's son makes me think of Hadad, who was a little child when his father, chief sachem of the Edomites, was killed by Joab.'

The issue was settled by shipping the woman and the boy, the grandson of Massasoit, the pilgrims' friend, and teacher of American agriculture, to the Bermudas to be sold into slavery. Soon after, Weetamo, queen of the Pocasset Indians, wife of a cousin of Canonchet's, was taken prisoner, executed, and her head on a pole, with its long hair, paraded through the streets of Taunton.

In August Philip was taken. He was executed and his head stuck on a pole in Plymouth, where it was still, in the form of a skull, when twenty-four years later (1700) the Rev. Mr. Mather took off its lower jawbone and carried it away to his home—Heaven knows what for!

¹ The fullest documentation on the latter part of this war, with references to Mather and other original sources (many still in manuscript) is in E. G. Ellis, *King Philip's War*, 1906 (see especially pp. 205, 231, 235).

(d) *Economic and other effects of the war.*

The war was ended. Six hundred men of the United Colonies, one-eleventh of the adult males, had been killed in battle; and an unrecorded number of English women and children were slain. Hundreds of homes had been destroyed and thirteen settlements wiped out. Most of a year's harvest had been lost. The military expenses of the colonies had been about £100,000.

Of the approximately 12,000 population of the hostile tribes, probably about half perished from battle, massacre, exposure, and starvation. In addition, unrecorded numbers had been taken captive, and the commissioners of the United Colonies shipped these abroad to be sold as slaves, the receipts to be apportioned among the four colonies to meet in part the costs of the war. They were sent to Virginia, Spain, Portugal, and the West Indies. *Five hundred Indian slaves were shipped from Plymouth alone.* Uncas got none of the receipts from the sale of slaves and was consequently embittered. But he had no possibility of revenge and subsided to ignominy and decay. The Indian power in New England was ended and the race virtually destroyed.

During the war, Gookin, the Anglo-Irish Puritan in charge of the few Christian or 'Praying Indians', bent his efforts towards the protection of the Praying Indians of Massachusetts whom the rabble threatened to exterminate in their hatred of all Indians. Gookin was therefore denounced as 'an Irish dog' and a 'traitor', vile language was thrown at him in the streets of Boston when he dared appear in public; he was threatened with violence, and received letters from secret vigilance committees threatening death if he did not cease his agitation. He was ostracized by his fellow magistrates, and defeated for re-election!

Even at the end of the war, when the officials had recovered from their hysterical ravings, the rabble thought to continue the massacre of the surviving Indians. On the 26th September two men of Lancaster had to be hanged by the authorities

because 'of wanton killing of Indian women and children'. A year later when, from the Indian war then continuing in Maine, some Indian prisoners were being taken on a Sunday through Marblehead, Massachusetts, '*the women of Marblehead, coming from church, massacred the Indian prisoners*', and 'the rough element in the community' then betook themselves to kill the women and children found in the village of some neighbouring Indians.

7. THE FINAL DESTRUCTION OF THE COASTAL-PLAIN PEOPLES

Now, before following the movement of the frontier to intimate contact with the peoples of the Appalachian uplands and the Ohio valley, let us follow through to the end the brief story of the completion of the destruction of the coastal-plain peoples of North America.

(a) *The Carolinas.*

The colony of Carolina was initiated in 1663, but it was extremely slow in development. In time it was divided into the two colonies of North and South Carolina. In 1711 there were only some 3,000 whites with their negro slaves in North Carolina, and these colonists were largely Puritans from New England, Quakers, and Germans. At this time came the Yama-see war in the Southern Carolina colony which, along with the coast Indians of Georgia and Florida we have considered in detail elsewhere.¹ In North Carolina the dominantly important tribe was now the Tuscaroras, the coastal Algonkians having nearly all died off. The Tuscaroras numbered about 4,000. For some reason unknown, they and some allied tribes, in September 1715, massacred the whites after the fashion of the Virginian Indian massacre of 1644. By March 1716 the Tuscaroras and their allies were crushed. Some moved north to settle in New York under the aegis of the Iroquois; others remained in Carolina and became reservation Indians in due course, and rapidly died off.

The North Carolinas during these two years of war appealed

¹ See above, p. 874.

to the king for aid. He sent an agent over 'to inquire into the disorders of North Carolina'!¹

(b) *The Peoples of French Louisiana.*

France was late in beginning her entry into the region of the lower Mississippi. By 1729 there were only 2,200 whites with 1,500 negro and about 270 American Indian slaves. By this date the Indians (Apalatchee) east of French New Orleans and Pensacola had been destroyed by the Carolina slave raiders.² From disease the Indians within the French sphere of influence had been slowly decreasing in numbers. They gradually died out altogether, quite uneventfully, with the exception of the Natchez tribe, made famous by Chateaubriand in his highly romanticized *Les Natchez* and *Atala*. This tribe warred with the French West India Company which, in 1739, controlled Louisiana. The trouble with the Natchez was precipitated by the Sieur Chepart, a man unfitted for his post in charge of the fort near the Natchez. His aggravations led them in November 1729 to attempt, with allies, to massacre and exterminate the French in Louisiana. An informer spoiled their plan and the massacre was only partial. The French West India Company's forces led against the warring Natchez consisted of 1,600 Choctaw savages, led by Le Sueur. They besieged the Natchez, and then 500 white soldiers arrived. The Natchez were driven from pillar to post until, on the 24th January 1731, they asked peace. They were persuaded to first surrender, it appears with some assurance of pardon. The entire royal clan, forty warriors, and 387 women and children came to surrender; but about 300 others fled to the forests. The royal clan, the warriors, and the hundreds of women and children who surrendered—it appears, according to Swanton, that the French broke their word—were sold into slavery in Santo Domingo.

The Natchez who a few years before the massacre attempted by them numbered perhaps 6,000 were very soon reduced to several hundreds of maddened desperadoes, hunted down in

¹ North Carolina Archives under this date (these archives have been published by the State of North Carolina).

² See above, p. 872.

the woods even by other Indians. A few years later the remnants were adopted by the Creeks.

Aside from this event the tidewater Indians of Louisiana, treated as nations so long as they survived, died off uneventfully. Jesuit missionaries entered the field for several years and one was martyred. The Indians of this region were peculiarly wedded to their own very strange religion¹; the missionaries made no progress and their energies were called to more promising fields where the workers were too few.

The upland Indians, Choctaw and Chickasaw, had but little intimate contact with the French.

¹ See my papers on the Natchez cited in the Bibliography of the *American Indian Frontier* and on sacrifices cited above, p. 826.

CHAPTER VIII

THE EFFECT OF THE FUR TRADE ON THE AMERICAN INDIAN FRONTIER: FROM CHAMPLAIN TO PONTIAC

I. (a) THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE FRENCH AMERICAN INDIAN POLICY

IN 1535 Jacques Cartier of St. Malo sailed up the St. Lawrence as far as the site of the present Montreal, then occupied by the Indian village Hochelaga. The mountain on the site he named Mount Royal or Mont-real. The name Canada was bestowed also at this time. It was thought that Canada was an extension of Asia and that the St. Lawrence would lead to an avenue to the East. The French planned through Canada to control the trade of north-eastern Asia. In 1541 the Sieur de Roberval, a noble of the northern province of Picardy, was appointed first viceroy of Canada, and under his orders Cartier again, in 1541, sailed and explored as far as Quebec. In 1540, however, some French fur-trading interests, probably of Dieppe, had sent a trading expedition to the Hudson and there built two fine forts, one at what is now Albany, capital of the State of New York, the other on the site of the present city-hall of New York City on Manhattan. Here the French fur trade flourished for a number of years and then was given up. Our data regarding this are almost negligible; possibly the facts may be disclosed from the secret files of some private French trading company of the period. The Dutch fur-traders decades later in 1616 found the Albany fort of the French in rather good condition. In 1549 the viceroy Roberval preceded by Cartier led a colony of several vessels and perhaps about a hundred men, women, and children, and settled at what is now Quebec. The pilot, Allefonce, went on to visit Norumbega, which was probably the fort on Manhattan. The scurvy and hunger hit Roberval's Quebec colony during the winter, just as such troubles decimated the first settlers at Jamestown and Plymouth, and, discouraged, Roberval and the survivors returned

to France in spring. A few years later Roberval, first viceroy of Canada, was assassinated in the streets of Paris.

Under Villegagnon, French Huguenots in 1557-8 attempted to intrude and colonize in Portuguese Brazil, and from 1562 to 1565 under Ribaut others tried to establish themselves in South Carolina and Florida. The Portuguese in Brazil and the Spanish in Florida ruthlessly suppressed these attempts.

The year 1599 saw the organization of the first of several small, dominantly Huguenot (Calvinist) French fur-trading companies granted a monopoly of trade and post establishment in Acadia (later Nova Scotia) and Canada. Operations were carried on from the post at Tadousac at the mouth of the St. Lawrence. In 1602 under the same leadership—that of the St. Malo trader Dupont—but with a new organization, Samuel Champlain was employed to undertake exploration in the interest of the company. For the first time, it appears, since 1541 the sites of Montreal and Quebec were revisited. The next year the trading company was again reorganized, due to Dupont's death.¹ The Huguenot De Monts was dominant. He immediately bent his efforts, in association with others, to the establishment of the colony of Port Royal on the Bay of Fundy in Acadia, in which the tide rises and falls 70 feet twice every day. Here, a company of both Catholic and Protestant lived with no more excitement than constant disagreement between the Calvinist minister and the Catholic priest. Both clergymen died in the early days of the colony, and they were buried in the same grave, their disputations for ever silent. The Baron de Poutrincourt, and the lawyer and man of letters Baron Marc Lascarbot,² made life quite arcadian in this little manor of Acadia. Acadia, by the way, came into its name this year, 1604. It is pretty, and suggests Arcady but, after all, is merely the Algonkian termination *acadia* or *aquoddy*, meaning 'place'.

¹ On all the above see H. P. Biggar (editor), *The Collected Works of Samuel de Champlain* (French versions, and English), Champlain Society, 1922; *Early Trading Companies of New France*, Toronto University History Studies, vol. ii, 1900; *The Precursors of Cartier, 1497-1534*, Canadian Archives, vol. v, 1911.

² See the history of Acadia, written by himself and his *The Theatre of Neptune in New France*, 1615 (reprinted 1927).

During the several years between 1604 and 1607 Champlain, from Port Royal, went south and explored the New England coast thoroughly, making a very dependable map. But in 1607 De Monts's monopoly was revoked and, it being useless to try to colonize in America without a grant of especial trading privileges, De Monts stood the loss of the equivalent in modern purchasing power of \$200,000 which he had sunk into Port Royal and abandoned the settlement.

(b) *Quebec Founded, 1608.*

But in 1608 Champlain, employed by Dupont, was again off—this time to initiate settlement on the St. Lawrence. He built a blockhouse at Kebec, or Quebec, keeping the new Indian name for the French settlement, and placed twenty-eight men there. Nineteen died of scurvy during the winter, and in 1609 Quebec had a population of nine. Inhabitation of the site by Europeans, however, was now permanent; nevertheless Quebec, capital to-day of Canadian-French province of 3 million inhabitants, may be considered to have been founded in 1608, but only as a humble trading-post.

And in 1610 Baron de Poutrincourt returned to reoccupy the abandoned Port Royal, and brought along a priest to preach to the very docile Micmac Indians of this region. The history of this colony then, for several years, centres around the attempt of the Jesuits to establish missionary work here and there and at a new station near by, Mount Desert, under the patronage of a lady of the court.¹ In 1613 a Virginian vessel came north and burned down both the two establishments of Acadia, and dispersed the few colonists.² Biencourt, the son of the baron interested in the colony, joined in its reconstruction when the English violence passed, but the history of Acadia remains one of little progress of any kind. As the Nova Scotia of to-day, it is a land of little account.

¹ Madame de Guerchville. The story from 1610 to 1613 is tedious and unpleasant. Poutrincourt in 1613 was thrown into debtors' prison; in 1615 he died.

² In *The Jesuit Relations*, vol. i, p. 231 seq., is an excellent account of this episode by Father Jouveney.

(c) *The Terrible Iroquois definitely appear on the American Scene, 1609-15.*

In 1615 Champlain's expedition, and Indian alliances, on the St. Lawrence, brought the French into really intimate contact with the great Iroquois confederation of what is now New York State.

Contact had had its beginnings under unfortunate circumstances in 1609. Champlain, on the river, had found that the Algonkian tribes together with the Hurons were at war with the Iroquois. In the summer of 1609 he was persuaded with three of his soldiers, to join a party of sixty Ottawas who came down the Ottawa river to Quebec and then down the Richelieu river and Lake Champlain to Ticonderoga.

Never having seen or heard fire-arms before, nor knowing anything of their nature, 200 Mohawk Iroquois warriors, protected by armour woven of some fibre and made, in part, of some wood, their war chiefs each distinguished by three massive plumes stuck in their long hair, came marching fearlessly right down upon the Ottawas. Suddenly the French fire broke forth, two plumed Mohawk chiefs fell, and the Mohawks, in complete consternation at this new type of weapon possessed by these strangers in armour, panic-stricken, threw off the armour which would impede their flight, and fled.

The following summer Champlain, again with a few soldiers, joined the river Indians against the Iroquois, marching down into New York. This time, 100 Iroquois warriors constructed a rough circular palisade for temporary defence, but the French and their allies broke through it, and massacred all the Iroquois save fifteen, whom they took prisoners, with, thanks to the efficiency even of the clumsy fire-arms of that day, the loss of only three Indians among the French allies.

(d) *The Great Siege of an Iroquois Fort, 1615.*

But the interesting and instructive battle came in 1615. This time not only Hurons from the Great Lakes and Ottawas from the northern river, but Susquehannocks from Pennsylvania,

were to join in the attack on an important Iroquois stronghold a few miles south of Oneida Lake, in what is now Madison County, New York.¹ An active Frenchman who knew the Indians well, one Brulé, was dispatched to go down to the Susquehanna² and bring up the Susquehannock war-party of 500. Meantime, the Hurons and Ottawas surrounded the Iroquois village; and the Susquehannocks, being delayed, attacked.

The Iroquois fort was a marvellously strong one; it differed materially, however, from the other fortified towns of New York and Pennsylvania in being hexagonal instead of merely circular.³ The town of Hochelaga, on the site of Montreal, visited by Cartier between 1540 and 1550, was a village square into which ran streets laid out in a rectangular pattern along which the loghouses of the natives were neatly lined, and around all the village an elaborate palisade construction was thrown up. Outside the palisades were the fields of maize, beans, pumpkins, and sunflowers.

The palisade of the Iroquois fort below Lake Oneida was an ingenious construction of three fences, one within the other. The main palisade was 30 feet high, and all around it there was a platform or gallery, and a gutter. Ladders led up to the galleries on which the defenders were protected by wooden sheds, proof even against bullets, and in these galleries were piles of stones to be hurled down upon attackers. The gutter was filled with water ready to be turned out upon the palisade at any point where the attackers might set it afire.

Around the outermost palisade was a moat of running water which served as an added defence.

Under Champlain's orders and directions his Indians con-

¹ Probably on Nicol's pond, between two little streams in Fenner township.

² Brulé went to Carantouan, a town of the Entouhonorons, three days' journey from the Iroquois village to be attacked. Carantouan had 800 warriors (therefore about 3,000 population) and was strongly fortified after the Iroquois fashion. Along the Susquehanna to its mouth Brulé found many nations at war with one another.

³ Champlain states that they were usually circular. Fleet, 1631 (see Niell on Maryland cited above), notes for the towns of the Potomac river above the Falls that the towns of the Tohogas, Usserhaks, &c., had scaffolds in the walls of the palisades, presumably such as Champlain describes.

structed a movable tower higher than the 30-foot high defences of this populous Oneida community. From behind a screen at the top, he and his arquebusiers poured down a leaden hail on the defenders of the galleries of the stockade, and drove them off. Then the stockade was fired, but the Iroquois turned on the water of the gutters 'and poured it so abundantly that you would have said brooks were flowing through these spouts'.¹

After several days of siege and attack, and failure of Brulé to arrive with his overdue Susquehannocks, the French and their Indians gave up the attack and returned to the St. Lawrence. The delayed Brulé spent three years among the Indians before he returned to explain his absence. In his travels in 1615 he canoed down the Susquehanna to Chesapeake Bay, and later went westward even to Lake Superior.²

This siege and the two battles of 1609 and 1610 are significant among other things in representing *the first important effort of the French to dominate the two passageways from the St. Lawrence watershed down to the Hudson River*. Nearly one hundred years later the French were going to try it again, only to be defeated again by the Iroquois. Champlain's battles here, however, have been overdone by historians as causes of the agelong enmity of French and Iroquois. Had interests warranted it on both sides, the French and Iroquois would both have made peace and alliance at any time during the next hundred and fifty years of struggle, regardless of the old enmities initiated by Champlain. Indian chiefs were not mere savages; they were keen-witted diplomats always seeking advantages politically. The reasons for the French-Iroquois hostility were principally of economic origin.

The French Crown always imposed upon trading companies in America the obligation to furnish funds to provide for missionary enterprise to the Indians. In 1615, upon Champlain's personal urging and description of the opportunity, four friars of the Recollects (a branch of the Franciscan Order) came to

¹ Champlain, 1615 (see the Biggar edition referred to above), p. 908.

² Brulé had visited the Neutrals before Daillon went to them in 1626. See C. W. Butterfield, *The History of Brulé's Discovery and Exploration*, 1898.

Canada and, led by Champlain who left them there alone, went to the triple-stockaded Huron town of Cargouha in the interior.

In 1621, under a Catholic viceroy, however, the two Huguenot brothers De Caen of St. Malo received the monopoly of trade and colonization in Canada. But soon their privileges were revoked and finance on a larger scale was attempted in the formation of the Company of One Hundred Associates, organized under the presidency of Cardinal Richelieu, then virtual ruler of France. This was a company more after the fashion of such as the Virginia Company which was colonizing in Virginia. It was given a monopoly for fifteen years subject to renewal, was pledged on pain of revocation of its charter to carry out a specified programme of actual colonization, and pledged to colonize no Huguenots. In 1628 Canada and Acadia were taken by the English and held until 1632, when they were returned to France as a result of diplomatic bargaining in Europe.

At this time in all Acadia and Canada there were at the most only a hundred or so fur-traders. And subsequently, despite the contracts entered into on the part of the trading companies to support missions to the Indians and actual colonization, the French Crown was unable to have its aims realized.

2. FRENCH, ENGLISH, AND SPANISH COLONIZATION IN CONTRAST

In contrast to the area of Spanish colonization where there were no fur-bearing animals, and to the English areas where the fur-bearing animals of the coastal regions were few and were exterminated by about 1632, the Great Lakes region or St. Lawrence drainage tapped by the French was immensely rich in furs. Now this source of great profits could best be exploited by supplying the Indians with fire-arms and discouraging sedentary agricultural life among the Indians, by making the Indian a fur-hunter who should sell his furs to the French and half-breed traders as they made their rounds of the Indian villages. Destruction of forests, or even the establishment of agricultural European villages here and there in cleared places, would drive away or kill off the beaver and other fur-bearers. The missionaries aimed at making the Indian a sedentary agriculturist and

at keeping fire-arms out of his hands since these tended to stimulate tribal warfare. Their objective conflicted with that of the fur trade. Colonization would decrease the source of fur supply. These facts led to some sabotage by the fur interests in Canadian enterprise, to inadequate backing of the missionaries in Huronia (the Huron missions should have had soldiery to protect them against the Iroquois), and to neglect of immigration.

The prohibition on Huguenot immigration meant that the French Crown would have to be much more active in stimulating immigration than the English. The Huguenots, restless at home, were in large numbers interested in prospects abroad. More than a million left France for other European countries to whom they carried new ideas in manufacture and trade. The Irish linen industry to-day, located in and around Belfast, Ulster, dominant in the world's linen trade, is the outgrowth of the introduction of this industry by French Huguenots, immigrants to the Ulster Plantation just after the middle of the seventeenth century.¹ French Huguenots made heroic attempts to colonize in the middle of the sixteenth century in South Carolina; and nearly two hundred years later they were actively emigrating to English South Carolina, and in that state to-day their descendants are still a dominant element in the population. Others settled in Dutch New Netherlands (now New York) and New England.²

Spanish colonization in the Americas was prohibited to comparable elements in Spain—the Jews and Moors, even to Catholics of Moorish extraction. Many of these 'Moriscoes', however, and converted Jews got over; Jews were important in Brazil, whence many left for Dutch New York between 1640 and 1650. Gipsies,³ also forbidden, got over not so long after Columbus. But, on the whole, only old Catholic Spaniards and Catholic Portuguese came to America, and, moreover, only citizens of Castile were permitted from Spain in the seventeenth

¹ See *The American Indian Frontier*, p. 412.

² Consult references in Appendix IV, section I.

³ See *The American Indian Frontier*, p. 71; the laws concerning gipsies may be consulted in the Spanish compilation (see its index) entitled: *Recopilación de Leyes de . . . las Indias* (5th edition, 1841).

century, for it was for the Queen of Castile, Isabella, that Columbus sailed and discovered.

Yet while the population of all of Spain about 1570 was only 4 millions, there were about 175,000 Spanish colonists in the Americas, not to mention many mixed-bloods.¹

France with her 20 million population in the seventeenth century need not have relied on Huguenot discontent.

England with but about one-third the population of France by 1754 had more than ten times as many colonists under her flag in America. But England got her great start in this in the emigration between 1629 and 1640 of 20,000 restless Puritan sectarians to New England (after which there was practically no further emigration to New England until the nineteenth century). The 20,000 or so who went to New England bred rapidly, and gave off numerous additions to the population of the New Netherlands, Maryland, Virginia, and the Carolinas. The discontented Welsh and Anglo-Irish Quaker sectarians and the restless Scots-Irish account for two other of the largest tides of emigration to America. Aside from these, the English relied to a considerable extent on the restless sectarians from non-English Europe. The German sectarians were one of three dominant groups in Pennsylvania; French Huguenots loomed large in South Carolina; and the original English colonization absorbed the Belgian Walloons and the Dutch of the New Netherlands and the Finns and Swedes of New Sweden. Poles, Italians, and French were in Virginia as early as 1613, brought over to establish vineyards, and glass and iron works.

The French Crown ought to have given much more attention to urging emigration than it did. It ought also to have been more active in fastening its hold upon fields of colonization which, considering the economy of the seventeenth century, would be more potentially worth while than Canada and Acadia. But France, losing valuable time in Canada and Acadia up to 1632, saw New England rapidly populated by the heavy self-impelled Puritan English migration; Virginia well established, the Dutch in the centre, and the Spanish in Florida.

¹ See above, p. 901 f.

Louisiana, it is true, was in fact available, and plantation was at last effected there not only with French but also German colonization. But too late. By 1717, when the little post of New Orleans was established, North America was inevitably to be lost to the French.

I have never seen any analysis of all this, nor any adequate explanation made.¹ The mere prohibition of Huguenot emigration, as we have shown by comparison with the Spanish facts, is not the explanation. Possibly it lies in the long pre-occupation in France with civil war. England suffered much with civil war after 1640—but before 1640 English success in New England and Virginia had been already assured.

The net result of it all is that in 1745 when France and England clashed in North America, there was a population of over 1,000,000 whites in English North America, and only 80,000 whites in French North America. Even had the events of the ensuing World War—for the 'French and Indian Wars' in North America were only a local aspect of Old World war—resulted in returning Canada to France, it is altogether likely that the prolific million in English North America would have in due time swamped colonial France as eventually Texas and California were absorbed.

All this it is necessary to remember if one is to understand how the French American Indian policy and treatment diverged from, say, the English. With the exception of the very late and small-scale operations in Louisiana from about 1717, and of the missionary enterprise, notably in Huronia, which was doomed to early destruction by fire-arms sold in the fur trade (of the Dutch), however much the French Crown might have wished it otherwise, French Indian policy was that of fur-trading interests, not of land-hungry planters.

The Indian nations were, in fact, recognized as such, as sovereign tribes with whom alliances were entered into. The practice of buying land, which spread in the Dutch and English colonies, was never adopted. Indian allies gladly gave sites for fortified trading-posts; and, when farming developed in the

¹ However, see some useful volumes cited in Appendix III.

Quebec region, the Indians there had long since, for the most part, died off from disease.

The demands of the fur trade for the maximum profits led to French attempts to explore farther and farther,¹ and to draw furs from a wider area. Fortification became necessary from time to time in face of danger from unallied Indian nations or from the English who, on the margins of their colonization, were, of course, interested in the trade.

Yet even fortification proceeded slowly. Up to 1665 it was confined to Montreal and points below to the sea. From 1665 to 1700, three forts were built on Lakes Superior and Huron, and five on the Mississippi river when it was at last explored between 1670 and 1680. By 1700 it was clear that the French could never control the Iroquois country of central New York, so fortification against English trade intrusion was necessary on the lakes—thanks to the Iroquois. In 1696, Pensacola in the Lower Mississippi area was established (in what is now the State of Mississippi), but it was 1717 before headway here was made, with the beginning of New Orleans, and of Natchitoches in what is now Arkansas.

Then again came a period when no new forts were built. And then came the threat of English agricultural invasion of the Ohio valley through the gateway where now stands Pittsburg, Pennsylvania. Thereupon, in 1753 and 1754 a chain of four forts from Fort Duquesne (later Pitt under the English) up to Lake Ontario were constructed, to form a wall against the English colonists. But too late. The fur-trading interest of the French had to yield to the English colonists' demands for cheaper land—which meant more marginal land.

3. (a) THE FUR TRADE; AND THE DEVASTATION OF THE INTERIOR BY THE IROQUOIS, AND THE IROQUOIS' SELF-DESTRUCTION

The French, following Champlain's failure to browbeat the Iroquois in 1615, failed to win the Iroquois to an alliance with them. The Dutch, operating at their outpost at what is now Albany (then Fort Orange, Beverswyck, and Rensselaerswyck),

¹ The French missionaries too were great explorers, seeking new fields for the Cross.

got the Iroquois fur trade. The Dutch never sold fire-arms to the down-river Algonkians; these Indians had few furs to offer and fire-arms in their hands would menace Dutch settlement. But the Iroquois had an abundance of beaver, insisted on fire-arms in trade, and got them in abundance. With these fire-arms they scared off further French and allied Indian attempts to crush them, destroyed the Hurons of Huronia *whose beaver resources they were eager to exploit themselves for sale to the Dutch*, and, about 1640-5, that is, in the same period, wiped out the Erie tribes and the Neutral or Cat Nation, with a view to acquiring for their own exploitation the beaver in the countries of these Indians.

As the Iroquois depleted the beaver reserves in their own country the intensity of their war against other native peoples increased. The ever-increasing range of their devastation—for it was destruction more than conquest—was in largest part the consequence of their need and desire for a wider fur-hunting range and, in part too, desire to coerce remoter tribes to carry their own furs to the Albany trading-post rather than to the French posts, for, to get to Albany, the western Indians had to pay the Iroquois heavy tolls for the privilege of crossing Iroquois territory.

Behind the fearful devastation wrought by the Iroquois therefore lay the demands of the fur trade, and the existence of French trade competition, first with the Dutch,¹ then with the English. There was in addition the fact that the strategic position held by the Iroquois—in the middle of the roads between the French sphere of dominance (the St. Lawrence and Lakes watershed) and the Hudson valley which controls New York and splits New England from the lower colonies—made them difficult to crush and led the rivals on both sides of them to cater to their every whim as being neutrals whose swing to one side or the other would destroy the delicate balance of power between the French and their rivals in North America.

¹ The Hurons were destroyed in the Dutch period; see above, p. 876 f., and note that a Huron chief exclaimed ' . . . The Dutch of these coasts are causing our destruction by furnishing fire-arms in abundance *and at a low price* to the Iroquois, our enemies' (*American Indian Frontier*, p. 282).

For the Iroquois in their strategic geographical position held such balance. In 1698 the French tried a second time to crush them but failed again, and thereafter were content if they could keep the Iroquois from entering the English allegiance.

The result of French failure to control the Iroquois territory meant that they could not control the Hudson and split English North America in two; and that therefore they had the impossible task of defending a line of forts all along the western line of the English range of influence.

Meantime the Iroquois played the French off against their rivals. English trade goods given in exchange for furs were cheaper than French. The Iroquois wanted rival traders present so that prices would continue to be satisfactory. They wanted both French and English, one on each side of them, but allying themselves with neither, that they might play off one against the other.

Had one side or the other been able to control the Iroquois, the supply of fire-arms might have been limited, and in any case they could have been prevented from using them to destroy tribes who had not such access to any fire-arms at all or to only a limited supply.

(b) *The Range of Iroquois Conquest.*

What, then, were the consequences of the influence of this competition in the fur trade, on the Indians? We shall only very briefly survey the developments.

Between 1640 and 1654 the Hurons, including those of the great missionary Huronia, were almost completely wiped out. During the same period the Neutrals or Cats and the Eries were exterminated; not even a remnant of either survived to enable students of later days to study their language and culture.

Then the Iroquois turned in earnest on the Susquehannocks below, in what is now Pennsylvania. These Susquehannocks had long since been furnished with fire-arms by the Dutch and Swedes and with them between 1634 and 1651 had conquered the Delawares from whom fire-arms had been kept, and who had few furs to sell. The Swedes, moreover, after 1634 had

furnished cannon for the palisades of Susquehannock towns and sent them advisers in military practice. (After 1664 when the Dutch and Swedes were gone, Maryland, dreading the Iroquois, sent soldiers to help the Susquehannocks against the Iroquois.)

Before 1654 the Susquehannocks had been conquering with their Swedish fire-arms various tribes within Maryland and had clashed with the colony itself. But, now that the Iroquois were looking south, the Susquehannocks and their Chesapeake Bay 'forced auxiliaries' looked north.

Up to 1666 the Susquehannocks at least held their own. But while small-pox killed right and left among the Iroquois attackers out in the open, the dread plague repeatedly worked worse devastation among the Susquehannocks shut up behind their palisades. After 1666 they fell back. By 1674 there remained but some 300 who fled to Maryland. In Maryland they faced trouble with Maryland and Virginia and precipitated Bacon's Rebellion (1676-77) in Virginia,¹ and then settled down in Pennsylvania under Iroquois control.

Between probably 1654 and 1677 the Iroquois with their fire-arms, and with fire-brands, destroyed the Moundbuilder civilization of Ohio, and from their old homes remnants of the Moundbuilder tribes such as the Shawnee fled to west, south, and east. By 1673 already the Iroquois war bands were scourging Michigan in one direction, Labrador in another, and to the south, the interior of Virginia. By 1682 they were ravaging in the Carolinas! In 1742 delegates of the governors of the southern colonies came north to meet Iroquois delegates at Albany, formally acknowledged the Iroquois as sovereign over the surviving Indians and their lands in the Piedmont or upland interior of the Carolinas and of Virginia.

(c) *The End of the Iroquois.*

By 1754—the date of the outbreak of the French and Indian wars—the Iroquois had not only destroyed many tens of thousands of natives in inner North America and wiped out many native civilizations, but, ironically enough, had, themselves,

¹ See above, p. 939 f.

decreased terribly in population. In the war between French and English from 1754 to 1763 they—or, really, what remained of them to the number of about 10,000—remained officially neutral. Some few dissidents joined the English. In Pontiac's conspiracy following 1763, some Senecas joined Pontiac on the French side against the English.

In the Revolutionary War, 1776–83, the Iroquois confederacy split wide open, some joining the Americans, some the English. In August 1779 the American general, Sullivan, and his army made almost a clean sweep of what remained of Iroquois native civilization. At just one town of the Senecas he burnt down 128 houses, and destroyed 200 acres of growing corn and vegetables, with a storehouse containing 20,000 bushels of grain. At a single town of the Cayugas, 1,500 peach-trees were cut down, and innumerable swine and fowl killed.

We can only imagine the effect on the mind and the disposition of the natives who had become involved in this war of the revolting colonies through no interest of their own. Few of them returned to the site of this devastation after the war. Some of the Senecas removed to the north-west territory over the Ohio. But by 1794 the intrusion of squatters into this country made the United States Government determine that the Indians should be forced to sell and move west again. The Indians were refractory; they wanted to stay in the country they were developing.

Wayne and his army marched in with 1,000 soldiers, defeated an army of 2,000 Indians, and proceeded to use Sullivan's methods. The result:

The woods were strewn for a considerable distance with the dead bodies of the Indians and their white auxiliaries, the latter with bayonets and British muskets. The army remained for three days upon the Maumee, during which time all the Indians' houses were burnt, and the cornfields destroyed for some distance both above and below Fort Miami.

Starvation soon brought the Indians to terms with the would-be 'purchasers' of their lands. At the close of Wayne's campaign

the Indians were reduced and impoverished. Those inhabiting the Maumee and Anglaize valleys were left destitute. In one of the letters of Wayne written from the Grand Glaize we read:

The margins of these beautiful rivers, the Miami of the Lake, and the Anglaize, appear like one continued village for a number of miles both above and below the place; nor have I ever beheld such immense fields of corn in any part of America from Canada to Florida.

All this he destroyed.

(Some indication of these wars as a cost to the colonies may be indicated in noting that the siege of one Indian village containing 200 natives, for six weeks, in 1675 cost Maryland alone 100,000 dollars, while the Virginia contingent among the militia attacking the village probably was a larger expense to Virginia. And this was only the beginning of a long and terrible war! King Philip's War cost the New England colonies 100,000 pounds. Of later Indian wars in which we shall see the United States involved, the Cheyenne war of 1864, for example, alone cost 30 million dollars. From 1852 to 1867 the five wars with the Sioux, Navajos, and Cheyennes, had cost altogether 100 million dollars! The cost to the Indians cannot be measured in either dollars or lives.)

4. (a) THE CLASH OF FRENCH AND INDIANS AND BRITISH; AND THE SCALP MARKET IN QUAKER PENNSYLVANIA

The war between the French and British in North America, beginning in 1754 and, practically speaking, ending in 1759, although a treaty of peace in the Old World was not agreed until 1763, was a war in which the British Government acted on a grander military scale than in the Revolutionary War of 1775-83. Britain sent more soldiers and sailors to the colonies in North America in the French war than she did in the Revolutionary War, and spent more blood and treasure in saving them from France than she did in trying to prevent their secession. More men lost their lives, and more money was lost, from 1754 to 1759 than from 1776 to 1783.

Trouble began with the chartering of the Ohio Company.

In 1749 King George granted 500,000 acres of land in the Ohio valley to a company of land speculators, the Ohio Company. This company was composed of wealthy Virginians. Two brothers of George Washington were members of it, as was also the governor of Virginia. By the terms of the king's grant, this company was required to plant 1,000 families on this land, and to maintain a fort on it for defence against Indians and all possible aggression by any other peoples.

In 1750 George Washington, then a young surveyor, was sent out to survey and locate the grant of the Ohio Company, and he and his men succeeded in surveying as far along the Ohio river as Louisville, Kentucky. The company then decided to erect a fort at the junction of the Ohio, Monongahela, and Allegheny rivers—now Pittsburg, Pennsylvania. Meantime the French became alarmed at this effort of the colony of Virginia, through a colonizing company with the support of the British Crown, to fortify and settle territory which France considered as its own sphere of influence. They, too, began to build forts from Lake Erie south to Pittsburg, and in 1754 French soldiers and Virginia militiamen finally clashed.

This clash between Virginia and colonial French troops was the opening of the first war in North America which was not a mere colonial reflex of war between the parent states in Europe. In this case it was war in the colonies which led to war between the parent nations in Europe and the rest of the world. If the colonies, French and English, had been left to fight out the issue themselves, it is evident that the tremendous superiority of the English colonies in point of numbers and ability to raise militia for military operations would eventually overwhelm the resistance of the 80,000 French fur-traders and farmers and their Indian allies.

But colonial affairs were not to be decided merely by military operations and political policy in the colonies. The war which was to decide the issue in North America was a world-wide war. The British Crown in 1754 immediately put colonial military operations under the supreme command of General

Braddock, who proceeded to supplement his command of British soldiers with colonial militiamen, notably Virginians, and took the field against the French forces. War in North America was on, but a formal declaration of war between France and England was not made until 1756.

Hostilities in North America ended in 1759 with the British conquest of Quebec and the St. Lawrence valley, but hostilities continued in the Old World, and peace was not signed until 1763. Britain and France warred for control in India as well as in North America. To North America France sent only 5,000 new troops for operations and consequently was relatively weak there. The peace of 1763 resulted in the complete surrender to Britain of the St. Lawrence valley, the Great Lakes region, and the Ohio valley, with the trans-Allegheny area west to the Mississippi river save for New Orleans and its neighbouring territory.

As a sector in a great world-war, effective in widening the sphere of British influence in North America, the war of 1754-9 in North America is of great historical import. For our study, however, the effect on the Indians and the Indian policy is the centre of interest.

Before war had been formally declared in the Old World, between England and France, Sir William Johnson had already attacked Crown Point. And General Monckton had taken Acadia (and in exiling many French there gave Longfellow the theme for his very beautiful 'Evangeline'). And already Braddock and his army, marching across Pennsylvania to capture Fort Duquesne (Pittsburg) had received a terrible defeat.

(b) The Background of the Story of one of the Indian Allies of France.

From the point of view of the Indian side of the story, in the war of 1754, Pennsylvania and the Delaware or Lennapé Indians are a significant centre of interest.

The Delaware Indians (including the related and eventually absorbed Munsee Delawares) originally occupied the whole of Manhattan Island (N.Y.), the whole of New Jersey, the west shores of the Delaware river in Pennsylvania, and the northern

part of what is now the State of Delaware. As early as 1618 the Dutch from Manhattan had been trading and fortifying on the Delaware. Before 1634 the Susquehannock Indians of the interior had been trying to conquer the Delawares, and (with Swedish fire-arms) succeeded before 1651. From 1634 to 1654 the Swedes (Swedish West India Company) occupied the Delaware with the object mainly of trading for furs with the Susquehannocks, there being few furs available on the Delaware.¹ When, in 1676, the Iroquois conquered the Susquehannocks, they acquired the Susquehannock suzerainty over the Delawares. Periodically the Delawares sent tribute belts to the Iroquois.²

In 1664 the Delaware valley became part of the domains of the Duke of York. In 1681 what are now Pennsylvania and Delaware were transferred to William Penn, who immediately sent out as colonists Welsh, English, and Anglo-Irish Quakers in 1682; Mennonite Germans in 1683. Later the Scots-Irish flowed in. The Quakers took up the lands in south-east Pennsylvania, in so far as they were not already possessed by a few Dutch, Swedish, and English owners who had been there long before 1682; the Germans moved to a ring of lands surrounding the Quakers. When the Scots-Irish came they moved out to the Susquehanna river, beyond the Germans. The Scots-Irish alone were on the still vital Indian frontier. They were the wall which stood as a buffer to enable the pacifist Germans and Quakers to be pacified without risk. But in the legislature of the colony they were unfairly represented. The Quakers, first on the spot, rotten-boroughed³ the colony, and permanently assured themselves that the Quaker minority of the population should have a majority on the assembly.

Now, further concerning the background of the events following 1754, we note the trick played on the Delawares. The Iroquois looked on the Delaware Indians as an orderly peaceful

¹ The Swedes and the Russians who came into Alaska were exclusively interested in the fur trade; for details see *The American Indian Frontier*.

² See my *Origin and Development of Politics*, p. 302.

³ See, on the usage of 'rotten-boroughing' as an American technique, my *Origin and Development of Politics*, 1931.

people of no consequence, took only nominal tribute from them, and in general let them alone. From the time of their first contact with the whites in 1618, the Delawares had gradually declined in numbers until in 1742 only a few thousand remained. They were pacific—'women' the Iroquois called them—and in 1742 were for the most part settled at a point half-way up the Delaware river, at the mouth of the Lehigh, on the edge of the white settlement.

(c) *Pennsylvania 'uses' the Iroquois.*

For some reason unexplained the Pennsylvania authorities desired to get the Delawares away farther west. One can not imagine why. The Indians were friendly and harmless. No attempt ever having been made to christianize them save for one little group who were made Mennonites, they were still pagan, but had no human sacrifice or anything like it. Generally colonies in North America endeavoured to keep friendly Indian remnants near them in order to use them as allies, or as a buffer, against suspicious tribes beyond, so the Pennsylvania incident appears to have been a piece of unexplained greedy stupidity aimed at getting the Indians' lands with the least possible trouble or expense.

So the Pennsylvania authorities bethought themselves of the Iroquois overlords of all Indians in Pennsylvania. Iroquois delegates calling to meet the Pennsylvania authorities apparently had it explained to them that Pennsylvania would be pleased to have the Delawares moved west to the upper Susquehanna river, in interior Pennsylvania, just below New York, where the Delawares could be better exploited and used by the Iroquois. The Iroquois sitting with the Pennsylvania authorities called the Delaware chiefs in to conference. There, in front of the whites, they insulted them unmercifully in a rasping speech and, with shabby excuses for doing so, ordered the Delawares west. Then the speech finished with the peremptory order to get out of the room: 'Don't deliberate, but move away.' . . . 'We have other business to transact with our brothers'—the Pennsylvania delegates. 'We charge you to remove instantly. We

don't give you the liberty to think about it. You are women; take the advice of a wise man and remove immediately.'¹

The pacific Delawares if they had refused to move would undoubtedly, with the tacit consent of the Pennsylvania authorities, have been subjected to wholesale massacre by the Iroquois. *They were a quiet people with more than a hundred years of peaceful contacts with Europeans behind them*; they had docilely sold mile after mile of their lands for mere pittances. So now they moved. Henceforth they were to have no lands, no home to call their own. They were to live on a site loaned to them by the Iroquois, under the eye of the Iroquois who had so bitterly insulted them before the white delegates. But they went west burning with shame and hate chiefly for the Pennsylvanians who had been the chief conspirators against them.

(c) *Delaware Revenge and the Scalp Bounty of the Quaker Colony.*

Ten years later their 'Day' came. Pennsylvania was at war with the French. The Delawares already had begun to slip farther west away from the Iroquois. When Braddock's army marched to the French Fort Duquesne (later Pitt and Pittsburg) on the Ohio, the Delawares were then ready to take revenge. Braddock's defeat was accomplished, not by the very few French soldiers available, but by the Indian allies of France—the Delawares, and with them groups from other tribes in the French alliance.

Suddenly a pacific native people with a century of peaceful intercourse with the whites behind them, had become savages such as are usually pictured in school books, scalping, massacring, knifing, hating white civilization and—they specifically mentioned it—hating the hypocritical Christianity of the people who had driven them west like a band of pariahs.

In 1754 and 1755 the war against the French was a war of Virginians and the mother country. Now one after another of the colonies was to declare war formally against the French and their respective Indian allies.

Pennsylvania was to declare war specifically against the

¹ The entire speech is given in *The American Indian Frontier*, pp. 268-9.

Delaware Indians! The Pennsylvania authorities were now led to descend from ignominy to ignominy.

In June of 1755 General Braddock had offered his own soldiers a bounty of five pounds for each enemy scalp, French or Indian; and special rewards—two hundred pounds—for the scalp of Shingass, a Delaware chief, *and one hundred pounds for the scalp of Father Le Loutre, a Jesuit missionary among the Ohio Indians*. This offer of scalp bounties continued a practice begun by the Dutch and Puritans. Braddock's initiative now led to adoption of this plan of stimulating offensive war against the Indians by various of the colonies. The governor of Pennsylvania, notably, the very next year, announced a series of premiums for scalps which for a number of reasons is particularly deserving of notice.

In the minutes of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania for the 14th April 1756 is entered the 'proclamation of war against the Delaware Indians', by the government of Pennsylvania, signed by Deputy Governor Robert H. Morris:

On the 14th inst. the proclamation of war against the Delaware Indians was published at the Court House in the presence of the Council, Supreme Judges, Magistrates, Officers, etc., and a large concourse of people. . . .

This was a great day for the Philadelphia populace. The atmosphere must have exuded hate for those infamous Delaware Indians who, evicted by the government two decades before (1742), were now taking their revenge by harrying the frontier.

The proclamation went on to the point where the good citizens are urged to go out and get scalps:

And whereas the commissioners appointed with me to dispose of the £60,000 lately granted by Act of General Assembly for His Majesty's use, have, by their letter to me of the tenth inst. agreed to pay out of the same and several rewards for prisoners and scalps hereinafter specified; and, therefore, as a further inducement and encouragement to all His Majesty's liege people, and to the several Tribes of Indians who continue in friendship and alliance with us, to exert and use their utmost endeavour to pursue, attack, take, and recover such of His Majesty's subjects as have been taken and made

prisoners by the said enemies; I do hereby declare and promise, that there shall be paid out of the said £60,000 to all and every person and persons, as well Indians as Christians not in the pay of this province, the several and respective premiums and bounties following, that is to say:

For every male Indian enemy above twelve years old who shall be taken prisoner and delivered at any forts garrisoned by the troops in the pay of this province, or at any of the county towns to the keepers of the common jails there, the sum of one hundred and fifty Spanish dollars or pieces of eight:

For the scalp of every male Indian enemy above the age of twelve years, produced as evidence of their being killed, the sum of one hundred and thirty pieces of eight:

For every female Indian taken prisoner or brought in as aforesaid, and for every male Indian prisoner under the age of twelve years, taken and brought in as aforesaid, one hundred and thirty pieces of eight:

For the scalp of every Indian woman produced as evidence of their being killed, the sum of fifty pieces of eight:

And for every English subject that has been taken and carried from this province into captivity that shall be recovered and brought in and delivered at the City of Philadelphia to the Governor of this province, the sum of one hundred and fifty pieces of eight, but nothing for their scalps. . . .

Persons 'in the pay of the Province'—that is, soldiers—received only one-half of these sums as bounties.

And this is what William Penn's Quaker colony had come to!

Scalping was a native custom which was merely a variant of head-taking. Here we find it adopted by Christian Anglo-Saxon States of great civilization, wealth, and power—adopted not in hate and the heat of anger, or for reprisals, so much as coldbloodedly, *merely as a military expedient which was designed to encourage the cowardly and lazy to take the field in their spare time.*

It was, in a way, a money-saving expedient, in that if the many thousand frontier farmers could be encouraged to make offensive war against the Indians on a commission basis there would be needed so much less a number of regular soldiers paid and maintained by the government during long periods of

inactivity. The plan encouraged the killing of innocent non-combatants, and the murder of Indians who were not a party to war against the English. It is notoriously a fact that in those days many Indians even of tribes actively allied to the English were murdered by the frontiersmen with a view to getting scalps to turn in for the premiums offered.

What official could tell the difference between the scalp of a murdered Christian Indian and that of some slain enemy Indian? We note, further, the inducement offered in the Pennsylvania premiums for the man-hunters of the frontier to kill their prisoners, or, rather, not to take prisoners at all. What frontiersman would ordinarily take the trouble and go to the expense of dragging Indian men and boys as prisoners to a fort or county seat to collect 150 pieces of eight for each when, *by tomahawking them and merely bringing in their scalps at his leisure when he had bagged enough, he could collect for each 130 pieces of eight!*

Circumstantial evidence for the deduction that the Pennsylvania government *deliberately determined to encourage the murdering of those males* who might otherwise be taken prisoner lies in the fact that, while the difference in the rewards for the dead and the living in the case of male children and male adults is insignificant, the difference in the case of women and children is great.

The Delaware Indians against whom this declaration of war had been directed were now doing much damage to life and property on the Pennsylvania and Virginia frontiers, following the defeat of Braddock. But as the tide of war began to turn against the French, in the course of the next year, they subsided. Some bands were brought again under the influence of the neutral Iroquois in 1756—those bands, chiefly, who still resided in the northern Susquehanna valley.

In 1758 Christian Post journeyed to the Ohio valley and negotiated peace between the Shawnees and Delawares there and the English, assuring their neutrality for the brief remainder of the war.

In 1759 Quebec was taken. Fighting was ended in North America between French and English. Peace between France and Great Britain in the Old World was made in 1763.

5. THE CHEROKEES AND THEIR NEIGHBOURS

We have already explained how, after 1759, the Iroquois lost the unique position they had held in North America during the time that the French were serious rivals to the British. Here we may briefly note how the equally great though historically less significant Creek, Cherokee, Choctaw, and Chickasaw confederacies of the Southern Appalachian highlands and Piedmont, fared in the French and Indian war.

These great peoples had first met whites when De Soto and his great army of 1,500 men explored in the south from 1539 to 1542. Thereafter they had no European contacts until after the settlement of Florida by the Spanish in 1565, when occasional conflict occurred. From 1680 on, as we have seen, the Creeks were active in helping the Carolina slave-raiders to destroy the Georgia and Florida missions.¹ In 1730 the Choctaws as allies of the French of Louisiana helped to destroy the Natchez Indians.² In 1736 they aided the French in war on the Chickasaws.

Just before the French War of 1754 to 1763 Carolina traders were busily influencing the eastern villages of the Choctaw confederacy. The French were influential in the western villages. So, in 1754, the confederation split wide open, the eastern villages siding with the English, the western with the French.

The Chickasaws, inveterate enemies of the Choctaws, defeated them and the French in their wars with them from 1736 to 1740, and 1750 to 1752, and remained rather pacific thereafter. The Cherokees entered the war on the English side and sent warriors to assist in the attack on the French Fort Duquesne. These warriors, in 1756, were on their way home, coming down the mountain trails. Now Virginia, too, had offered scalp bounties as an incentive for her soldiers to kill French Indians. Of course, the bounty was given for any Indian scalp, as one could not distinguish the hair of a French Indian from that of an English one.

Some German settlers in the mountains—part ancestors of

¹ See above, p. 872 f.

² See above, p. 974 f.

the 'mountain whites' in the Appalachians to-day—led by a British officer, eager for scalp money, ambushed and slew forty Cherokees. *The whole Cherokee Confederacy, in retaliation for this crime, thereupon turned to the French side!*

Heretofore neutral, the Creeks, seeing an opportunity to destroy the Cherokees, now joined the English. Meantime small-pox raged throughout the Cherokee villages.

In 1759 Governor Lyttelton of South Carolina declared war on the Cherokees. Throughout 1759 and 1760 the Cherokees continued to devastate the frontier. In 1760 South Carolina appealed to General Amherst, head of the British forces in North America, for help against the Cherokees. Amherst sent Colonel Montgomery with a battalion of kilted Scottish Highlanders and four companies of Royal Scots. This army suffered severely at the hands of the Cherokee warriors, but managed during the year to destroy a number of the Cherokee villages. Then it withdrew, leaving an insufficient force to protect South Carolina from Cherokee revenge.

In the next year (1761) the South Carolinians again had to appeal to Amherst, who sent a new army under Colonel Grant which wrought havoc in the Cherokee country and destroyed nearly all their villages and ruined their corn. *Were it not for the service of the Creek warriors as scouts for the British army, there is no doubt but that Montgomery's and Grant's armies would have suffered the fate of Braddock's army before Fort Duquesne.* After 1763 the two halves of the Choctaw Confederacy united again; and from 1765 to 1771 the Creeks and Choctaws were continually at war.

CHAPTER IX

THE CENTRAL ALGONKIAN FRONTIER: PONTIAC, TECUMSEH, AND THE REACTION AGAINST CHRISTIANITY

I. (a) PONTIAC AND THE CENTRAL ALGONKIAN FRONTIER, 1763-5

THE treaty of peace signed in 1763 made Canada and Acadia British. The 80,000 French, of course, remained as an important group and to-day, in the united provinces of the Dominion of Canada, the province of Quebec is almost exclusively French in race and language—and Catholic; and the two great cities of Quebec and Montreal are French. The original 80,000 have multiplied to over 3,000,000, are one-third of the population of Canada to-day, and have sent many emigrants on to the adjacent United States, where they are one of the more important population groups in New England.

New Orleans and the great Middle West beyond the Mississippi, greater Louisiana, were left with France.

But France arranged a secret exchange with Spain, in the Old World, and transferred this great but wild country to the Spaniards. In the two years intervening before the secret was out and Spanish officials arrived, Pontiac's uprising occurred.

The territory north-west of the Ohio river up to the Great Lakes—the old north-west territory—was definitely given up to England. The British Crown assigned Sir William Johnson the task of treating with the Indians here who had fought on the French side, and of winning them over as friends.

As we shall explain in more detail elsewhere the British Crown had now taken control of the Indian frontier out of the hands of the several colonies. It now controlled the Indian frontier.

It alined itself with the interests of the fur trade and against further movement of settlement. The British were taking over the great fur trade of the St. Lawrence watershed and Ohio valley. British North American Indian policy now presents a clash between the fur-trading interest inherited from the

French and upheld by the Crown, and the interests of the several colonies who desired to expand settlement into the north-west.

This territory north-west of the Ohio up to and including the shores of the Great Lakes was the country of the great Algonkian group of tribes known as the Central Algonkians. They included the Ottawas, the Ojibways, the Pottowatomies, the Miamis, the Sacs, Foxes, Kickapoos, and Piankeshaws, and the Illinois group which included the Kaskaskias, Cahokias, Peorias, Mitchiganias, and Tamaroas. In addition, Ohio had become the home of the Delawares and the Shawnees. Those two peoples were landless, and lived in Ohio by virtue of the good-will of the native tribes. They particularly were bitter against the whites, who had hustled them from pillar to post. In Ohio there also lived a group of Wyandots (Hurons) which had survived the old devastation by the Iroquois.

These peoples as yet had had but little contact with the whites, notwithstanding the considerable part played by Iroquois devastations and the French fur trade in their territory, the Ohio valley;¹ it was now their turn to become the pivotal point in the devastating forward movement of the settlers' frontier.

The geographical and political relationships of the Central Algonkians were chiefly with the Senecas, the greatest of the five tribes of the Iroquois Confederation. The north-western tribes were friendly to French interests; the Senecas, although neutral along with the rest of the Iroquois tribes, always had inclined towards the French rather than the English.

The north-western tribes had from the beginning of their relationships with the French been petted and showered with presents and kind words. Their trade and their alliance had been necessary to the expansion of French influence and power. The French sent out no broods of squatting farmers to encroach on the Indian hunting territories. French traders were men carefully selected by the trading companies to deal amiably and honestly with the natives. The French made no attempt to limit the political sovereignty of the native tribes.

¹ See above, pp. 986 ff.

Naturally enough, then, these tribes as well as the Iroquois hesitated to see French power, as a counterbalance to English power, pass from the continent.

Some of them, the Shawnees for example, would have preferred to trade with the English for the same reason as did the Iroquois, because English industrial products were cheaper,¹ but yet they took up arms for France in order to keep the French on the Ohio.

Fighting ended in North America, as we have observed, in 1759, although Old World difficulties were not finally compounded and peace signed until 1763. There were, then, four years of truce in North America, years in which the Indians were restlessly thinking.

In the fall of 1760 Major Robert Rogers was sent to take over Detroit, Michilimackinac, and the other north-western forts of the French. In November, on his way to Detroit, he met Pontiac, who had been leader of the Ottawas as allies of the French against the English. Pontiac at this time appeared sincerely willing to co-operate with the English, and it seems that he hoped to obtain personal aggrandizement through such co-operation.

But from this day when English power stood unchallenged in the north-west, the English authorities felt no need to cater for the political sensibilities of the Indian tribes and their chieftains. Treaty presents decreased in value. Less dignity was accorded the chiefs in their political conferences with the English officers. English squatters began to move in on Indian lands, feeling that the Indians were cowed. English traders felt safe in ruthlessly cheating and insulting the Indians.

Altogether the English became immediately distasteful to the Indians, and they longed for a return of French power to check the dominance of the English and make the Indians again the holders of something of the balance of power.

The despair which overtook the natives is evidenced in the fact that a messiah of whom we shall speak in a later chapter appeared among the Delawares, and his message was eagerly accepted by large numbers of all the north-western tribes.

The French traders made use of the Indian discontent. They

¹ See above, p. 988.

explained to the Indians the fact that France and England were still at war in the Old World. They insisted that the defeat of the French in North America was only temporary and that, if the Indians would rise and drive the English from the north-west, in a short time the French king would send French troops who would help the Indians to keep them out.

The first sign that this underhand stimulation of Indian hate was having effect appeared in the growing hostility to the English of the Seneca Iroquois in 1761. Then the hereditary head chief of the Ottawas, Pontiac, who was also a principal priest of the great religious secret society of the Algonkian tribes, the Midewiwin, decided to assume the leadership of the discontented Indians.

Pontiac was then about fifty years old. His tribe, the Ottawas, had long been loosely allied to the Ojibways (Chippeways) and the Pottowattomies, and he soon was the leader of this triple alliance. He began to preach—somewhat under the influence of the prophet who had arisen among the Delawares and whose message was spreading in the north-west—that the various Indian tribes should abolish war among themselves once and for all and bend all their energies in unified military action against the English.

In the autumn of 1762 he began to send out ambassadors to tribes far and wide urging them to join with him in a simultaneous attack on all the forts occupied by the English. Around the Great Lakes, down to the tribes behind the Carolinas, and as far south as the region of New Orleans, his ambassadors travelled with their wampum belts. These messengers carried also letters written in the native hieroglyphics on birch bark. Pontiac kept two secretaries busy, one to write his birch-bark messages, another to read them; he endeavoured to keep the one ignorant of what the other knew. Later, during the siege of Detroit, he requisitioned provisions from the French settlers near the fort, and gave in exchange promissory notes in birch-bark hieroglyphics signed with a figure of an otter, his own clan insignia; all these, it was said, were faithfully redeemed in the course of time.

Pontiac was immediately joined by the Senecas, the Wyandots (Hurons), the Delawares, Shawnees, Miamis, Kickapoos, and, of course, had with him his own three tribes, the Ottawas, Ojibways, and Pottowattomies. The Creeks to the south agreed to help, but the Cherokees, who had lately suffered badly at the hands of the Carolinians,¹ felt they had had enough of war for the time. In the north-west, the Sacs, Foxes, Menominees, and Winnebagos, all large and important tribes, insisted on remaining neutral. The Illinois tribes did not agree to assist until nearly the end of the war, when their help was useless.

Pontiac, therefore, had not the solid backing of all the north-western tribes; and those that did join merely agreed to fight under the direction of their own chiefs. Pontiac was not a commander-in-chief, and there was apparently no confederation of tribes effected.

On the 10th February 1763 the treaty of peace between France and England had been signed. All Canada and the north-west were surrendered by France to England. And, secretly, France had transferred all of greater Louisiana to Spain.

Pontiac did not learn of this treaty of peace of 1763; and the French traders² surreptitiously continued to promise that France would yet come to the rescue. *Forged letters from imaginary agents of the French Crown were delivered to Pontiac*, promising eventual aid.

(b) *The Rejected Redmen seek a Pagan Saviour; The First Prophet.*

We have stressed in this chapter on the developments of the latter half of the eighteenth century the significance of the Delaware Indian tribe both in themselves as an element in Indian strength in Ohio and as an example of the nature and effects of the Indian policies pursued in North America north of Mexico other than the missionary enterprises in Spanish Florida and Georgia and in French Huronia.

The landless and embittered Delawares are significant in another aspect of the story not touched on yet—in exhibiting

¹ See above, p. 1001.

² Not the French officials or the Crown; the forts were now in English hands, and the French officials in New Orleans.

the development among surviving Indians of bitter anti-Christian and positive anti-civilizational attitudes, the result of experience with Christian nations; and the beginning of the development of a peculiar pagan messianism, developed by the so-called messiahs or prophets *of whom the prophet of the Delawares was the first*. It is not surprising to find this pagan messianism begun, in Ohio, by the Delawares, who of all the Ohio tribes had had the longest and closest contacts with the whites.

The prophet of the Delawares, whose name has not come down to us, began preaching about the year 1762, among the Delawares of the Muskingum in Ohio. His religious message became linked to the political innovations and 'conspiracy' of Pontiac and combined to ferment the discontent of the Indian tribes of the old north-west. The prophet announced that in spirit he had been led to the abode of the Great Spirit, and that the Great Spirit had given him a message for Indians of all the tribes. He was to tell them that the Great Spirit was displeased with war between Indian tribes, with the practice of polygamy, with the use of alcoholic drinks, and with the making of magic by sorcerers and witches.

His message also contained directions for the establishment of a ritual organization or cult, built up of native elements. Among other things the Great Spirit had given him a prayer-stick on which was engraved in native hieroglyphics a prayer which was to be recited every morning and evening by all followers of the new cult. There were certain sacrifices also ordained to be regularly made, the nature of which has not been recorded, for his message said: 'Hear what the Great Spirit has ordered me to tell you! You are to make sacrifices in the manner that I shall direct. . . .'

The usual native American means of making one ritually 'clean' were also to be employed. And, if these and all other commands were obeyed, the Great Spirit promised that the Indians would be made strong again and be able to expel the Europeans from the land.

To expel the whites, however, the Indians were to rely on supernatural power, *not on the use of fire-arms* and other non-

Indian things. In fact, the Indians were ordered in matters economic and military *to revert to the cultural condition of the Golden Age*, the age before the whites came, when deer were plentiful, and fire-arms did not belch forth in the woods. A contemporary writer notes of this:

The first, or principal doctrine they taught was to purify themselves from sin, which they taught they could do by the use of emetics and abstinence from carnal knowledge of the different sexes; to quit the use of fire-arms, and to live entirely in the original state they were in before the white people found out their country. Nay, they taught that fire was not pure that was made by steel and flint, but that they should make it by rubbing two sticks together. . . . It was said . . . that by following his instructions . . . they would be able in a few years to drive the whites from the country.

Pontiac, priest of the native Midé cult of his own tribe, the Ottawas, seemed to put some faith in the prophet's message. He was too practical, however, to want to drive French as well as English out of the country, or to obey the injunction to give up the use of fire-arms. In a version of the prophet's message reported from Pontiac's lips and, I presume, bent to his own uses, the Great Spirit is reported to have ordered the Indians to love the French, to whom he, the Great Spirit, is well disposed.

After Pontiac's defeat the cult of the Delaware prophet waned, although a new prophet preached among the Munsee Delawares from about 1766 to 1775 and perhaps later. There can be little doubt that the Shawnee prophet, Tenkwatawa, beginning to preach in 1795, was spiritually heir to the nameless prophet of the Delawares and his Munsee follower.

(c) *The War in Ohio and Pennsylvania.*

Pontiac set the 2nd May 1763 as 'The Day'. Then all the tribes in his alliance were to attack simultaneously all the forts in the possession of the British. The garrisons were to be lulled into a sense of security, entrance to the forts gained by strategy, and the garrisons treacherously taken prisoner or murdered. Pontiac himself was to take Detroit.

An Indian girl, mistress of an officer, gave away the plan at Detroit in time for the garrison there to be prepared and save themselves. So on the 2nd May Pontiac could merely begin to besiege the fort.

While Detroit was besieged, by Pontiac and his three tribes with some Wyandots, the main body of the Wyandots by stratagem and treachery took Fort Sandusky. The Senecas took Fort Venango, massacred the garrison, and burned the commander at the stake. Other old French forts, then in English hands, fell to the Indians—St. Joseph, Michilimackinac, Ouatanon, Miami, Presque Isle, and Le Bœuf.

In August Fort Pitt was openly and very bravely attacked by the Delawares and Shawnees, aided by some Senecas and Wyandots, but they could not take it.

For six months, from the 2nd May 1763, Pontiac kept up the siege of Detroit. In July disaffection appeared among the Wyandots and the Pottowattomies, but the others held out. Military help was on its way from the East for the garrison. By September Pontiac realized that he could never take the fort. The failure to take Detroit was a vital blow to Pontiac's 'conspiracy', and the holding out of Fort Pitt was lamentable enough.

Although Fort Pitt had not fallen, the garrison there was powerless. So, during the summer of 1763, the Delawares and Shawnees plunged eastward through the forests of Pennsylvania and fell on the outlying settlements of the frontier. All settlements west of Carlisle were completely destroyed and the 20,000 or so inhabitants forced eastward to depend on the charity of the more fortunate colonists.

In July 1763 Bouquet and a force of Scottish Highlanders and English regiments moved west from Carlisle and in August defeated the Delawares at Bushy Run, in a battle in which 130 British and 60 Indians were slain. Bouquet then took possession of Fort Pitt. Meantime, in the north, Bradstreet and a force of 3,000 men were moving to raise the siege of Detroit.

It was the fury of the Delawares on the frontiers of Virginia and Pennsylvania in this summer of 1763 which precipitated

an illuminative crisis in Pennsylvania. In Virginia there resulted no internal strife in the colony because there was a militia law which promptly effected the placing of 1,000 paid and well-armed riflemen in the field to take the offensive against the Indians. But the government of Pennsylvania was consistently unprepared. The assembly, under Quaker control, did not wish to make war on the Indians. It did, however, provide for a measure of defence which the frontiersmen of the colony considered inadequate. The assembly passed a bill providing for the raising and equipping of a force of 700 men. This force was to be enlisted from among the farmers of the frontier, was to draw pay only during the harvest season (when they would lose by reason of not being able to work on their farms), was not to perform any garrison duty, and was not to leave the area of settlement to pursue Indians.

The purpose of the force was merely to protect the farmers of the frontier from murder by the Indians while going about their peaceful pursuits. The Rev. John Elder, pastor of the Presbyterian congregation of Paxton, Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, was given command of the force raised in his county. The frontiersmen of this region, dissatisfied with mere defence, organized a company of unpaid volunteers, commanded by James Smith, which attacked the Delawares who still were settled on the upper Susquehanna.

Sir Jeffrey Amherst, then commander-in-chief of the King's forces in the colonies, as well as of the frontiersmen in Pennsylvania, was indignant at this Quaker compromise between absolute pacifism and that adequate defence which requires that the war be carried into the enemy's country. So the bitterness of the Delawares' revenge came and went during the summer of 1763. Then in the winter of that year, after a lull in the storm during the autumn, came another surge of warriors down upon the Pennsylvania frontier.

(d) Quakers versus Presbyterians and the Delawares again.

We recall the vicious trick played on the Delawares by the Pennsylvania government; the reckless driving of this peaceful

people west where they became the most savage of terrorizers of the frontier; where they led in the destruction of Braddock's army, and became the object of Pennsylvania's scalp bounty. We recall, too, that among this desperate, despairing people, driven away from Christian influence by Christians, the first pagan prophet arose, preaching peace, but whose message of union became the rallying cry for the warlike Pontiac who was now devastating the frontier. We have just noted now how bitter a penalty Pennsylvania was paying for her stupid Indian policy.

But it was the Scots-Irish Presbyterians in Lancaster County and thereabouts on the Susquehanna who were paying the penalty for an offence engineered by a government in which the Quakers dominated. There were only 40,000 Quakers in Pennsylvania, while there were 110,000 Germans, 40,000 Anglicans, and 40,000 Presbyterians mostly composed of the Scots-Irish out on the very edge of the frontier.

The Scots-Irish had an Indian policy of their own—extermination—which they wanted to work out. The government wanted instead to continue to treat with the Indians as sovereign nations, make presents annually when treaties were renewed, and buy land formally. This policy was as ruinous as that of extermination, but it was less brutal and less likely to have unfortunate retroactive effect on the psychology of the whites. Massacres and lynchings hurt the doers as much as the victims.

The Scots-Irish now that the Delawares were coming down on them wanted a free hand, and further wanted to be paid for killing, wanted a renewal of the scalp bounty of 1754. The government, safe behind the Scots-Irish bulwark, talked pacifism in the face of the attacks of the Delaware Indians whom they had made into savages.

Innocent victims in this internal quarrel in Pennsylvania were the two little groups of friendly reservation and mission Indians who resided within the bounds of the frontier and who peacefully went on with their pursuits while the 'wild' Indians beyond the frontier clashed with the frontiersmen. Yet these

harmless creatures were to be made victims of the hatred of Presbyterian or Quaker.

In the winter of 1763 there were about 140 Delaware converts of the Moravian missionaries living in three tiny settlements in north-eastern Pennsylvania, supporting themselves by agriculture under the direction of the missionaries. In the winter of 1763 the band of rangers, led by James Smith, accused these Christian Indians of lending aid and comfort to the pagan Delawares at war with the province, and openly avowed their decision to massacre these Christian Indians, and the facts make it very clear that they would have carried out their threat. The government, however, moved the 140 Christians into the barracks in Philadelphia where, during the winter, one-half of them died of small-pox.

Foiled in this case in their desire for Indian blood, the rangers turned their attention to the little band of twenty Indians living at Conestoga, Lancaster County, Pennsylvania. This little group was a mixed remnant of the once great and populous Susquehannock confederacy. They lived largely on the bounty of the province given in the form of treaty presents, and got extra money for rum by peddling basketry in the neighbourhood and doing a little hunting.

On the 14th December 1763, while the 'younger Indians' were out selling basketry or hunting, a band of fifty of the Scots-Irish settlers, led this time by one Matthew Smith, burst into the houses of these Indians and shot and hatcheted all they could find, three old men, two women, and a boy. They took their scalps off and 'otherwise mangled' the bodies. The surviving fourteen Indians who had not been at home when the Scots-Irish called were gathered by the authorities of the county and put, for protection, in the county workhouse in Lancaster. The Christmas services in Lancaster, this winter, had been postponed until the 27th December. While the community were in church, the Indian-killers entered Lancaster, broke into the workhouse, and killed and scalped the four men, three women, and seven children remaining there.

Within a few months, due to the importunity of these fron-

tiersmen, the province was again to offer scalp bounties. The scalps taken from these victims were undoubtedly turned in for the scalp bounties through a 'fence'. *The scalps taken from these Conestoga Indians would net the murderers about \$1,500, more or less, according to the age of the children scalped.*

These murders stirred the whole province. They embittered the enemy Indians, and angered the Iroquois. Benjamin Franklin wrote a pamphlet concerning the murders. Among other things he noted that

there are some (I am ashamed to hear it) who would extenuate the enormous wickedness of these actions by saying: 'The inhabitants of the frontiers are exasperated with the murder of their relations by the enemy Indians in the present war.' It is possible; but though this might justify their going out into the woods to seek for these enemies and avenge upon them those murders, it can never justify their turning into the heart of the country to murder their friends.

Franklin's words concerning a later massacre of Christian Indians in 1782 during the Revolutionary War may be used in connexion with reflections on this massacre of 1763: 'Some of the Indians may be supposed to have committed sins, *but one cannot think the little children had committed any worthy of death.*'

The Rev. Mr. Elder, pastor and commandant of these murderers, in his own words 'expostulated' with them on their way to commit the crime of the 27th, but in vain. He immediately wrote an explanation to the provincial authority, in which he condones their act. The act, of course, he observes, was regrettable, *but 'the men, in private life, are virtuous and respectable; not cruel but mild and merciful'*. He so far sympathized with them that he failed to assist the authorities in their apprehension and punishment: partly, no doubt, because of his fear of the inflamed public opinion of the Presbyterian elements of Lancaster County; he warned the authorities that it is 'dangerous to act in opposition to an outraged multitude'.

The Rev. Mr. Elder's parishioners, like those of the Puritan clergy, evidently felt that they were agents of the will of God in the use of gun and hatchet and scalping-knife against the heathen. A passer-by had come upon the murderers red-handed on the

14th December, and ventured to express horrified surprise; whereupon one of them 'demanded if he believed in the Bible, *and if the Scripture did not command that the heathen should be destroyed*'. It was about this time that one of those directly implicated gave birth to a phrase which, in variations, has been a favourite of militant Puritans: 'What remains is to leave our cause with our God and our guns.'

A generation later this event was vividly remembered on the Pennsylvania and Virginia frontiers. The Rev. J. Doddridge, recounting what his parents had told him of it, condones the murders, as did the Rev. Mr. Elder, and explains, apparently by way of exculpation: 'Should it be asked what sort of people composed the band of murderers of these unfortunate people, I answer that they were not miscreants or vagabonds; many of them were men of the first standing in the country.' He further observes that any of the community or 'country' who might wish to lift his or her voice in protest against the vile deed dared not, because the murders were generally and popularly approved of.

Another clergyman must be brought to the bar as a witness to the frontier psychology of the day. This man was at that time a Presbyterian clergyman, not of the wilderness, as was Elder, but of the city of Philadelphia. He is urban in his attitude and therefore somewhat more clever. He takes a *purely juristic point of view*. In view of our consideration in earlier chapters of the nature of Indian policy of the day we must confess that his reasoning is good and his conclusion undeniable. It is surprising that nineteenth- and twentieth-century apologists who have sought to remove the tarnish from the escutcheon of the Scots-Irish and Presbyterian people of America have invariably overlooked this one thesis which alone offers a foothold for whitewashing. *Were any murders committed at all? No!* coolly answers the Rev. John Ewing! He explains:

'Tis not a little surprising to us here, that orders should be sent from the Crown, to apprehend and bring to justice those persons who have cut off that nest of enemies that lived near Lancaster. They never were subjects to His Majesty; were a *free independent state*

retaining all the powers of a free state; sat in all our treaties with the Indians, as one of the tribes belonging to the Six Nations, in alliance with us; . . . And what surprises us more than all the accounts we have from England is that our Assembly, in a petition they have drawn up to the King for a change of Government, should represent this province in a state of uproar and riot, when not a man in it has once resisted a single officer of the government, and *not a single act of violence committed, unless you call the Lancaster affair such, although it was no more than going to war with that tribe*, as they have done before with others without a formal proclamation of war by the government.

These two overt acts of protest during December on the part of the aggrieved Scots-Irish Presbyterians of the frontier were the instigation for the outbreak of an intense and general hysteria in which the dominant note was hate alike of Quakers and Indians. The frontiersmen had the active sympathy and support of the Presbyterians of Philadelphia, and apparently of all the non-Quaker poorer classes of that city. The frontiersmen decided to march on Philadelphia.

Their aims seem to have been indefinite, except that they were absolutely determined to massacre the Christian Delaware Indians who were being supported at the public expense in the city barracks.

They expected to meet little or no resistance, and had they not met serious resistance the result would undoubtedly have been a political revolt and a more aggressive Indian war similar to 'Bacon's Rebellion' in Virginia. The pacifist Quakers immediately shipped their Indian wards through New Jersey to New York; the New York governor refused them admission and they were returned to Philadelphia—but not until the impending danger had passed.

About 1,000 frontiersmen marched into Germantown on the edge of Philadelphia. But the Quaker youth had armed themselves. The two groups came to terms with Benjamin Franklin as mediator. They were conciliated with another scalp bounty; the act passed the 7th July 1764. The absence of a bounty heretofore, the Scots-Irish explained, 'had dampened the spirits of many brave men'.

(e) *Pontiac's Failure.*

The Indian war against the English continued during 1764. Pontiac and his Ottawas remained in the vicinity of Detroit. The campaigns of Bradstreet in the north, and of Bouquet in Ohio, moving west from Fort Pitt, were discouraging Pontiac's native allies, and tribe after tribe left him and came to terms with the British. Bradstreet in the lake region sent the agents of the lakes tribes to treat with Sir William Johnson, Indian superintendent for the Crown. Bouquet brought the Delawares, Shawnees, and Ohio villages of Senecas to terms. Pontiac then retired to the Maumee valley for refuge among the Miamis and other tribes who still believed with Pontiac that the French would yet come to their aid. The Illinois forts, Chartres, and the tribes of the vicinity had not yet been in conflict with British troops.

Pontiac then began to prepare for new hostilities with the aid of the tribes of the region—the Miamis, Kickapoos, Piankeshaws, and the branches of the Illinois Algonkians, namely, the Kaskaskias, Cahokias, Peorias, Mitchiganias, and Tamaroas. Then he went to St. Ange, the French commander of Fort Chartres, and demanded that the French promises be immediately realized. St. Ange, of course, was not empowered to help; his duty merely was to maintain the fort until the British sent a garrison to take it over.

Pontiac began to suspect that the French had duped him. He decided to address himself to St. Ange's superiors and send an embassy to New Orleans, and there demand help. In the summer of 1764 his ambassadors left Illinois by canoe, and, visiting various tribes *en route*, arrived in New Orleans in March 1765.

(f) *His Disillusionment.*

It was just at this time that the secret transfer (1762) of Louisiana to Spain was becoming generally known in New Orleans, and the terribly shamed officers of the government there were preparing for the arrival at any moment of Spanish officials and soldiers to take over New Orleans and the other

posts of Louisiana (including the newly established post, St. Louis).

The French governor, D'Abbadie, was weak with illness, and, it is said, weakened by his shame at the imminent transfer of Louisiana and at the imminent necessity of telling the ambassadors of the faithful Pontiac that France would not help.

The Shawnees' chief who was speaker of the Indian embassy faced D'Abbadie and demanded the assistance of munitions and troops for Pontiac. At the conference were several red-coated British officers who happened to be visiting New Orleans. The Shawnees' speaker incidentally referred to these British when, in making his final demand, he said: 'These red dogs have crowded upon us more and more; and, when we ask them by what right they come, they tell us that you, our French fathers, have given them our lands. We know that they lie. . . .'

But the Indian ambassador soon learned that the 'red dogs' were not altogether wrong; that the French had long since secretly conveyed the great Louisiana territory to Spain, and that they, the Indians, had been mere pawns in a European trade war—a 'beaver war' Pontiac himself expressed it, seeing himself as having been duped by the fur-traders of St. Louis.

Before the disillusioned ambassador of Pontiac left New Orleans he demanded of the French 'that you make up to us the guns, the powder, the hatchets, and the knives, which we have worn out in fighting your battles'. But refused everything, he and his fellows left in despair, hating all white men and white civilization now that they saw that there were no whites who did not seek merely their exploitation as fur-hunters.

Now the British Crown assumed control of the Indians of the Ohio valley. Its aim was to retain this great western preserve—like the French before them—as a great reservoir of beaver-skins, with Indians for the hunting. But the increasing population of agriculturists in the old British colonies wanted to press on west and cultivate the Ohio valley. The Crown's favouring of the Indian trade (or fur trade), with the corresponding resistance to the cry of the borderland whites for more and cheaper agricultural land and for the repression of the fur trade

which furnished the Indians with the fire-arms which could be used against the whites as well as on beaver, was one of the underlying causes of the revolt of the colonies against the mother country which began in 1775.

During the period of restless conflicts of Indians, borderers, and fur-traders in the Ohio valley between 1765 and 1775, Pontiac, considered as being still a potential menace to white interests despite his quietness after his great disillusionment, was murdered by a drunken Indian employed for the purpose by an English fur-trader.

2. (a) THE BEGINNING OF THE INDIAN POLICY OF THE UNITED STATES

In its essentials the Indian policy of the United States of America is the Indian policy of colonial Virginia. Virginia treated the Indian tribes as sovereign nations, adopted the Dutch innovation of formally purchasing land and acquiring deeds thereto, rejected the Indians from the zone of Christianity and civilization, watchfully waited while they died off or killed one another off (encouraged to this by the whites), then gradually surrounded one isolated remnant after another on its national territory, and this national territory became known as a 'reservation'.

This policy, as we have seen, was adopted by colonies founded subsequent to 1607.

Upon the outbreak of the French war in 1754 the various colonies handled the Indians on their borders in this fashion, as laid down by Colonel Charter.

The French war of 1754 was a war directed by the British Crown. French and British relied heavily upon Indian allies.

The leaders of the British military faced the fact that the French frontier lines were, as regards the allied Indians, quite unified. The Indians had to deal with but one set of authorities; while, on the British side, there were fourteen governments, each dealing separately with Indian allies, and the several governments were sadly at odds with one another, the Indians always taking advantage of this colonial disunion.

In organizing the Indian alliances on the eve of the war with the French, General Braddock therefore deemed it advisable to appoint one Indian agent to deal with the tribes of the North and another to deal with those of the South. Sir William Johnson had the more important task of acting as agent for the Iroquois and other tribes of the North. Braddock's move soon received the approval of the Crown. These agents during the period of hostilities were subordinate to the military command, but after 1763 they were civilian officials acting under the immediate direction of the Crown and its advisory committees on colonial affairs.

(b) *The Policy of the British Crown.*

The Crown in its dealings with the Indians adopted the policy which had been evolved by the colonies, and made that policy uniform and definite. The Indian tribes were to be treated as independent nations under the protection of the Crown. Their lands were their own until they voluntarily might transfer any or all of them to the Crown. This policy, moreover, was extended to dealings with the many Indian tribes who had hitherto been under the French influence and had been dealt with according to the somewhat different French policy.

Yet, the British Crown claimed that its sovereignty extended over all the Indians and their lands westward to the Mississippi, and refused to concede that the Indians were possessed of a full title to their lands. The apparent inconsistency of practice and theory underwent a number of specious rationalizations at the hands of jurists. What the situation actually amounted to in fact, however, is explained simply.

The British Crown recognized the fact of the absolute political independence and the actual ownership of the land of the Indian tribes, but it claimed for itself an option on the purchase of these lands. No one else might buy: neither any foreign State nor any subject of the Crown.

The British Crown, as evidence in a famous 'Proclamation' in 1763, planned to keep the Indian lands of the western regions

for the Indians, and—this is more to the point—for the fur trade. This meant the prevention of settlement by land-hungry frontiersmen. The result of this adoption of the essential phenomena of the French interest in the west was antagonism between the men on the frontier, who wanted more and cheaper land, and the British Crown. The pack-horse caravans of traders were intercepted and robbed repeatedly by the frontiersmen on the grounds that they sold fire-arms to the Indians. And the more the Crown insisted on the maintenance of the boundary between the hunting-lands of the red men and the settled lands of the white, the more the rowdy whites of the edge of the frontier engaged in surreptitious murder of the Indians and squatting on the Indian lands, which, due in part to the dying off of the Indians, were under-populated. More and more hate developed between the more vicious elements on the frontier and the red men.

With the Indian in the weaker position, the tendency to think of the Indian in terms of colour was aggravated by increasing social antagonism. Like the 'nigger' slave and freedman he was not 'white'. Therefore he was not, after all, genuinely human. In 1774 the province of Georgia felt it necessary to legislate anew against frontier murdering of Indians, pointing out that it was under the law as much a crime to kill an Indian as to kill a white. It is strange to read the words of upper-class Georgians denouncing aspects at least of the colour-line or race prejudice. No Georgian subsequently would use quite such words. The government, prefacing its legislation regarding friendly Indians 'barbarously murdered', observes that 'several ill-disposed persons being influenced by the ill-grounded prejudice which ignorant minds are apt to conceive against persons differing in colour from themselves . . . have looked on these murders as meritorious'.

The conflict of the Crown and of the frontiersmen over the right to colonize in the Indian country and over the Indian policy in general in its regard for Indian tribal or national prerogatives was not only a cause of the Revolutionary War, but also a cause of the success of the rebellion,

since the men of the frontier were active in enlistment in the rebel forces.

The congress of the confederation of the thirteen rebel colonies continued the policy of the Crown from necessity among other reasons since the rebel confederation as well as the Crown depended on Indian allies.

(c) *The Revolution—and again the miserable Delawares.*

The revolution, 1775 to 1783, witnessed, as usual in colonial wars, Indian ally killing off Indian ally in the interest of the rival whites. The Cherokees and Creeks¹ in the south were on the British side as were the Delawares and the other Ohio tribes in the north. Some of the Iroquois joined the British with a bitter consequence which we have described above.²

One minor incident deserves note because it was one of the causes of the revival of messianic anti-Christian union in the west under Tecumseh. Again it concerns the story of the ill-fated Delawares. By 1782 war in the Ohio region was drawing to a close. The north-west was in the hands of rebel soldiers. In any case the village of Delaware Indians converted to an extreme pacifist Christian sect, Moravian, had had no part in hostility. As pacifists they did not even own fire-arms. There was no grievance against them. Violence against them could be the consequence merely of hate of Indians, pagan and Christian alike—unless perhaps, as in an earlier similar event, their scalps could be marketed.³ The British Crown was buying scalps, white and red, of presumptive enemies, in the fur trade while the Americans were, league by league, forcing the Ohio Indians to sell their tribal lands for colonization and to move west farther and farther, league by league. So the British stood in the eyes of the Indians of the north-west in the place of the French and their fur trade in the time of Pontiac. The American policy they saw meant certain extinction; the British policy meant, they thought, that their lands would be preserved to them in the interest of the fur trade.

¹ For reasons such as noted above.

² See above, p. 990.

³ See above, p. 997 f.

A typical incident of the restlessness, from 1783 to 1810, resulting from the hostility of the Ohio tribes to American pressure brought to bear on them to oblige them to 'sell' their lands, we have already described.¹

3. (a) TECUMSEH THE METEOR AND HIS TWIN BROTHER, THE
THIRD MESSIAH

One principal result of the despair of the Indians was the continuance of a messianic reaction against everything in white civilization, including Christianity. When Moravian missionaries again approached the Ohio Indians, the Indians bitterly reminded them of the massacre of Christian Indians of 1782.² Of the Bible they added: 'They killed those who believed in their Book as well as those who did not. They made no distinction.'

The torch of messianic delusion was carried from the second Delaware prophet, the Munsee, to the Shawnees, another tribe living landless as immigrants to the west. They, second only to the Delawares, had reason to react against the fate imposed upon them by the *laissez-faire* Indian policy.

The prophet was one of a tragic family. His twin brother was the better known Tecumseh, a minor chief of the Shawnees. Their father had died in battle against Virginians in 1774. Their other two brothers, too, had died in battle, one by Tecumseh's side in the struggle against the Americans under Wayne on the Maumee in 1794, an incident we described above.³ The two twins, their father and brothers slain in unprovoked war by the whites, meditated the spiritual and material salvation of their peoples.

In 1795 the prophet's brother Laulewasika began his mission—just a year after the Maumee devastation. He was then thirty years old. With his mission begun he changed his name to Tenkwatawa—the Open Door—as being significant of the new road he preached. He was held to be a reincarnation of

¹ See above, p. 990. (The Senecas on the Maumee.)

² See above, p. 990.

³ See above, p. 1011 ff.

Manebozho, the great first creator of the Algonkian cosmology. When he spoke it was believed a deity spoke.

Among other things his teaching forbade the use of alcoholic drinks; intermarriage with whites; the growth of hair on the face as moustaches or beards, a white man's custom; warfare between Indian tribes; the making of fire with flint and steel (fire was to be obtained by the aboriginal method of rubbing two sticks together); all use of European styles of costume; and all other customs whatsoever of European origin. As did the Delaware prophet also, he forbade the use of magic. Apparently magic was used by the priests of his cult and by himself and the prohibition extended only to unauthorized making of magic by private individuals. Medicine (magic) bags and songs were to be discarded. As he gained power in the councils of his own tribe and of the Delaware tribe he took steps to suppress sorcery and witchcraft—private magic—through the use of political power. The tribal councils began to burn at the stake any one convicted of sorcery or witchcraft. Note, for example, the execution of an aged Delaware chief, Tatepocoshe, who resisted the authority of the prophet and his priests and was condemned to be burnt at the stake on admitting himself as a maker of magic.

The following day a council was held over the case of the venerable chief, Tatepocoshe, he being present. His death was decided upon after full deliberation; and, arrayed in his formal apparel, he calmly assisted in building his own funeral pile, fully aware that there was no escape from the judgement that had been passed upon him. The respect due to his whitened locks induced his executioners to treat him with mercy. He was . . . tomahawked by a young man, and his body was then placed upon the blazing faggots and consumed.

The prophet himself claimed to be able to cure all diseases, and to be able to prevent his followers' meeting death on the battle-field. As, it seems, did the Delaware prophet, so also the Open Door devised a new ritual, based in large part on Midewiwin elements, for a new cult and a new religious organization. Our knowledge of this ritual is extremely slight; but we read, for example, that 'priests' of Tenkswatawa's order 'carried the

living fire, the sacred image, and the mystic strings, even to the Blackfoot on the plains of the Saskatchewan. . . .’

Like the Delaware prophet, he taught that the Indians must thoroughly purge their life of all innovations of European origin in order again to win the favour of the Great Spirit and renew their supremacy in the continent as against the whites.

He taught that, if his commands were obeyed, within a few years would come a cataclysm which would destroy all whites, and all Indians who had refused to enter the Door. After the cataclysm believing Indians would remain in a renewed aboriginal world, with plenty of deer *and no more small-pox, alcohol, fire-arms, and such things of white origin*. All the beloved dead would be sent back to live again upon the earth.

He taught, further, that because the Indians had departed from the ancestral ways, from their primitive virtue, the Great Spirit had locked up the spirits of the wild animals beneath the earth so that they could not be incarnated upon the earth as game. This was why game was scarce. When the Great Spirit’s anger was removed, he would again send forth the spirits of the animals, embodied in game.

Neither the Delaware prophet nor the Open Door taught any but spiritual resistance against the whites. The Indians were even to give up fire-arms and depend upon the cataclysm to come when all accepted the new doctrine.

But in 1809 the Open Door, and his brother Tecumseh, whose name means the Meteor, organized a messianic village settlement of some 4,000 population made up of tribesmen of six or more different tribes who followed the prophet’s doctrine. Here the Meteor gradually drew the conclusion that all Indian tribes must unite and put a solid front up against the whites. Jointly they must refuse to yield another inch of territory. His vision of a united front was clearer than Pontiac’s, but just as the Open Door was heir of the Delaware prophet so in a sense the Meteor was intellectual heir of Pontiac. And just as Pontiac had the ‘moral support’ of the French fur-traders against the British, now Tecumseh had the ‘moral support’ of the British fur-traders on the Great Lakes against the United States.

(b) *The Stand of Tecumseh.*

Hardly had the messianic village of the two brothers been established when the Miami tribe, on whose lands the Shawnees were mere guests, sold lands including the site of the village to the United States!

On the 15th August 1810 Tecumseh visited the American military head-quarters in Vincennes, Ohio, met General Harrison there, and ordered the Americans to give up claim to the lands recently purchased from the Miamis. Harrison replied:

That the white people, when they arrived upon this continent had found the Miamis in the occupation of all the country on the Wabash, and at the time the Shawnees were residents of Georgia, from which they were driven by the Creeks. That the lands had been purchased from the Miamis, who were the true and original owners of it. That it was ridiculous to assert that all the Indians were one nation . . . and that the Shawnees had no right to come from a distant country and control the Miamis in the disposal of their own property.

Tecumseh threatened to go to war with the United States if they did not give up their claim to the lands bought from the Miamis. He stated to Harrison:

. . . that it was with the greatest reluctance that he would make war with the United States, against whom he had no other complaint but their purchasing of the Indians' land; that he was extremely anxious to be their friend and if he could persuade the President to give up the lands lately purchased, and agree never to make another treaty without the consent of all the tribes, he would be their faithful ally and assist them in all their wars with the English.

He further advised Harrison that he, Tecumseh, would 'give no rest' to his feet, until he 'had united all the redmen in like resolution'.

(c) *His Preparations.*

Tecumseh knew that the spread of the prophet's new religion was quickly carrying abroad some agreement with Tecumseh's political ideals, with which the prophet at this time was

beginning to sympathize; he held over Harrison's head the imminence of war with the English in which Indian alliances would be desirable.

This modern Hiawatha, then forty years old, upon Harrison's final refusal to comply with his demands set furiously to work to repeat Pontiac's attempt to win over all the Indian tribes beyond the frontier north and south to joint action against the Americans. He was soon fortunate in winning over the Wyandots, the Huron remnant, and they were made 'the keepers of the great wampum belt of union and the lighters of the council fire of the allied tribes'.

After this even the Miamis, so long jealous of the Shawnees, came into the alliance. The priests of the prophet's new religion, now carrying also Tecumseh's message of war, travelled as far west even as the Blackfeet of the plains of Saskatchewan and obtained the promise of these western tribes to join in hostility against the Americans. The prophet's religion and Tecumseh's political ideals took firm root among the Creeks and other nations of the southern section of the frontier.

Tecumseh himself, relying less on ambassadors than did Pontiac, decided on a trip to the southern tribes after returning from one to the tribes of the Great Lakes. He went to the Creeks, and to the Cherokees, and even into the peninsula of Florida to the southern Creeks or Seminoles, receiving promise of the adherence of these tribes to his cause.

Harrison thought that Tecumseh's absence from the north would offer the best opportunity to nip in the bud his plans for a general war. He wrote to the War Department of the United States:

The implicit obedience and respect which the followers of Tecumseh pay to him is really astonishing, and more than any other circumstance bespeaks him one of those uncommon geniuses which spring up occasionally to produce revolutions and overturn the established order of things. . . . No difficulties deter him. For four years he has been in constant motion. You see him to-day on the Wabash, and in a short time hear of him on the shores of Lake Erie or Michigan, or on the banks of the Mississippi, and wherever he

goes he makes an impression favourable to his purposes. He is now upon the last round, to put a finishing stroke to his work. I hope, however, before his return, that that part of the fabric which he considered complete will be demolished and even its foundations rooted up.

(d) The Ruin of his Plans: the Battle of Tippecanoe.

While Tecumseh was on his way through Missouri and Iowa from his visit to the Seminoles of Florida, the Creeks, the Choctaws, and the Cherokees and others, his brother, the prophet, permitted himself to be led indiscreetly to open the war.

Harrison had led troops on to the Indian lands and opened diplomatic negotiations with the prophet and his warriors. Instead of playing for time until Tecumseh's return and meantime maintaining peace at any cost, the prophet on the 8th November 1811 ordered a surprise attack during the night on the camp of Harrison's nine hundred troops. The prophet had one thousand warriors at his command, but the camp was well sentinelled and they could slay only sixty-two soldiers, being themselves forced to retreat, with about equal loss.

The prophet had made all sorts of pretensions to supernatural power which were not fulfilled. It was believed that the village of the prophet was holy ground and impregnable to attack. The prophet asserted that through supernatural power he could slay the American soldiers. The Great Spirit would strike down the guns of the soldiers. The bullets would fall at the feet of the Indians; they would be invulnerable. A light would appear over the American soldiers while the Indians in pitch-darkness would be invisible. The prophet believed in his message, for he himself took a position on an adjacent eminence and when the action began he entered upon the performance of certain mystic rites, at the same time singing a war song. In the course of the engagement he was told that his men were falling. He told them to fight on, that it would soon be as he predicted. And then, in louder and wilder strains, his inspiring battle song was heard commingling with the sharp crack of the rifle and the shrill war whoop of his brave but deluded followers.

A few days later Tecumseh arrived, returned with good news of general alliances, only to find the foundations of his plan ruined by his brother.

The Indians then awaited the impending 'War of 1812' between the United States and Britain. Those in the south, led by fanatical priests of the messianic religion who taught still that the messianic villages would be impregnable, bitterly warred on the United States; and in the north Tecumseh and 1,500 warriors under him served in the British army in Canada.

In the battle of the Thames in Canada the Americans under Harrison defeated the Indians, and Tecumseh fell, October 1813.

Tecumseh had always forbidden tribesmen in his alliance to sacrifice prisoners or to mutilate bodies of the dead. From his youth he had always opposed these. But the Americans mutilated his dead body, flayed it, and made his skin into souvenir razor-strops.

Richard Mentor Johnson, his reputed slayer, became a popular hero, and while everywhere the Americans chanted

Rumsey, dumsey,
Who killed Tecumseh?

he was ushered into the vice-presidency of the United States.¹

Tecumseh's brother, the prophet, moved west. In 1819 a Kickapoo took up the messianic torch, moved west of the Mississippi river with his tribe, and planted it on the Great Plains.

(e) *Meanwhile Despair reaches to the End of the Continent: Small-pox among the Piegans.*

One may be surprised that the prophet's message could have appealed even to the Blackfeet of the far-away north-western plains! What had they suffered from the frontier? Some idea of what they were suffering can be got from note of the effect of the small-pox epidemic of 1781 which reached even them,

¹ See B. Mayo, 'The Man who killed Tecumseh', *American Mercury*, 1928. Compare the slogan: 'Tippecanoe and Tyler too!' used to advance Tyler's political ambitions.

an epidemic which we made note of above. Our data are from the journal of a fur-trade explorer, Thompson, describing the Piegan-Blackfoot confederacy. Thompson got there years after, but recounts what the Indians told him of earlier events. The small-pox had come to them long before even the fur-traders' frontier had reached them.

The Piegans and the Shoshone Snake tribe were at war. The Piegans were from the Canadian woodlands of the north and were trying to occupy the Plains where buffalo were most plentiful, but which the Snakes controlled. At this time neither side had any alcohol, fire-arms, and only a few horses for scouting. The Piegans had never seen or heard of small-pox or any other white man's disease. The Piegan narrator goes on with his story:

Our scouts were out for our security, when some returned and informed us of a considerable camp which was far too large to attack, and something very suspicious about it. From a high knoll they had a good view of the camp but saw none of the men hunting or going about; there were a few horses, but no one came to them, and a herd of bison were feeding close to the camp with other herds near. This somewhat alarmed us as a stratagem of war, and our warriors thought this camp had a larger not far off so that if this camp were attacked, which was strong enough to offer a desperate resistance, the other would come to their assistance and overpower us—as had once been done by them and in which we lost many of our men.

The Council ordered the scouts to return and go beyond this camp, and be sure there was no other. In the meantime we advanced our camp. The scouts returned and said no other tents were near, and the camp appeared in the same state as before. (Our scouts had been going too much about their camp and had been seen; the Snakes expected what would follow and all those that could walk, as soon as night came on, went away.)

Next morning at dawn, we attacked the tents, and with our sharp flint daggers and knives cut through the tents and entered for the fight. But our war-whoop instantly stopped; our eyes were appalled with terror; there was no one to fight with but the dead and the dying, each a mass of corruption. We did not touch them but left the tents and held a council on what was to be done. We all thought

that the Bad Spirit had made himself master of the camp and destroyed them. It was agreed to take some of the best of the tents, and any other plunder that was clean and good, which we did, and took away the few horses they had and returned to our camp.

The second day after, this dreadful disease broke out in our camp, and spread from one tent to another as if the Bad Spirit carried it. We had no belief then that one man could give it to another, any more than a wounded man could give his wound to another. We did not suffer so much as those who were near the river, into which they rushed and died. We had only a little brook, and about one-third of us died, but in some of the other camps there were tents in which everyone died.

When at length it left us, and we moved about to find our people, it was no longer with the song and the dance, but with tears, shrieks, and howlings of despair for those who would never return to us. War was no longer thought of, and we had enough to do to hunt and make provision for our families, for in our sickness we had consumed all our dried provisions. . . . Our hearts were low and dejected, and we shall never again be the same people . . . and we thought of war no more and perhaps would have made peace with the Snakes for they had suffered dreadfully as well as us and had left all this fine country of the Bow over to us.¹

Thus small-pox paved the way as it had done even in 1616. And the tribes first hit died away whilst tribes beyond occupied their country, but all diminished, were depressed, 'hearts low and dejected', 'never the same people again'.

How such a mood might find the aborigines as ready for the teaching of new civilization and of Christianity, as for messianic pagan antipathy to it all, depending upon the white man's native policy, is witnessed by one change in attitude, the Piegan narrator exemplified. Again war broke out with the Snakes and the Piegans were preparing for battle. The war-chief was laying down rules for the combat. Snake men may be killed rather than captured,

. . . but the young women must all be saved, and if any has a babe at the breast it must not be taken from her nor hurt. All the boys and lads that have no weapons must not be killed but brought to our

¹ Thompson; see above, p. 829.

camp and adopted amongst us to be our people and make us more numerous and stronger than we are.

*Thus the Great Spirit will see that when we make war we kill only those who are dangerous to us, and make no more ground red with blood than we can help, and the Bad Spirit will have no more power on us.*¹

¹ Ibid , pp. 338, 339. Other events make clear the sincerity of at least this chief on the spiritual reference. The italics are mine.

CHAPTER X

THE RED PARIAH AND HIS SPIRITUAL CONSOLATIONS

I. THE WHOLESALE REMOVALS AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE GREAT INDIAN PRESERVE IN THE WEST

THE ruin of the tribes of the old north-west achieved, the next stage in the development of the frontier in the United States was to be what is perhaps the world's largest-scale exhibition of designed racial segregation, an experiment which represents at one moment both the zenith and the nadir of Indian policy in North America. A great preserve—a human game reserve, as it were—was to be established in the western and least fertile bison country in the greater Louisiana which in 1803 the United States had purchased from France.

Behind the development of this plan there lay several things. There was, firstly, that fundamental of old North American Indian policy as developed in the earliest colonies and continued by the Crown and by the United States—the belief in the virtue of segregating the Indian from white contact. This segregation was sometimes desired by officials and others charitable to the Indian who wished to avoid the murdering, massacring, disease, and drunkenness which existed where the frontier whites and natives were in close contact or mingled. Segregation, as we have seen, was also a keystone of the *encomienda* and mission policies in Latin America,¹ but it was designed only as a temporary measure with a view to preventing close contacts between white and Indian until the Indians were prepared economically and otherwise to be able to meet the whites on equal terms. Moreover, the *encomiendas* and the missions put the segregated Indian under constraint, gave him white teachers *whose every interest lay in advancing the civilization of their wards* (contrary to the reservation agents in North America). The segregated Indian groups in North America were not furnished with the necessary constraint or means whereby they might achieve

¹ See above, pp. 859, 896.

civilization—partly because the principal causes behind North American segregation did not arise from wishing the Indian well; they arose from a desire to be rid of the Indian in any and every way from massacre to confinement on preserves or reserves, and secondly, from the necessities latent in the Indian policy which considered the Indian tribes as nations and therefore conceded them a national territory, which territory of course would have its own boundary and would effect, naturally, a segregation of the nationals.

Finally, there is to be noted the conflict of the federal government of the United States which had taken over from the British Crown control of the Indian frontier, the States—former colonies—officially having no dealings with the Indians on their State frontiers. But—as is evidenced in the eventual secession which led to the Civil War, 1861–5—some States, notably in the South, insisted on challenging the powers reserved under the federal constitution to the federal government, one of these being the sole right, vested in the President and the Senate (the House of Representatives being excluded from matters relating to foreign affairs) to enter into treaties with the Indian nations. All dealings with the Indians of course, as with other foreign nations, were by ambassadorial or ministerial exchanges and by treaty.¹ With other foreign nations, this was satisfactory to, for example, Georgia. But with the Indian nations, said Georgia and certain other States, it was absurd—‘anomalous’ is the nice word, no doubt; for here one finds a State within a State, a national territory; in fact, in Georgia, for example, the Cherokee national domain was partly in Georgia and partly in other States. These Indian nations lived under their own laws. Before the great evictions which we shall speak of, some of them had adopted constitutions modelled on that of the white man’s representative form of government. The State of Georgia, then, for example, had within its State boundaries part of a republic. One need not go on to elaborate further on the complications of such a situation.

¹ It is interesting to glance over the treaties reviewed as in *The American Indian Frontier*.

Georgia and several other States insisted either that the State be given effective control of all lands and persons within the boundaries of the State; or that the federal government enter into treaty with the Indian nations providing for their removal from within the State boundaries. But when the federal government approached the sovereign Indian nations they refused to enter into such engagements. The upshot of it all was that by threat and force they were obliged to become parties to such treaties. The removals were under duress, and several nasty little Indian 'wars' ensued.

Another element in the background is the pressure of eastern population on the land. The Indian peoples continually declined in population. The vast territories which constituted their tribal domains were millions of acres greater than they could utilize save as hunters. The whites wanted these acres for cultivation. Further, the acquisition of the great Louisiana territory (1803) pointed to a way out of the difficulty. The federal government was advised to purchase from the Plains tribes some hundreds of thousands of acres of the surplus lands which, with their declining populations, they had no need for; and to offer these territories to the tribes east of the river in exchange for their homelands.

Adopting the idea, the federal government therefore instituted a practice which is, so far as I know, unique in political history: a nation by treaty gives up its national territory, the people pack up, accept in exchange a new national territory far away somewhere in a new environment, without homes or other improvements, and move. Of course it was all a farce, but a farce carried out with a tremendous seriousness, with a diplomacy in which the grave diplomats did not even smile at themselves.

And of course the effect was disastrous to the peoples who had to give up their homes with all that home means: peoples like the Cherokee and the other of the five 'civilized' tribes of the frontier in the South who, chiefly through their own efforts, were well on the road to civilization. Such peoples inevitably were not only retarded, but set back, in their attempts

to adjust themselves to what, on the frontier, they saw as 'civilization'.

By about 1835 the crushed tribes of the old north-west were nearly all removed to the western human preserves, the newly set-up Indian territory. The removed tribes included the surviving Delawares, and the Seneca Iroquois who had settled in Ohio. There was a disagreeable little skirmish in 1832 with the Sacs, Foxes, and Winnebagos, dignified under the name of the Black Hawk War, in which both Abraham Lincoln and Jefferson Davis were fellow officers on the American side; and a mild resistance by the Kickapoos under the leadership of the prophet of the period—Kanakuk.

By 1830 the Choctaws had all been moved west; by 1837 all the Chickasaws. By 1826 all the Creeks had gone. But down in the Florida peninsula was an independent Creek division known as the Seminoles, a people who had participated in destroying the old Catholic missions¹ and had occupied the country of the exterminated natives. These absolutely refused to move and under the leadership of their chief Osceola fought the United States army from 1835 to 1842. Nearly all were then forced west, but a band of Seminoles, still pagan, still in their old costumes, still live in the southern part of the peninsula near the millionaires' colonies of Miami and Palm Beach, where they afford an exhibition for tourists which obviates the need of a Zoo in those parts.

The Cherokees, a mountain-valley people, also for long refused to leave their mountain homes for the malarial bottom lands picked out for them in what is to-day Oklahoma. But in 1836 they, too, were forced out save for a little mountain-top band which could not be corralled and which still exists as an adornment of the Georgia mountains.

In 1803 it had been anticipated that the entire Louisiana region would remain for ever Indian: that the Mississippi River would for ever remain the western boundary of white-and-negro United States. So short-sighted were the statesmen of the day. But by 1842 when the Indians of the East were at last settled in

¹ See above, p. 871 f.

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the West, a great deal more of land exchanges and purchase had been effected, and the Great Preserve or Indian territory was as we illustrate it in our map. And so it remained, solidly red, until 1854—for only twelve years!

2. THE BREAK-UP OF THE GREAT PRESERVE

The federal officials were sure that Indian troubles were over. Of the Indians out on their western reserve they exclaimed: 'They are on the outside of us, and in a place which will ever remain on the outside.'

This was twelve years before the 1848 war with Mexico. At the time of the above exclamation the short-sighted officials did not anticipate the expansion of American settlement across the Oregon and other trails to Texas, California, and Oregon, any more than in 1803 they had anticipated its spread across the Mississippi River.

The Indian preserve was not to conclude successfully the evolution of Anglo-Saxon Indian policy. Traders wishing to lead pack-trains across to Mexican territory beyond needed free passage through. By treaty with the various Indian nations the United States acquired rights of passage over the Santa Fé, Oregon, and California trails. Then over those trails between 1835 and 1840 emigrants to Mexican California and disputed Oregon began to pass. Trouble between the sometimes brutal emigrants and the Indians frequently ensued. In 1848 gold was discovered in California; then began a great rush for gold across the Indian country. Subsequently silver was found in what is now Colorado, and mining interests began to demand that the government buy out the Indians there.

The definitely imperialistic offensive against Mexico in 1848, which Americans even agree was an 'unjust' war on their part, along with the earlier secession of the americanized Mexican State of Texas and its accession to the United States, surrounded the great Indian territory with white American settlements. The Indians were no longer 'on the outside of us'. In fact, their country was now a badly treated thoroughfare. In 1854 there were about 150,000 Americans in California alone.

Then came the denouement of the great farce of the removals of 1830-40: the subdivision of the great Indian preserve in 1854.

Before 1848 the United States had been protecting the emigrant caravans over the great trails which passed through the Indian country, with traffic agreements between the United States and the various Indian nations. The emigrants and traders under these agreements had the right to pass over the trails, but not to leave the trails to disturb the bison, to prospect for minerals, or to farm. Many emigrants abused their privileges, but generally traffic was not so heavy that the traffic agreement between the United States and the Indian nations was not adequate for the arranging of peaceable passage of emigrants. But in 1847 a lumber-mill worker had discovered gold in California.

In March 1849 12,000 prospective miners left the Atlantic coast states for California by way of Cape Horn. Many more left to journey by way of the Isthmus of Panama. But about 20,000 decided to go over the Oregon Trail, through the South Pass, and thence south-west past the Great Salt Lake Mormon settlement into California.

The Mormon settlement had, luckily, come into existence in time to furnish a necessary outfitting post at the head of the worst section of the now important California Trail. On the other hand, the gold discovery with the consequent passage of tens of thousands of prospective miners was a lucky event for the Mormon settlement, making for its prosperity and permanent success. In 1849 California had a population of 122,000 and for the next several years immigrants arrived at the rate of about 5,000 a year. By 1850 the agricultural frontier, east of which the population density was six or more to the square mile, *was no farther west than it was in 1820!* It was barred for a time from further westward movement by the solid wall of the almost empty Indian country.

The idea of maintaining this consolidated Indian country had to pass. The desert behind the Indians had proved to be habitable. The Mormons were already there by tens of thousands.

The formerly foreign territories of the remoter West were being packed with a great population of American whites and the native Indians of the west coast were being rapidly killed off.

The density of population both east and west of the official consolidated Indian country was rapidly increasing, while the tribes of the Indian country were rapidly diminishing in numbers from repeated epidemics of small-pox and other diseases.

Traffic over the Oregon Trail was becoming ever greater in volume. The passing whites were becoming more and more regardless of the treaties between the United States and the Indians which limited them strictly to the trail; they made farms along the trail, and hunted the buffalo. The Indians in despair witnessed this invasion of their country, this disregard of their ownership of it, this constant scaring and destruction of the bison or buffalo which was causing famine in their villages.

Between the Indians and those passing over the trail who disregarded treaty limitations, there was continual fighting. It was becoming apparent that the consolidated Indian country could not be maintained. But the immediate cause of its shattering was the increasingly bitter and serious rivalry between the South and the North over the erection of new States which should or should not permit the existence of the institution of slavery.

In 1849 the control of the Indian Bureau had passed from the War Department to the newly created, civilian-manned Department of the Interior. This department was called upon to furnish new territory which would be a bone for the slave and anti-slave parties to fight over. So in 1854 the consolidated Indian country was broken up. The northern half was made the territory of Nebraska (including the territory now occupied by the Dakotas, and much other territory). Below this was the new territory of Kansas, including much territory now west of the State of Kansas. The small, south-easternmost section of the old Indian Country (now the State of Oklahoma), inhabited chiefly by the 'Five Civilized Tribes', remained as residual Indian country. The tribes of the north in the new territories were gradually induced to sell the greater part of their lands

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and become 'reservation' Indians, after the manner I have elsewhere described.

Anglo-Saxon 'civilization' moved into the territory of Kansas. The average reader is acquainted with the brutalities of the unofficial civil war which raged there and which was not settled until the outbreak of the great Civil War. The rush to win the new territory was not the result of a need for new land for settlers, but of the political needs of North and South. The political urge by 1855 had brought more than 10,000 whites into the territory of Kansas; by 1860, 106,500! This, in an area where in 1853 there had been, practically, not a single white settler!

At the same time the steamboat and the railroad were ready to nose through the Great Plains. Since 1811, great numbers of steamboats were traversing the Mississippi. By 1832 the Missouri had been ascended by steamboat as far as Fort Union, and the Mississippi as far as Fort Snelling—which latter fort at that time (and up to the treaties of 1837) was a desolate military outpost in the midst of the wild Sioux, who were constantly at war with the Ojibways of the Great Lakes.

By 1852 Chicago was connected to the east by rail; and by 1854 the railroad touched the Mississippi. In 1856 a railroad bridge crossed the great river at Davenport, Iowa. These outpushing railroads had to serve, in the States of Iowa, Minnesota, and Wisconsin alone, a white population of 1,500,000.

The population of the Middle West and of the Far West was increasing at a vastly greater rate than the population of the east; and the numbers of these western populations were becoming so great that the centre of population in North America was moving rapidly westward. Although all this while the Indians of the Great Plains were suffering politically and economically, and disease was to some extent continuing to take its toll of their population, it was not they among the Indians west of the Great Lakes and the Mississippi in Canada and the United States who were first to feel the impact of wholesale reservation removals, massacres, exterminative wars, and the health-infecting neighbourhood of dense white populations.

The actual centre of interest on the moving frontiers had leapt over the middle-western Indian country to the rich farmlands and gold-fields of the Pacific Coast from Alaska to Lower California. So we must also leap over the plains for a while and consider the scene on the west coast.

3. (a) MASSACRE RESUMED IN CALIFORNIA AND OREGON

The most active destruction of the native peoples between about 1840 and 1875, however, proceeded on the west coast in California and in the Oregon country, and in the plateau between the coast range and the Rocky Mountains—the western border of the great preserve. These Indian peoples were non-agricultural, and in general were very unwarlike.

With the acquisition in 1848 from defeated Mexico of the mission country of California from and including San Francisco southward, the United States applied its policy to the mission Indians. They were freed of mission coercion and control and set up as nations! And quickly their best lands were purchased from them for white settlement. The same policy was applied to the 'wild' Indians of northern California and the Oregon country and plateau. Frequently trading of land was forced upon them against their will, and they were gathered into little 'consolidated Indian countries' known technically now as reservations. The process was exactly that by which the great consolidation of eastern tribes west of the Mississippi had been effected, only it was on a smaller scale, less dignity and power attached to the 'domestic nations' concerned, and instead of one great block of 'Indian Country' the result was many little areas of Indian country—reservations.

Friction with the whites during this slow process of application of the United States' policy was attended by many Indian wars—small affairs, but exterminative for the meagre Indian population. So it went on in the entire south-west proper, where the Pueblo Indians were more and more restricted; and in California, Washington, and Oregon.

The people of the Covered Wagons, of cinema fame, arrived

in Oregon, both agriculturists and miners, worked out anew on the west coast the extermination methods used by their ancestors in colonial days on the east coast.

Beeson, one of the better types of immigrants to Oregon, in his journal made note of some phenomena of the Covered-Wagon epoch:

The majority of the first emigration to Oregon were from Missouri; and among them it was customary to speak of the Indian man as a buck; of the woman as a squaw; until, at length, in the general acceptance of the terms, they ceased to recognize the rights of humanity in those to whom they were so applied. *By a very natural and easy transition, from being spoken of as brutes, they came to be thought of as game to be shot, or as vermin to be destroyed.* This shows the force of association, and the wrong of speaking in derogatory terms of those we regard as our inferiors.

Elsewhere in Beeson's notes on early Oregon we see mobocracy at its worst. Just as in the days of the Scots-Irish massacres, or as in the days of ebullition of the Puritan self-realization, no one dare speak out for sanity under the pressure of threats by the mob!

On another occasion, a white man being found dead, he was supposed to have been killed by Indians. A company was made up forthwith, an Indian ranch was surrounded and all the inmates put to death, men, women and children. The domineering spirit grew by what it fed on, until, excited to madness by these oft-recurring scenes of blood, men became utterly regardless of justice, even towards those of their own race. Whatever a man's private views might be, he was expected to go with the crowd, to the full extent of every enterprise, and the more questionable the object, the more did they insist that all should participate. Personal freedom was thus frequently invaded; and life itself was not secure. On one occasion, an aged white man who had persistently continued at his mining, and utterly refused to take part against the Indians, was visited by twenty men and forced to mount his pony, and go in pursuit. After resting on the mountains, they shot him, cut off his head, leaving it on the limb of a tree, and divided his property among themselves.

In Oregon the legislature, the subordinate Indian agents, the Methodist clergy, and the Know-Nothing political party, all

were directly implicated in carrying on systematically a series of massacres which no sane imagination would describe as they officially described it—as an ‘Indian War’. Women were regularly clubbed to death, and infants dashed against trees.

Whetting their appetites on the Indians, the Know-Nothing Party in its official newspaper, calling for the destruction of the Indians of Oregon, or, alternatively, their removal from Oregon by the federal government, in the same editorial called for the extermination of all Catholics or their removal from Oregon!

An officer in the federal forces who had been in the Far West throughout these events has likewise benefited us with his memoirs. The facts, some of which he barely mentions, are unfit to be printed in a book designed for general circulation. This officer himself exclaims:

Volumes have been written regarding ‘Indian atrocities’; and the ‘red devils’ who perpetrated them have been pointed out as without mercy and without feeling; as fiends incarnate; but the whole damning story of white atrocities against the Indians must forever remain unwritten.

In California the ruthless slaughter of ‘the very seeds of increase’, the women and children, of the native population, not alone by venereal infection but by the rifle, began in 1849 and continued well on into the 1870’s. I quote from the very frank note of one of the early settlers concerning events in which he participated at the late date of the 15th August 1865:

I had often argued with Good regarding the disposition of the Indians. He believed in killing every man or well-grown boy, but in leaving the women unmolested in their mountain retreats. *It was plain to me that we must also get rid of the women.*

And from another, for events of April 1871:

The next day the whites trail the Indians with dogs, corner them in a cave, and kill about thirty. . . . In the cave with the meat were some Indian children. Kingsley could not bear to kill children with his fifty-six caliber rifle. ‘It tore them up so bad.’ So he did it with his thirty-eight caliber Smith and Wesson revolver.

An historian of the Californian frontier notes of this: ‘The

tender sensibilities of the fellow who preferred to shoot babies with a thirty-eight caliber revolver are certainly worthy of remark.'

The last American scalp bounty had been offered by the territory of Indiana in 1814, when a reward of 50 dollars was set 'to offer sufficient encouragement to the enterprise and bravery of our fellow citizens'. So men like Kingsley had nothing to do with the scalps of the women and children. However, one enterprising frontiersman of aesthetic tastes, of peculiar psychopathy, made a blanket out of the long-haired scalps of forty Indian women shot by him, and used it regularly.

All of which would not be so unfortunate if the survivors had been assimilated to American culture. But they were not, and even at the present day there are many groups such as the Utes of Navajo Springs of whom Dr. Lowie, the eminent anthropologist, had to admit in 1912 his failure to report on their customs, that 'they were so little touched by civilization that I had to leave after a short stay for lack of any even half-way acceptable interpreter'.

The federal government of the United States had to pay about \$200 for each male and female adult, child, or baby shot. Between 1850 and 1859 the United States reimbursed California alone \$924,000 for State expense incurred in the prosecution of its Indian 'wars'; and in the same period the United States spent directly \$1,737,000 in otherwise managing the Indians, mission and 'wild', of the state. In Oregon during the period above considered there was a depression in the mining industry which left many miners unemployed. At good pay these miners were enlisted temporarily in the State forces, their only duty being to go out and rid the State of Indians.¹

(b) *Ishii—The Last of the Yahis.*

About the year 1870 a band of Californians 'cleaned up' the Yahi Indians, the centre of whose habitat was a certain

¹ See *American Indian Frontier*, p. 48 seq.; and for additional original data on the killings in California, see Schenck, *The Indians of the Delta region*; and Loud, *The Archaeology of the Wiyot* in the University of California Publications in Ethnology, vol. xxiii, 1926.

canyon in north-central California. They made a thorough job and accounted the Yahi (a branch of the Yana), as exterminated.

Which was all very well until in time San Francisco and Berkeley across the bay became great and rich cities and the seat of a university eminent in all fields of scholarship. The anthropologists of the university, not to mention others in the world, lamented this deed of the hard-hearted successors to the Franciscan friars in California, among other losses, because the Yana language and culture remained one of the unfortunate gaps in the picture of aboriginal culture.

In 1908 some surveyors in the canyon found that their provisions were being raided while they were about their day's work. It seemed incredible, but it appeared to be the work of Indians. Attempts to scare the unseen marauders were made, and an arrow replied. There were Indians.

An anthropologist came investigating, and located the remains of a little Indian family settlement. But no Indians were in evidence and it was clear that they had fled the canyon.

Three years later a butcher (of animals) found a starved, frightened naked wild man in his outhouse, a quite harmless, thoroughly scared creature. We have a photo of the fellow as found—a most terrified, miserable, wild and hungry mortal, obviously an Indian. Again the anthropologists were called in, but even they could not understand his strange and unknown speech.

The strange being was taken to the anthropological museum.

But there he was fed, assured of safety and friendship, helped to adapt himself to European clothes, and given work to do about the museum.

Anthropologists soon mastered his unknown language, recorded it for scientific study, and talked with the Indian, who had been named Ishii. His parents had escaped the massacre of the Yana of forty years ago. He and his sisters were infants then. For forty years they lived fearfully in the barren canyon, fishing and hunting rabbits. Then the surveyors appeared and

the family of four fled, in their dread, starving, rather than chance a meeting with white men whom they knew only as they had been a generation and more ago. The father, mother, and sister fell by the wayside, and Ishii, a man from a lost world, a man out of the Stone Age, faced a new California of the age of steel, and was caught seeking food.

In 1911, taken, and brought among friends to the museum, he lived in happiness, adapted himself quickly, showed himself of fine intelligence, enjoyed life, taught the anthropologists and scientists a great deal about flint working, bow- and arrow-shooting, his language and people. A photograph of Ishii of these days in European dress is an amazing revelation when compared with his photo of 1911 when found. One can begin to understand what potentialities lay in apparently wild Indians. He is obviously the fine personality and intelligence his friends said he was.

In five years he passed from Stone Age culture to be able to hold his own in that of the Steel Age. Then he faced the white man's diseases; general tuberculosis came suddenly and proceeded rapidly and in 1916 he died.

The story of Ishii is fascinating and tragic; it would take a skilled writer to carry over to the general reader his significance as his friends understood it.¹ Here, we merely call it to the reader's attention with the background of the California of only forty years before Ishii's time when thousands of infants such as he was then were treated with the kind of mercy the frontiersmen understood.

4. THE 'ORDERLY WORKING OF CAUSES' IN THE GREAT PLAINS

By the time California and the new north-west had destroyed most of their aborigines, destruction got fully under way in the western Plains. During the Civil War (1861-5) between

¹ Waterman, Pope, and others have written about him. See the story with photographs in T. T. Waterman, *The Yana*, University of California Publications in American Ethnology, vol. xiii, 1917-20, S. Pope, *Hunting with the Bow and Arrow*, 1926; A. L. Kroeber, 'Ishii: the Last Aborigine', *World's Work*, 1912; T. T. Waterman, 'The Last Wild Tribe of California: the Story of the Extinction of the Yahi', *Popular Science Monthly*, 1915.

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the Northern and the Southern States of the United States, the Indians of the west were involved fighting one another, some for the North, some for the South. But in 1864 the tribes of the western Plains all fought against the North, then in control of all the west, but this was a general rising against whites as a race rather than to favour the Southern cause.

More important to the story of the Plains frontier than the civil war between the whites was the fact that in 1859 nearly 100,000 miners had crossed the prairies and opened silver mines in Colorado. The Indians viewed them as a menace, it appears, chiefly because their activities and their stage-coach communications through the Indian country scared the buffalo herds and diminished them, and rendered precarious the staple food-supply of these westerly Plains tribes. The introduction of the horse had made these tribes mobile; many of them had formerly been agriculturists but with the acquisition of the horse had given up raising anything but tobacco. Now, white influence which, instead of civilizing them, had rendered them less civilized, was undermining their life as now based on the buffalo (that is, properly, the bison).

In 1864 the Cheyennes, Comanches, and Kiowas began attacks on the stage-coach communications and attacked outlying settlements in the mining regions.

Now, about this time the Interior Department of the federal government, in charge of Indian affairs, was issuing rifles to the Indians! This was on the grounds that they needed them to get bison. As a matter of fact, the silent bow was better for the bison hunt. The Indians used the rifles to war on one another and on the whites. When the Indian outbreaks would occur, which was usually in late autumn when their hunt was over, the Interior Department would call on the War Department to bring out its soldiery to suppress the Indians who had been armed by the Interior Department. In the spring, when the grass was lush and the buffalo were coming, the Indians would sue for peace (until the next winter), and the Interior Department would then call off the War Department and restore the Indians' depleted

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supplies of rifles and ammunition (presumably for the hunt)!
Could anything be more ridiculous?¹

It would have been much better had the sentimentalists of the east who were behind the Interior Department permitted the War Department to fight an Indian war through to the end and then settle the Indian problem honourably and definitely by providing some policy of civilizing the Indians other than² the one they were following—which 250 years of experience had proved to be destructive. As it was, the Indians had not even been led yet to see anything superior in the whites or white civilization—one must remember that what they saw of it was its degradation on the frontier. A trader, Boller, of this period, who knew the Indians of the far-western Plains almost as well as Denig, wrote in 1866:

All the Indian tribes look upon the whites as an inferior race, pretty much in the same light that we formerly regarded plantation negroes. They have the idea that the earth is one vast plain resting upon four huge turtles, and that the whites occupy a very small corner of it while the rest is the exclusive and illimitable domain of the Indians. One might talk to them for hours on this subject without being able to convince them one iota to the contrary; but would infallibly gain for himself the reputation of being an unmitigated liar if he persisted in asserting that the whites were as numerous as the leaves in the forest and cunning and skilful beyond all expression. . . . The Indians look upon all Americans or 'Long Knives' as a nation of traders, who get their goods from 'a cunning people beyond the big water'.

Naturally such tribesmen, led to feel that they could with impunity go out killing whites in the fall and have peace and be supplied by whites with new ammunition in the spring, were a terrible irritation to the mining settlements of Colorado and the neighbouring territory.

The volunteer State militia called out for defence could well

¹ Unless it were the situation we found in King Philip's War in 1676, when Philip and his warriors bought during the winter supplies of fire-arms through the fur trade at Albany, New York, the better to renew their war on the New Englanders in the spring!

² This is the period in which Denig made suggestions for a new policy; see above, p. 898.

have carried out determined war in civilized fashion and let the Indians know that the federal government was not to be permitted any longer to heed the sickly sentimentalists of the east who then (and before and since)¹ sought 'justice' for the Indians, which to them meant continuing the wild Indians as sovereign nations on national territories with interminable diplomatic interchanges, and, in practice, no attempt at civilization.

But instead, the frontiersmen as State militia continued the good old colonial tradition, and merely butchered, a violence-technique hardly conducive to leading the Indian to see worth in Christian civilization. General Curtis, investigating the butchery in the west in 1864, observed that the soldiers and settlers demanded an indiscriminate slaughter—men, women, and children. 'I abhor the style', he wrote, 'but so it goes, from Minnesota to Texas. . . .' He himself, he observed, thought it preferable to take the women and children prisoners rather than to kill them off!

One of the massacres was led by the Methodist parson Chivington, who had once been a missionary to the Indians! As a volunteer of a Colorado regiment he led his men on to the attack on a village of sleeping Indians and heroically called out for his men to revenge the death of white women² and children. These Indians were quite unprepared. They had been negotiating the usual peace and thought hostilities were over. Only fourteen of the Methodist parson's men fell. About 300 Indians out of 500 fell—about 150 of them women and children. Only seven women and children were taken prisoners—presumably to conform to Curtis's explicit orders to the governor of Colorado, that 'women and children must be spared'. The details of the butchery of these women and children is such that though one may find some of it detailed in the government reports it is a little too revolting in its lurid details to cite or reprint.

The American historian of the frontier, Paxson, writes of this affair that 'the terrible event was the result of the orderly work-

¹ And compare above, p. 919 f., on overseas imperial problems.

² White women on the frontier used the rifle well and put themselves in the position of combatants. The Indians sometimes also slew children if transporting captives was impracticable.

ing of causes over which individuals have little control'. This presumably exempts the parson hero and his men from academic appraisal at least by American historians.

In the winter of 1864 peace was made. In the spring of 1865 the Indians went out to war again. In the fall of 1865 came peace treaties again. In 1866 and 1867 the cycle continued.

By 1870 the Plains tribes had no longer any desire to fight. It was clear that for a long time they would remain 'pacified'. With the opening of President Grant's administration a 'peace policy' was pursued towards the Indians. This policy was essentially the old policy, despite its epithet of 'peace'. But it did provide (1) for an end to the making of new treaties with the Indian tribes; and (2) that the reservations of Indians were to be under agents appointed and controlled by missionaries. The latter plan soon fell through, as we have pointed out, for reasons we explained.¹

5. THE NEW MESSIANISM AND WHAT HAPPENED TO ONE OF THE CONVERTED TRIBES

While the federal government failed in its first weak step towards transferring Christian civilization to the Indians in their reservations, new pagan prophetic religions were spreading among the reservation Indians. They were eagerly seeking a saviour in their own savage way, pariahs that they were in the eyes of Christian civilization.

About 1850 the Nez Percé Indian Smohalla began teaching his messianic doctrine. By 1856 it was widespread in the north-west plateau and led to an alliance of tribes in the Yakima Indian war at that time. The tribes were crushed and Smohalla became a lone wanderer, visited Salt Lake City of Mormon Utah, where he appears to have acquired some ideas from these Latter Day Saints, visited tribe after tribe down into Mexico, and about 1860 returned home. Then he founded the Dreamer religion. He opposed everything in white civilization. He bitterly criticized Indians who adopted cattle-raising or agriculture. 'Men who work cannot dream,' he said, 'and wisdom

¹ See above, p. 889.

comes to us in dreams.' 'You ask me to plough the ground!' he exclaimed. 'Shall I take a knife and cut my mother's bosom? ... Then when I die I cannot enter her body to be born again!'

As a result of Smohalla's teachings the north-west plateau tribes began to refuse to sell their lands to the government. An example of this is offered by the amazing story of Chief Joseph and his band of 500 Nez Percé Dreamers. They had been urged to exchange their 'national territory', which the white settlers wanted, for a new 'national territory' located far away, which nobody wanted. In 1877 the Indians were still refusing to leave their homes. Finally they agreed; the annoyance of the squatters was too much for them. Just as they were herding their cattle and preparing to go, the surrounding settlers ran off their cattle, killing one of the Indians.

This theft of their cattle and this end of a series of murders was the last straw. Previously the Indians had been remarkably pacific. Now they turned on the whites and slew twenty-one.¹ The United States soldiers then took the field. In three battles the Indians slew fifty-three soldiers. The third engagement was on the 4th July, the American holiday which celebrates American resistance to tyranny.

Then Joseph and his band fled with what cattle they had recovered. The 100 warriors had to protect and guard not only the cattle but 350 women and children. They sought to flee over the Canadian border as the Sitting Bull band of Sioux had done the year before after the Custer defeat.² One body of troops pursued them; another waited to attack in front; another, made up of enlisted Crow Indians, lurked on their flank.

Joseph led his band up the Clearwater, across the mountains into Montana, turned at Big Hole Pass long enough to beat back his pursuers, killing sixty of the soldiers; then by devious mountain trails fled south-east into Yellowstone Park, where he again turned on Howard and his troops with a further killing; on again through Wyoming and north again into Montana, seeking the border. Intercepted in the neighbourhood of the

¹ Cattle-thieving was a death-penalty offence among the whites themselves.

² See below, p. 1053.

Yellowstone River by Sturgis and his Crow scouts, he lost heavily himself this time, in two battles.

Now, with only fifty able men left, carrying the wounded, Joseph crossed the Missouri River and entered the Bearpaw Mountains. When they were within fifty miles of the Canadian border, Miles, with fresh troops, cut them off and defeated them. In this battle the noted chief Looking-Glass, Joseph's brother, was slain. On the 5th October 1877 the Indians surrendered to Colonel Miles.

The surrender was conditional, *the Indians being promised that they would be permitted to return to their old home in the spring*. They were sent to Fort Leavenworth, in Kansas; and then, for a seven years' stay, against their will, to malarial lands in Indian territory, where, used to mountain air, they were immediately *reduced by disease from four hundred and fifty to two hundred and eighty!*

Preparing to surrender, in October 1877, Chief Joseph spoke formally to his sub-chiefs:

I am tired of fighting. Our chiefs are killed. Looking-Glass is dead. Toohulhotsote is dead. It is the young men who say yes or no. He who led the young men is dead. It is cold and we have no blankets. The little children are freezing to death. My people, some of them, have run away to the hills and have no blankets, no food. No one knows where they are, perhaps freezing to death. I want to have time to look for my children and see how many of them I can find. Maybe I shall find them among the dead. Hear me, my chiefs! My heart is sick and sad. . . . I am tired. . . .

6. THE NEW MESSIAHS

Smohalla's message appears to have led to the spiritual development of a new prophet, Tavibo the Ute, in a valley in desert Nevada. Shortly before 1870 Tavibo was preaching a message very similar to that of all the other Indian messiahs whom we have discussed from the original Delaware prophet on. There seems to be evidence that ultimately all these messianic religions go back to an origin in that begun by the Delaware prophet who inspired Pontiac.¹

Tavibo's ritual was called the Ghost (Spirit) Dance. It spread

¹ See above, pp. 1007, 1022 f.

widely on the plateau and into northern California among those Californian Indians who had not been converted to Christianity by the Catholic missionaries.

The resulting spiritual ferment among the Indians interested the neighbouring Mormons of Utah immensely, and it was widely believed among them that it foreboded the return of the Lost Ten Tribes of Israel, which, in Mormon belief, were ice-bound somewhere up in the Arctic but were destined in time to return among men. Orson Pratt, one of the prominent Mormon leaders, earnestly urged the Utah Mormons to prepare to receive the Ten Tribes, who were expected to come straight to Salt Lake.

Tavibo's torch was taken up and carried on by Wovoka, a member of Tavibo's Ute band. Wovoka began his teaching in 1886. He taught, among other things, that the Great Spirit would destroy this earth cataclysmically, very shortly, and remake it again for Indians only. Meantime he forbade all war between Indian and Indian, and forbade offence to the whites, who soon would be destroyed by heaven. No deaths were to be mourned hereafter, for soon all the Indians' dead were to return to the renewed earth.

The new messiah's Ghost-Dance ritual and doctrine spread rapidly over the Plains. And many of the medicine-men of these despairing Plains tribes were disposed to teach war against the oppressors of the Indian. Among the Sioux at least there spread the use of the ghost shirt, which was supposed to make the wearer invulnerable to bullets. By 1890, when the last Sioux outbreak occurred, the bison had been killed off, the Indians were herded on dreary reservations to live on rations doled out to them by government agents as partial payment for the lands they had given up; and soldiers stood guard to see to it that the sometimes starving Indians died peacefully. The young men especially despaired at the idle life with no hunting, no war, no change. Suicides of young men became extraordinarily frequent. The doctrine of the Ute messiah alone gave them hope. From tribes a thousand miles away, horsemen were sent to visit the messiah in Nevada and hear at first hand the message that all this misery was to end.

7. THE LAST INDIAN WAR

The Sioux of the Dakotas in this period were a centre of restlessness. In 1876, one of their bands under Sitting Bull had destroyed a regiment of United States cavalry under their General Custer. It was a fair fight enough, it seems to me, but in every American bar-room a generation ago (when wooden Indians signalled tobacco-shops) there was a lithograph affecting to portray the event, and the title referred to the battle as a massacre. Custer and all his troops fell fighting—not taken by surprise in their sleep with their children about them. Sitting Bull, it appears, had ordered that Custer be taken prisoner and in no case to be slain. Seventeen years before, when a young man on an Indian delegation to Washington and the East, Sitting Bull had met Custer, already noted as a brilliant young cadet. He proclaimed Custer his ‘blood brother’, and among Indians the brother so acquired is for life dearer than a real brother. Custer, spared, was the last alive on the battlefield. Firing from behind his fallen horse he killed six of the Indian chiefs. Still they would not fire at him; ‘We made believe we did not see him. . . .’ Then

just as we finished all the killing and were going to make the peace sign to Custer and then go out and get him, we saw him stand up and peer hard all over the battlefield, with one of his hands shading his eyes. Lots of smoke and dust everywhere, and he was trying to see if there were any live Blue Coats left. When he realized he was alone he put his gun against his body and pulled the trigger.

He was dead right away. . . . Sitting Bull went up to where he lay and stooped down and picked up his pistol and looked at it; and then he strapped it around himself and came back. Sitting Bull did not say anything then, but when we got up into the Land of the Red Sun (Canada) he used to be sorry that Custer had done that.

This band of Sioux fled to Canada and were permitted to settle on lands given them there.

Now in 1890 came the final episode, among the remaining messianic Sioux on their reservation in North Dakota. This in American histories is called a ‘war’—the Sioux War of 1890.

An impartial investigation on the spot in 1890 showed that

it was no war. The Sioux on their reservation, desperate from actual hunger, were goaded by the soldiery and clashed with them. Forty-nine soldiers fell; three hundred Sioux!—all on and immediately about the reservation. Yet, for four States around, hearing of the trouble, the inhabitants ‘worked themselves into such a high state of panic that ranches and even whole villages were temporarily abandoned, and the people flocked into the railroad cities with vivid stories of murder, scalping, and desolation which had no foundation in fact’.

The ghost shirts worn by the three hundred who fell had not turned away the bullets. So the Ghost-Dance religion died; its mere teaching of resignation ‘was too far removed from practical issues, its hope of relief too illusory to give lasting satisfaction’.

8. FORTY-ONE YEARS OF SLOW DYING, AND A RELIGION WITH DRUGS

Giving up this last religion, did the still pagan Indians take to the Christianity of their killers? Hardly. They took to drugs and a new pagan religion.

From some tribes in the desert on the Mexican border there quickly spread among the American reservation tribes a new pagan ritual and doctrine which included the use of a drug similar in its effects to hasheesh. This is absorbed in chewing the peyote cactus, imported dried from southern Texas; it produces visions in the devotee. Already in 1892 it had been adopted by the Delawares in the west. In 1914 even the Utes, the founders of the last messianic religion, had taken to it. In 1916 it spread to the Cherokees and their ‘civilized tribes’ neighbours in Oklahoma. Since then it has continued its conquest of the Indians. Even the nominally Protestant Christian Indians have taken to it. In their drugged condition they say it affords ‘a means of interpreting the Bible’—through it the Bible becomes clear to the Indian. . . .

AN EPITOME OF THE STORY OF THE FRONTIER: THE LENAPÉS

One of the most distressing tragedies of this last period of decay of the eastern and central tribes is the climax to the

story of the Delaware Indians—or, as they call themselves, the Lenni Lenapé ('Veritable Men'). The long-drawn-out agony of this people is not spectacular, like the extermination of the Yanas and the survival of the lone Ishii or the heroic flight followed by exile and disease in Oklahoma of the mountaineer Nez Percés under Chief Joseph. But it is, in the social history of the frontier, in a way even more significant. In various sections of our book we have followed the unfortunate Lenapés. We have seen how, rejected from Christianity and civilization generally by the colonies in the Delaware valley and on Manhattan supplanted by Dutch and Swedish business corporations, they peacefully and slowly died off from epidemic diseases introduced by their fur-trading exploiters (1621-64); and how, during the period of Quaker settlement of New Jersey and Pennsylvania, the Dutch-Swedish process of land-purchasing and shoving back of the Indian pariahs continued—until, suddenly, trickery and greed on the part of the Pennsylvania proprietary colonial government, in conspiracy with the savage Iroquois confederacy, forced the Delawares to remove to central Pennsylvania, into the arms of the Scots-Irish frontiersmen, to the edge of the wilderness, there to be to some extent christianized by Mennonites and Moravians and then slaughtered barbarously by the Scots-Irish. Then the patiently dying Delawares, as we have seen, refused any longer to die off peacefully, like 'women', as the Iroquois put it. They became savages among savages, taking a frightful revenge, devastating the frontiers of the civilization which had rejected them, and moving farther west away from it to be absorbed by the violent despair of the tribes of Ohio: crushed at last, as we have seen, in their violent revolt under the pagan messiahs, *of whom the first had arisen among them*, they were lifted away from their fertile fields in Ohio and flung down into the cloaca of Oklahoma by the United States Government.

During the bitter dragging-out of 225 years, they were forced westward over the long track of 1,500 miles west of the ancient homes in the Delaware river valley and on Manhattan and Staten Islands in what is now New York harbour. The tragedy

is lightened only by the irony of the fact that the name they gave to the cultural centre of the civilization which forced them out still clings to it and memorializes the first event in their contact with European civilization: Manhattan ('The-island-where-we-all-became-drunk'). Now, in their western home, the remnants of the people which called itself 'real men' struggle along in semi-paganism, chewing peyote because through its effects the scriptures are revealed to them!¹

THE REMAINING FRONTIER

The Indians of the arid south-west of the United States stand to-day as yesterday somewhat apart, as a social problem, from the mixed-blood remnants of the central, eastern, and west-coast tribes. There in the oases of the great desert we find the bulk of the full-blood Indians remaining to the United States, still almost wholly aboriginal (pagan) in culture (none have yet taken up the drug peyote). At present they are adequately protected from the greedy land-hunger of the frontier and have for a decade or so past been slowly increasing in population. In Arizona and New Mexico there are now about 65,000 Indians belonging to the various irrigated-agriculture tribes of the pueblo groups and the pastoral goat- and sheep-herders of the Navajo country. No aggressive technique of assimilation of these peoples to the Euro-American is planned. It is the apparent intention of the United States to encourage the continuance of their present form of existence, merely protecting them from expropriation by the whites. So late as 1924 there was a move on the part of the frontier interests to expropriate some of the south-western Indians, but generally there is little of the water and land of the Indians that the whites eagerly desire. The marginal lands remaining to the Indians are not such as the whites could very profitably use, and the timber and subsoil

¹ On the Delawares see above, pp. 993 ff., 1010 ff., 1021 f. On the name Manhattan see MacLeod, *American Indian Frontier*. The interpretation and story of its origin is from the missionary historian Heckewelder. In a recent conversation on the interpretation of Delaware place-names with Chief War Eagle of the Oklahoma Delawares my informant confirmed this reading of the native form 'Manahattenienk'. (The *-ienk* at the end of the name means 'place'.)

products are not of great value. The Indians of the region are extremely poor, hygiene is at low ebb. More than a quarter of the Navajos have trachoma, a disease introduced by the whites, spread and maintained by atrocious living conditions. The Indians are not self-supporting. The budget for 1932 of the federal government allows (the average including all persons classed as Indians, including persons of little Indian blood in Oklahoma and elsewhere),¹ for administration of Indian affairs, a total which averages about \$700 for a family of five.

One could suggest an aggressive programme of assimilation of these unfortunates of the south-west desert country in which \$700 per family would go far to meet the cost, a programme in which the Indians might be absorbed in the labour market afforded by the towns and the rich orchard and garden areas of southern California and neighbouring areas, a market now filled largely by immigrating Mexican workers (who are largely of Latinized Indian stock). The Indians, temporarily accorded special protection and financial aid, could thus be brought into intimate daily contact with American civilization of the new day. They would benefit from an increase in well-being which at present is accorded to immigrant labourers.

But there is no likelihood of anything but a continuance of the old policy of keeping the natives beyond the pale. An assimilation programme would be certain to be shelved by the bureaucracy and disdained by various sentimental societies such as the Indian Rights Association. Among outstanding opponents undoubtedly would be the American anthropologists. Among other things the anthropologists would not desire to see the native pagan culture disappear because this has not yet been studied adequately by them. It seems to the writer that the anthropologists should, on the other hand, be among those

¹ The great bulk of the eastern tribes are in Oklahoma preserves and number about 90,000 individuals of various degree of mixed negro, white, and Indian blood. The negroes—former slaves—outnumber the aborigines in Oklahoma! Of the remains of the 'Five Civilized Nations', those who were moved to Oklahoma from the south-eastern States in the 1830's, there are (rather few pure-blood Indians are included) about 40,000 Cherokees, 24,000 Choctaws, 18,000 Creeks, 10,000 Chickasaws, and 3,000 Seminoles (remains of the Creeks who entered Florida after the Jesuit-Franciscan missions there were wiped out).

to propose and advance a process of assimilation of the native and a liquidation of the old culture—for the sake of the natives. Human beings should not, like animals, be kept in reserves for the amusement of tourists. A governmental programme of assimilation could proceed as does the programme of assimilation of the Siberian natives by the U.S.S.R. Among other things that programme includes superabundant funds for field work by anthropologists and abundant leisure for the anthropologists to make their investigations of the native cultures before they disappear, with adequate release from the unproductive business of decorating museums and reading out-of-date lectures to schoolboys. Within several years of intensive field work in America, properly financed, and not confined to some school-teacher's or museum-worker's few weeks' vacation, the most exacting demands of science for information on the cultures of the Indians of the south-west could be met, and the Indians could be released from the obligation of waiting in the desert until railway advertisers and scientists have done with them.¹

¹ At present the impossible conditions under which field work is carried out in American anthropology results for the most part in hastily gathered and wholly inadequate research in the field. For want of funds and leisure the men on the staffs of the museums and universities simply cannot do the work needed to be done, while meantime native cultures are disappearing. For example, all we have from an important key culture, the Wichita, is a few stories some one picked up in a brief visit. Yet the Wichita Indians are only a few miles away from the University of Oklahoma in the State of Oklahoma, and available with a short train-ride to the University of Texas and other universities. And as yet the States and Universities of Texas and Oklahoma—the latter with its horde of Indians—have not, so far as I can learn, spent one cent on ethnological research nor sent one man into the field. A programme for the rapid assimilation of the Indians would probably so stimulate concerted intensive field research that anthropology would benefit tremendously. The uneventful progressive decline of the natives in the provinces and territories of the Dominion of Canada is surveyed and documented in my *American Indian Frontier* and in my article in the section on 'Native Policies' of the *Social Science Encyclopedia*. On the whole the Canadian development parallels that of the United States. Up to 1906 we witness the drawing up of 1,500 treaties between the government and the various native tribes. Then treaty-making was discontinued. There remain about 130,000 natives including the Eskimo. More than half are mixed-bloods of one and another degree of admixture. The full-blood Indians for the most part are poverty-stricken woodland and tundra hunters and fishers on the edge of civilization.

APPENDICES—LARGELY BIBLIOGRAPHICAL

I. ABORIGINAL AND MODERN AMERICAN ALCOHOLISM

Father Le Jeune (in *The Jesuit Relations*, vol. ii, 1636) thus describes the psychology of drinking among the St. Lawrence River Indians: 'The beverages . . . they love with an utterly unrestrained passion, not for the relish they experience in drinking them, but for the pleasure they find in being drunk. They imagine in their drunkenness that they are great orators, that they are valiant . . . that they are looked up to . . . hence this folly suits them. There is scarcely one . . . even among the girls and women, who does not enjoy this intoxication, and who does not take these beverages when they can be had, purely and simply for the sake of being drunk.'

This accurately describes much of the drinking in the United States under prohibition.

In this connexion it is interesting to note that the word 'hooch' used in the United States for illicit liquor is apparently from the north-west coast Indian word 'hoochio' for the same (see above, p. 828), and that the original mixture which became the modern American cocktail was an Aztec invention. The term 'cocktail' is a corruption of the Aztec name—'Ocactetl'. (The American term of assent, 'O.K.', has, curiously enough, as Choctaw Indian equivalent, 'oke'.)

II NEW ENGLAND AND NEW NETHERLANDS

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AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND

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(See Maps Nos. 19 and 20)

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CHAPTER I

I. THE PERIOD OF DISCOVERY

THE contact of Europe with Australia is a phenomenon of very recent date in the world's history. Throughout the many centuries in which human culture slowly developed in the evolution of national life Australia remained unvisited and unknown. But before the world's first herdsmen had learnt to domesticate useful animals a stream of refugees, probably tribes allied to the Dravidians of southern India who had been pressed eastwards along the chain of Malaysian islands by fiercer tribes from Indo-China, somehow crossed the intervening seas—either from Timor or across Torres Straits—and provided the huge island with a population of huntsmen, organized roughly in small tribes, each more or less isolated in its hunting-grounds and suspicious of its possibly malevolent neighbours. Even these early visitors found an earlier race in occupation—a palaeolithic negroid community the origin of which is still unknown, and which after apparent extirpation on the mainland survived in the small southern island of Tasmania, which the Dravidians did not invade. In those centuries life in Australia was conditioned almost entirely by the physical surroundings of the tribes; where natural food was fairly plentiful the black man thrived and grew strong; where food was scarce he deteriorated.

At the beginning of the seventeenth century the long peace of this isolated world was broken. Among the nations of the northern continents rumours of a southern continent had always been prevalent. In the mythology of Mesopotamia and western Asia it figured as the Underworld; in the fanciful geography of late Greek and early medieval writers it was accepted as a necessary balance to the masses of northern land; by a curious mistake Marco Polo's descriptions of Indo-China were erroneously mapped south of the equator and represented as part of the rumoured *Terra Australis*. In the sixteenth century all these pretty fancies were brushed away when the area south of eastern

Asia became a matter of disputed ownership between Spain and Portugal, and in the latter years of that century between Spain and Holland. The practical issue, of course, was the possession of lands from which could be obtained a regular supply of valuable spices. The best known sources of supply, the Moluccas, were claimed by Portugal; and when Portugal was temporarily united to Spain Holland took possession. Geographers were convinced that there must be other sources in those regions; the vast map-spaces between Africa and South America might hold more Americas, new sources of gold-supply, fresh nations with which to trade. So Spanish explorers from Mexico or Peru adventured across the Pacific—Saavedra and Sarmiento and Mendana and de Quiros; they discovered various island groups, but one and all missed the Australian coast because for one reason or another they kept a course too far to the north. Then in 1605 de Quiros was dispatched from Callao with definite orders to seek for a 'continent towards the south'; he was edging his way down towards latitude 30° S., when storms and incipient mutiny forced him north again, and his voyage of exploration ended in the New Hebrides, whose largest island he named *La Australia del Espiritu Santo* under the impression that he had discovered the mainland of *Terra Australis*. More storms and a worse mutiny forced him from that point to return to Mexico; but his second in command, Luis Vaez de Torres, persisted in the western course and found himself at last on the south-western coast of New Guinea, having passed through Torres Straits without any clear notion of his whereabouts or of his nearness to the land he was hoping to find. The records of his voyage were buried either at Manila or at Madrid for over 150 years, and had no effect on later attempts to explore the Australian region; it is mentioned here in some detail to dispel the illusions under which a few historians still lie, that Torres sighted the Australian mainland and that de Quiros discovered it.

But in the year 1606 which saw Torres's penetration of the straits westward a little Dutch vessel, the *Duyfken*, was hovering off the mouth of those straits. We know very little of her doings, but almost contemporary records (e.g. the journal of another

Dutch vessel seventeen years later) show that it coasted the shores of the Cape York Peninsula and entered the Batavia river, encountering hostile natives. Her reports, though not encouraging, counted for something in the subsequent efforts made by Dutch authorities in the East Indies to investigate the Torres Straits area. The real discovery of the mainland, however, resulted from quite different causes. Dutch vessels on their way round the Cape of Good Hope to Batavia found the route past Madagascar too stormy and ventured ever farther east while still in southern latitudes before turning north across the equator. In 1616 Dirck Hartog in the *Eendracht* sighted a new land east of longitude 110°, and on his report Dutch masters were ordered to make for this land before turning north. Naturally, they sighted it at various points, and during the next eleven years the western coast of Australia was roughly mapped by navigators who had no interest in what lay behind it. Beyond it other areas had been noted by two explorers—Jan Carstenszoon, who in 1623 was sent to extend the *Duyfken's* discoveries, and Pieter Nuyts, chief passenger aboard a ship which he seems to have used without instructions for exploring the Great Australian Bight as far east as the archipelago since named after him. Still, nothing noted by any of the voyagers induced them to interest themselves about the nature of the mainland. They were bound for the splendid tropical islands of Malaysia, so the sandy or barren shores which are Australia's face westwards left them unmoved.

The vague impression of worthlessness thus produced was intensified by other explorers. Tasman in his voyage of 1642 saw nothing of the mainland and disliked the little he saw of Tasmania; no natives were visible, but such traces as there were of them suggested giants with a five-foot stride. His voyage of 1644, though deliberately designed by his superiors for mainland work, had even poorer results; he never landed at all, kept (if we may believe Dampier) a long way out to sea, and brought back a chart which for the first time definitely asserted the continuance of land between New Guinea and Cape York. After him the next visitor of importance was the Englishman Dampier,

whose first landing acquainted him with a barren region near King Sound on the north-western coast, and his second—in command of an English king's ship, the *Roebuck*—with the equally uninviting stretch of coast between Shark Bay and Roebuck Bay. Disgusted with all he had hitherto found, he determined to attempt the discovery of the eastern coast by proceeding round New Guinea; in this attempt he reached New Britain but could not push his leaky ship farther south against the trade winds, and returned to England without achieving his purpose.

Among the varying and uncertain news brought to Europe by these Dutch and English voyagers one point was emphasized by all. The new land was useless and its inhabitants savage wretches with whom not only trade but any social intercourse was impossible. By sheer mischance the landings had been confined to areas of barren soil where the natives eked out a miserable existence. 'Utter barbarians . . . poor and abject wretches', says Carstenszoon; 'the miserablest people in the world', says Dampier; and their accounts of the country are in the same vein. No wonder that from that time onwards Australia was neglected, and that de Bougainville, nearing the long-sought-for coast in 1768, dared not risk being caught without sufficient provisions on a shore that might easily prove as inhospitable as that which Dampier had encountered in the same latitude far to westward.

So, on the evidence supplied by the aborigines—whether imagined, as in Tasman's case, or seen at close quarters by Carstenszoon and Dampier—the continent was condemned and boycotted. A Dutchman here and there tried to round it northwards (Tasman was never convincing) in order to find a short passage from Malaysia to South America; three Englishmen and a Frenchman—Byron, Wallis, Carteret, de Bougainville—traversed the Pacific westwards from Cape Horn, but only the last-named thought of even approaching the discredited region. The way was left for James Cook.

The story of Cook's first voyage is well known and may be read briefly but satisfactorily in the pages of Kitson. The intent

of it was double: first he was to convey to Tahiti a party of English astronomers to observe the transit of Venus across the sun, and then to penetrate the southern Pacific in search of the *Terra Australis* in which some optimists still believed. After that he should make for the coast named by Tasman 'Statelandt' (later renamed New Zealand) and verify or correct Tasman's impression that it was part of the *Terra*; after that he could do what he liked on his way back to England. Cook carried out his instructions meticulously and made sure that New Zealand was no part of any continent; we shall deal with that part of his work later on. Three courses were now open to him—to return on his tracks towards Cape Horn, keeping in high latitudes and thus traversing the one remaining region where *Terra Australis* might be hidden; to make straight for England via the Cape of Good Hope; or to explore, for geographical reasons mainly, the still unmapped area between New Zealand and Malaysia. This last course he adopted, and on the 1st April 1770 he set sail from Cape Farewell in New Zealand towards the point of Tasmania at which Tasman had left the island's shores. Eighteen days later, when near the entrance to Bass Strait, a south wind drove him off his course northwards, and on the 20th April he saw land. At once he turned north along it, coasted it to Botany Bay (where he stayed a week), then hastily passed all the since notable and valuable areas—Port Jackson, the Hawkesbury mouth—stopped a day at Bustard Bay near the tropic of Capricorn, and sailed within the Barrier Reef until he ran on the Reef itself at a point a little south of where Cooktown now stands. This accident and the subsequent two months' delay gravely hampered his work. Provisions began to run short, and, as he reported, the voyage northwards was 'the most dangerous navigation that, perhaps, ship ever was in'. But on the 21st August he rounded Cape York, landed on Possession Island, and took possession of the whole new country for England. Thence he passed through Endeavour Strait, coasted New Guinea, and reached Batavia on the 11th October.

It is interesting to compare the accounts written by Cook

himself and by a young naturalist, Joseph Banks, who had accompanied him and afterwards became the country's most enthusiastic advocate. Both strove to contradict earlier descriptions of the natives. Cook reckoned they were 'in reality far more happier than we Europeans'. But Banks thought very poorly of the land; it was barren, it was droughty, it 'could not be supposed to yield much to the support of man'. On the other hand, Cook considered the country 'indifferently well-watered', 'indifferently fertile', endowed with good cattle pastures, capable of nourishing 'most sorts of grain, fruits, roots, etc.' Yet he never revisited it; seas, not lands, were his domain; when once he had charted the coast-line (and how accurately!), he devoted the rest of his life to making sure that there were no more southern Pacific coast-lines to chart. Australia had at last taken shape on the map. To make use of it was an affair for men of a very different type.

CONVICTS AND THE CONVICT SYSTEM

AT their best the reports of Cook and Banks were not much more encouraging than those of their predecessors; moreover, the British colonies across the Atlantic were giving British statesmen quite enough occupation, and men of science were more interested in Cook's later Pacific discoveries. But the results of the war which presently broke out in North America turned men's minds to contemplate the new southern territories. For, in the first place, England, when once the American colonies had made themselves independent, had no receptacle overseas for the prisoners whom she had previously transported to supply those colonies with cheap labour. And in the second place, France, which had latterly come into the war, possessed a considerable navy and might be expected to use it in picking up unconsidered trifles of territory even at the other end of the earth. Further, the war had been to a great extent a civil war—that is, a large section of the colonists had favoured, and fought for, England; they would not settle down under the republican government and were ready to move to a new home elsewhere in the British dominions.

At this stage Matra, who had served under Cook in the *Endeavour*, and George Young, a friend of Banks, proposed to use New South Wales (such was the name Cook had given to his discovery) for a solution of all these problems, by settling the loyal colonists there, sending them the transportable prisoners to do the hard work of colonizing, and garrisoning the chief settlement both to keep guard over the prisoners and to be a defence against any French aggression. Unfortunately, the British Government hesitated too long over this proposal, and by the time they were ready to accept it most of the loyal colonists had been settled in Canada. This left only the prisoners and their guards as possible colonists; so, after a vain attempt to find an overseas prison nearer Britain, a fleet of six transports, three storeships, and two king's ships, carrying about

770 convicts (the exact number is uncertain) and about 250 guards and officials, left England on the 13th May 1787 for the South Seas under the command of Captain Arthur Phillip. Eight months later the fleet reached Cook's first landing-place at Botany Bay. Finding it unsuitable for a settlement Phillip transferred his charge to Port Jackson, a little farther north, and on the 20th January 1788 founded Sydney. The colony of New South Wales was formally proclaimed on the 7th February following. Within the next twenty-five years settlement had spread westward to the foot of a steep hill-range (the Blue Mountains) thirty miles away, and the population had increased from the original 1,000 or so to about 11,000, mainly by the continual inflow¹ of convicts from Britain. This inflow persisted and increased until the abolition of transportation to New South Wales in 1840. By that date more than 88,000 convicts had been unloaded on the Australian settlements. The transportation system continued, however, to other Australian settlements in a more modified form until 1868.

Before relating in detail the history of these years some comment must be made on the system that dominated them. Transportation to the American colonies began in the seventeenth century as a method of supplying the settlers there with cheap labour, and was legalized in 1718; its basis was that the British Government, having a property interest in the labour of convicted prisoners, transferred that interest to any one who would contract to ship them out of the country and dispose of them as bondsmen among the colonists beyond the Atlantic. In practice, the prisoners were slaves for the period of their sentence—which, as a matter of fact, must specify transportation as part of the punishment, for no one could be transported without such specification. When the American outlet was closed judges continued to specify transportation, and the difficulty was temporarily met by placing the sentenced men in hulks where they were 'in the eyes of the law on their way to America'. But the hulks were managed by contract, and the

¹ In the first years of the convict period the importation of convicts averaged nearly 500; in the last ten years over 4,000.

conditions that obtained in them grew ever more disgraceful. The substitution of government-managed penitentiaries was proposed but found too costly, and in 1784 the government was empowered to select an overseas location for the reception of transportees. In New South Wales, the locality selected, there were no free settlers to employ the bondsmen, who consequently remained at the Crown's disposal. They were at first used on government works, and as soon as free settlers arrived were assigned to them by the governor for work under stipulated conditions—e.g. no private person could flog his assigned servants; they must be brought before a magistrate. (But in this regard it must be conceded that the punishments inflicted by magistrates were frequently capricious, excessive, and unproportioned to the offence.) However, the lot of every transported convict, provided he behaved himself, was not necessarily wretched, though it was always precarious. If assigned to a Sydney resident he had considerable local freedom and might find himself managing his master's business. Cases are recorded where a convict was assigned to his own wife, who had come out after him as a free woman. In the government 'chain-gangs', engaged on road building and clearing ground, conditions were frequently brutal; though in the more tolerant Macquarie régime it was well known that prisoners deliberately sought such government service. Apart from the discomforts of the long voyage out—which in the early period, until sharp measures were taken against the contractors, was indisputably a period of horror—the convict's chief punishment was the separation from his kinsfolk. Judged by modern standards the whole system bordered on the brutal; but by the standards of the times it was no worse than the systems prevailing in other nations. By some prisoners transportation was preferred to a much shorter sentence in the hulks at home.¹

The real injustice and brutality of the British convict system

¹ See Hammond's *Village Labourer*, pp. 174, 215. But the statement on p. 181 must be understood as referring to Tasmanian conditions, not to those prevailing on the mainland. Arthur was governor of Tasmania. The treatment of 'twice convicted' prisoners and the horrors of Port Arthur and Norfolk Island are in a different category, and are dealt with later.

lay not so much in the methods of its enforcement as in the offences to which it was applied. The formidable list of petty misdemeanours for which capital punishment or transportation was then inflicted is incomprehensible to modern minds. Even in that period to which we refer the iniquitous penal code was strongly censured by the reforming statesmen.

It is clear that criminal legislation has been heretofore left to the desultory and unconcerted speculations of every man who had a fancy to speculate. If an offence were committed in some corner of the land, a law sprang up to prevent the repetition, not of the species of crime to which it belonged, but of the single and specific act of which there had been reason to complain. The new enactment too was frequently stuck into the middle of a statute passed probably at the latter end of a session; to the compounding of which every man who saw or imagined a defect in the pre-existing law, was allowed to contribute.

Thus spoke Sir Robert Peel in 1826.¹ He quoted an act regulating American imports and naval transport to which, at the behest of an aggrieved old country gentleman, was appended a statute against the stealing of madder roots. Even so, transportation was usually regarded as a merciful substitute for capital punishment; to bring the crime into the non-capital category, juries repeatedly reduced the value of a thing stolen below one shilling, and an undoubted forger might be convicted merely of having a forged note in his possession.

But two sets of offences which carried with them the sentence of transportation must be specially deplored as unjust and excessive. They were the political offences for which many hundreds of Irishmen and a smaller number of Englishmen and Scotsmen were deported, and the offences against the game laws which depopulated many an English village between 1820 and 1840. The political offenders were often doubly ill-treated. The 'Scottish Martyrs' were illegally sentenced, since the transportation laws did not run in Scotland, and the transported Irish were frequently victims of a summary procedure. Some of these were deported merely on condition of not returning to

¹ *Speeches*, vol. i, 400.

Ireland. Governor after governor in Australia complained that he had no record of their terms of sentence, and the British officials in Ireland were forced to admit that in several instances no such records existed, many of the prisoners having been transported without trial. As for the unfortunate village poachers and hunger rioters who, between 1830 and 1840, were transported in hundreds to New South Wales, the herding of them with hardened town-criminals and the separation from their homes and families were excessive punishment for any save the least forgivable crimes.

In the light of these comments we may resume the general narrative. The ambitions of Governor Phillip must be clearly distinguished from his official task. His duty to the British Government was merely to organize the poor material given him—mostly genuine criminals, and many of them still further corrupted by years of detention in the hulks—in an orderly community that should as soon as possible be self-supporting. His authority rested on a detachment of marines whose commander was usually at loggerheads with him; his domain was an area of infertile soil, and his workmen utterly unacquainted with any sort of farming and disinclined to work at all. His immediate successors found it quite difficult enough to carry on under such conditions without attempting any greater task. But Phillip never thought of himself merely as a jailer; he was creating a new Britain, developing a country which would 'prove the most valuable acquisition Great Britain ever made'. He demanded a better class of convict; he refused absolutely to import Kanaka women with whom the convicts might intermarry (the government had made that suggestion!); he had always in mind an influx of free settlers and planned his organization accordingly. Unfortunately, ill health forced him to leave in 1792, and with his departure an era of ill-regulated discipline began in the colony.

The garrison of marines was too valuable, with a naval war always looming in Europe, to be left 12,000 miles away. Moreover, serious complaints had been made by Phillip of the disaffection and lack of co-operation manifested by the military

body in 1788 and 1789. To replace it the government raised a 'New South Wales Corps', designed for garrison work at Sydney and therefore unlikely to see fighting; its officers joined up for commercial, not for military reasons, and hoped in Australia to amass riches such as earlier adventurers had amassed on Indian service. When Phillip left Sydney the regiment's commander, Francis Grose, took over the governorship and promptly utilized all the settlement's resources for the benefit of his officers, who acquired the best blocks of land, commandeered the services of the fittest convicts, and, being the only capitalists in the settlement, soon became the only merchants, buying and selling at their own prices. More especially they traded in 'rum', a raw spirit which, whether imported or manufactured from local wheat, always commanded a market. The history of the next eighteen years turns on this nefarious traffic, which the corps carried on despite protests and prohibitions from successive governors. They thwarted Governor Hunter, they drove Governor King home; when Governor Bligh tried to master them they mutinied and deposed him. They were after all the sole support of a governor's authority over the convicts and had the whip hand of him for that reason only. But in deposing one of these early governors they overreached themselves. The British Government at last interfered, and in 1809 sent out a new governor, Lachlan Macquarie, with his own regiment at his back (the other governors had all been naval men), and brought the corps back to England, there to be drilled into obedience by Charles Napier.

Among the chief events of those eighteen years two are worthy of special notice. Britain had always been suspicious of French designs on the Pacific islands, not understanding that in France the increase of scientific knowledge was an adequate motive for the dispatch of expeditions. We should clearly understand that, until the days of Louis-Philippe, no French rulers seriously contemplated the acquisition of territory in the Pacific; their territorial ambitions were nearer home. But for scientific purposes they sent out Marion du Fresne (1771-2), La Pérouse (1785-8), Bruni d'Entrecasteaux (1791-3), Baudin (1800-4),

de Freycinet (1817-20), Duperrey (1822-5), de Bougainville (1824-6), and Dumont d'Urville (1826-30). Of these the most important for us was Baudin whose voyage, undertaken by the British Admiralty's leave during war-time, was made particularly suspicious by the behaviour of a few of his junior officers. The results of their boastings, as reported to Governor King, aroused him to make sure that no French annexations should be made; he at once sent off Bowen in the *Lady Nelson* to occupy southern Tasmania, where Baudin had been spending some months, and in the next year had the northern area similarly secured, Hobart on the Derwent and Georgetown at the mouth of the Tamar being settled as head-quarters. Nevertheless, there is some ground for believing that France was interested in possible territorial acquisitions in some parts of Australia.

This occupation further solved for him a difficult problem. As we noted earlier, the British Government after the Irish disturbances of 1798 decided to transport to Australia a number of political prisoners, and were none too careful in observing the forms of law in their regard. These men gave the Sydney authorities much more trouble than all the criminals hitherto sent out; they were not criminals, though subjected sometimes to convict discipline and sometimes on parole; they were of a better educated type with an independent outlook which had caused their banishment from home; in the colony they had genuine grievances and an impetuous way of setting them forth; and their unceasing agitations provoked the less enterprising prisoners to mutiny. In 1804, when a rising actually occurred, though it was easily put down, Governor King took fright and seized the first opportunity to deport a large number of the most recalcitrant to the new Tasmanian settlements. At the same time the Sydney magistrates began to unload on the same settlements the worst of the criminals with whom they had to deal; and so, though King had sent there the pick of the free settlers from Norfolk Island and Collins (the commandant at Hobart) returned to Sydney as many of the 'United Irishmen' as he dared, Tasmania became a receptacle both for Irish political prisoners (some of them endowed with rare organizing

ability) and unruly and debased criminals, 'the worst and most profligate characters from the gangs at Port Jackson', as Governor Davey complained in 1816. The influence of great numbers of the latter class, as we shall see later, was deplorable. Meanwhile, we need only remember that Tasmanian conditions were far worse than those of the mainland and cannot be quoted to illustrate Australian conditions in general.

The second noteworthy event of this period was the introduction of the wool industry. This was due chiefly to an officer of the corps, John Macarthur, who after several experiments in farming decided that the colony was well suited for sheep growing, and in 1796 procured from South Africa merino sheep of poor quality. Encouraged by the improvement showing in the wool of his flocks, he took advantage of a trip to England in 1804-5 to acquire sheep of the best Spanish breed from the flocks of King George III. In 1807 he shipped to London wool so fine that a demand for the Australian product set in immediately. To succeed, the industry needed large flocks and ample pastures; but governors, whose main desire was to limit the bounds of settlement in order to preserve discipline, or to parcel out the land among small farmers in order to maintain an adequate food-supply, were greatly embarrassed by the demands of Macarthur and his like for wide estates. Later, when the British Government decided to convert the convict settlements into a free and self-supporting colony utilizing convict labour, it became apparent that the wool industry was the colony's one hope of prosperity; then the whole system of land-allotment was rearranged to suit its requirements, and even political developments were now hastened, now hampered, by the demands of the wool-growers.

It remains to say a word about the early explorations. These were almost confined to the coasts, for no naval governor wished to extend inland the bounds of his domain. The Blue Mountains were an excellent jail-wall westward, and the rough country north and south of Sydney scarcely less formidable to escaped convicts; enthusiastic explorers occasionally attempted to penetrate these barriers, but none succeeded. By sea, how-

ever, a great deal of good work was done. Bass and Flinders in 1796-8 worked down the southern coast to Cape Howe and circumnavigated Tasmania, which hitherto had been reckoned part of the mainland. Flinders in 1799 examined the coast northwards to Hervey Bay, and in 1801-3 circumnavigated the whole continent, charting every mile of it with great care from the Leeuwin eastwards and northwards right round to Arnhem Land. Among other coastal discoveries are those of King George's Sound by Vancouver (1791), the Hunter River by Shortland (1797), and Port Phillip by Murray (1802).

With the arrival of Governor Lachlan Macquarie at the end of 1809 the second period of the colony's expansion begins. He was sent out chiefly to restore and maintain order in a community composed of convicts and their guards; like Phillip, his personal inclination was to found and foster a colony of free British settlers; but, unlike Phillip, he proposed to create it not from free immigrants but from the best of the convicts under his charge. New South Wales, he declared, 'was originally settled for the reception, punishment, and eventual improvement of convicts', and 'their improvement, welfare, and happiness should form the first and chief object of attention'. To give them a free chance of redeeming themselves he opened up the settled region with roads and encouraged every attempt to extend its bounds inland. When in 1813 a way across the Blue Mountains was found by Lawson and Blaxland, he sent a government surveyor, Evans, to prolong discovery beyond their farthest point. On the first fertile plains thus explored he founded the town of Bathurst, and employed Evans and Oxley to traverse the huge region to westward. By the end of his term of office the colony's area had been multiplied sixtyfold, the population more than three-fold, the area under cultivation fourfold, and the live stock more than sixfold. The settlement at Sydney had taken on the appearance of a thriving town, with several new well-planned buildings, schools, and other signs of comfortable civilization.¹

¹ The Anglican Church, though still under the jurisdiction of the bishop of Calcutta, possessed numerous churches of impressive design and workmanship

Governor Macquarie's colonizing schemes were not concentrated merely on roads, new settlements, and buildings. He needed colonists and found them ready at his hand. He took into favour all emancipists (those convicts who had been pardoned or had served their sentences) who showed character and capacity, entrusting one—even while still under sentence—with the control of building in the colony, making others magistrates, and treating the best of them as his social equals. This step, however, roused against him a storm of abuse from the officials and other free settlers, who were accustomed to pride themselves on their social superiority. Samuel Marsden, the Anglican chaplain, Ellis and Jeffery Bent, the two judges at the settlement, and the officers of the garrison combined to thwart him whenever possible; complaints went thick and fast to London, where Earl Bathurst—the minister in charge of colonial affairs—who had supported Macquarie in most matters, was compelled not only to reprimand him for autocratic mistakes but to appoint a commissioner, John Thomas Bigge, to inquire into his whole administration. The truth is that the governor had

(which are among the architectural features of Sydney a century later). This religious body, assisted by government subsidy, was served by several clergymen, chief of whom was Samuel Marsden, a man of considerable influence in the colony whether regarded as missionary in New Zealand, as magistrate, or as pioneer of several agricultural industries. In 1824 N.S.W. was made an archdeaconry of Calcutta under Thomas Hobbes Scott, when the Anglican Church became endowed with one-seventh part of the land in each county of the colony. So strong was public opposition against this British charter of endowment that it was withdrawn in 1829. The first Anglican bishop—William Grant Broughton—was appointed in 1836. The Presbyterian body came into prominence after the arrival of John Dunmore Lang in 1823, whose activities in ecclesiastical, literary, political, and immigration affairs continued to consolidate Presbyterianism even beyond the formation of the first Presbytery (1832). The Catholics, numbering about one-sixth of the population, had for thirty years been regarded as outside the pale of government recognition. (Colonial authorities had placed the Church of England in N.S.W. on the same status of 'establishment' as that Church enjoyed in England, and this recognition, legally unsupportable at any time, continued in practice until Governor Bourke's Church Act of 1836.) In the early years of the settlement one of three 'convict' priests had exercised his ministry for a few months only. In 1818 Governor Macquarie deported the first free priest to arrive at Sydney, in 1819 the British Government sanctioned the appointment of two Catholic chaplains under the ecclesiastical control of the bishop at the Cape of Good Hope. In 1833 Dr. Ullathorne (later bishop of Birmingham) arrived as vicar-general, and in 1835 Dr. J. B. Polding came to the colony as first resident bishop.

far exceeded his instructions; as Bathurst put it, the main duty of a governor was 'to keep up such a system of just discipline as may render transportation an object of serious apprehension. . . . Transportation to New South Wales is intended as a severe punishment applied to various crimes, and as such must be rendered an object of real terror to all classes of the community.' Bigge's *Reports*, issued in 1822 and 1823, openly admitted that the use of the settlement solely as a bogey for criminals was no longer possible. Macquarie, harassed and disappointed though he was, had achieved one part of his ambition, for the colonial status of the colony was recognized to a certain degree by the N.S.W. Judicature Act of 1823, and alongside this free community the transportation system was to be allowed to continue, but under stricter regulations.

CHAPTER III

THE CROWN COLONY

THE days of autocracy were over. Under a jail régime autocracy is indispensable and free men enter it at their own risk; but so soon as free men are recognized as the more important element in the community they must be given some voice in their own destiny. Accordingly, the British Government, accepting reluctantly the transformation of New South Wales into a freemen's colony, provided it by the Act of 1823 with the rudiments of a constitution. The governor was still left absolute power in an emergency, but in ordinary circumstances he must consult a *Legislative Council*, and must take its advice unless he could persuade at least one of its members to agree with him. As the council consisted of his own nominees there was little danger of friction; but the mere fact that he must discuss his proposals with them, and explain in writing his reasons when he overruled them, acted as a check on autocratic measures. Trial by jury was introduced (but only if both parties to a suit consented), and the new chief justice, in addition to his legal powers, was empowered to veto any proposed ordinance if he considered it contrary to existing British law. In 1825 the governor was given an *Executive Council* to advise him on administrative matters. In 1828 the legislative council was enlarged to a possible 15 (still nominated); the chief justice's veto was withdrawn in favour of an appeal to the supreme court as a whole; and trial by jury was allowed on the application of either party. An even more important approach to real freedom was made when Macquarie's successor, Governor Brisbane, renounced the control over the press which his predecessors had exercised continuously since the first newspaper was published in 1803. Darling, the next governor, tried to re-establish this control, but was promptly countered by the veto of the chief justice, Francis Forbes, who considered press censorship contrary to English law.

The three administrators of the new system were men of very different types. Governor Brisbane, warned by Macquarie's

fate to avoid meddling with the governmental machine, let his officials pursue their usual routine and absorbed himself in scientific studies at his private residence in Parramatta. In any case, the first constitution (1823) did not begin to operate until his term of office was almost completed. His successor, Ralph Darling, was deliberately chosen by the British authorities as a martinet to restore order in a lax community. He was ordered by Earl Bathurst to reimpose restrictions on the press and to treat emancipists harshly, even refusing pardons to those 'above the condition of the labouring class' unless they at once left the colony. His own attitude towards those whom Macquarie had favoured was at first a benign toleration, which condemned the arrogance of the earlier free settlers. But his efforts to curb the press roused against him the ablest and most vindictive of the younger colonists, William Charles Wentworth, who controlled the *Australian* newspaper. As with most martinets, opposition drove Governor Darling to regrettable extremes. Wentworth had no scruple about exceeding them, and local politics degenerated into a personal quarrel between two obstinate champions, the one of law and the existing British supremacy, the other of liberty and the right of British communities to self-government. In 1831 Darling was recalled, but before a House of Commons Committee he was able to refute the charge of misgovernment made against him, and was then knighted for his services. The most notable, although the least recognized, service which Darling contributed to the colony was his regulating and consolidating the government departmental offices, the effect of which endures till the present time.

Richard Bourke, the next governor, excelled in tact. During his seven years of office he was confronted not only with the imbroglio left by Darling but with many fresh problems of a highly controversial nature. He met opponents always with patience and personal friendliness; he evaded crises by firmness combined with an immediate search for remedies; he pervaded politics with his universal and obvious sympathy. Three of his governmental actions will illustrate his methods. When Batman and others were quarrelling over the ownership of the settlement

at the head of Port Phillip which afterwards became Melbourne, Bourke officially refused to admit that any of them had any right at all; but at the same time he was urging the authorities in London—whose orders he was officially carrying out—to alter their decision and let him regulate the situation in favour of the recalcitrant settlers. A still more delicate compromise transformed the whole system of Australian land settlement. Darling had been ordered to survey the colony into counties, but to confine the survey within the limits of existing settlement and not to allow the occupation of areas beyond those limits. The influx of young pastoralists that followed the publication of Bigge's *Reports* soon used up all suitable land within these 'Boundaries of Location', and new arrivals began to drive their flocks and herds farther afield, into the boundless western plains discovered by Oxley. There they occupied 'runs', many square miles of pasture within which the 'squatter'—so called because he had no title to his land—shifted his flocks from waterhole to waterhole as the supplies diminished. This was nothing less than rebellion, and Bourke officially rebuked it. The squatters did nothing, knowing that the wool industry was too valuable an asset to the colony to leave them in danger from any governor's action. Thereupon Bourke assumed direct control over the no-man's-land in question, divided it into 'Pastoral Districts', and fixed a small fee on payment of which squatters could legally continue to trespass within whichever district they might choose. By this device wool-growing retained the conditions it needed, discipline was preserved, and the land was left in the Crown's possession for subsequent apportioning. In 1836 his Church Act placed all religions on an equality, and subsidized their work in education and religion on the basis of the numerical strength of their active adherents. By such reconciliations of authority with common sense Bourke won for himself respect and popularity.

The mention of the influx of pastoralists which followed on the publication of Bigge's *Reports* may fitly introduce a short account of free migration to the colony during the convict period. Phillip had asked for free settlers; and during the naval-

governor period, prior to 1810, no large numbers were provided with grants of land and labour and sustenance for two years. Joseph Banks induced one or two with capital to migrate, but Macquarie—who wanted the land for his emancipists—discouraged this class and insisted that grantees should live on their farms and cultivate them; towards the end of his term, however, he asked for small capitalists, because the penniless farmer drifted to the towns as soon as a bad season overtook him. In 1820 only 1,300 out of a total mainland population of 24,000 had gone to Australia as free settlers. But the possibilities of prosperous farming as indicated in Bigge's *Reports*, and the relaxation of Macquarie's regulations limiting the size of farms, induced many young Englishmen to seek freer and more exciting lives at the Antipodes. For the years 1822–8 inclusive the average immigration was 765 annually, the larger part being men of some means. This inrush of employers soon absorbed the available supplies of convict labour. After unsuccessful attempts to bring out labourers from England under indentures, the adoption by the British authorities of Edward Gibbon Wakefield's scheme¹ for selling colonial land at a 'sufficient price' provided a land fund which could be used for paying the outward passage of labourers and domestic servants, and during Bourke's governorship a system of 'assisted immigration' was gradually shaped and made workable. Selected migrants, in families or singly, were brought out at government expense; others were introduced by private agencies which were paid a bounty on suitable introductions; within ten years 10,000 persons were imported annually. This steady inflow of free labour could not but effect another transformation in the character of the colony. Free labour could not work at ease side by side with convict labour, and the coincident arrival of, say, 5,000 assisted immigrants and 3,000 convicts, while it might suit the pastoralist employers, exasperated the growing population of the towns² to something like a sullen fury. By the end of

¹ This scheme is dealt with more fully on p. 1092.

² In 1836 two-thirds of the male assisted immigrants must be mechanics and only one-third agricultural labourers; this naturally infiltrated the town population with a majority of free men.

Bourke's term conditions in New South Wales were almost ripe for a severe restriction on the importation of convicts, while other causes (to which we must now revert) led to the abolition of the transportation system to New South Wales.

It has already been mentioned that Tasmania had been set aside to receive the worst type of convict, mainly those who had been convicted a second time for crimes committed in New South Wales. To master those criminals discipline in the island was naturally stiffened, and officials and employers were allowed to treat them with much less lenience than was customary on the mainland. At the same time life on the island was much more difficult; the settlers were often in need of food, and it became necessary to allow good hunters to roam freely in the bush seeking kangaroo-meat. Such men took advantage of their temporary freedom to become robbers ('bushrangers', as they were called), dreaded alike by the settlers whom they raided and the black folk over whom they tyrannized. Davey, the first lieutenant-governor under Macquarie, in despair of ever curbing their brutal ruffianism, put the island under martial law; his successor, Sorell, by stricter discipline among the convicts who had not escaped, and by organizing bushranger hunts with the voluntary help of settlers, managed to extirpate the principal gangs and give the island a few years' peace. To cut off the supply at its source and segregate really intractable prisoners he in 1822 established a penal settlement at Macquarie Harbour, high up on the west coast, which was reputed inaccessible from landward and difficult to escape from even by sea. On the whole, this jail answered its purpose, though a few desperate characters managed to escape and revenged themselves on the island by reviving the worst brutalities of the earlier bushrangers. But in 1825 an important land company received grants in the north-west of the island, and it became apparent that Macquarie Harbour must soon be abandoned as a jail; the then lieutenant-governor, David Arthur, discovered in the south-east a place peculiarly fitted for the same work—Tasman Peninsula—completely isolated from the rest of the island except by two very narrow and easily guardable isthmuses, but

at the same time accessible by sea from Hobart itself. On the southern end of this peninsula he established the afterwards notorious Port Arthur prison to which the men from Macquarie Harbour were transferred in 1832. Meanwhile Earl Bathurst, noting that it was unfair to unload on Tasmania all the refuse of New South Wales, had in 1822 directed Governor Brisbane to reoccupy Norfolk Island as a penitentiary for the worst New South Wales convicts. This was effected in 1825, and two years later Governor Darling characterized it as 'a place for the most extreme punishment, short of death' and its population as 'a large number of the most depraved and dissolute characters'. In short, the British authorities (for every step in the proceedings of these years, unlike the period prior to 1821, was taken with their approval, and mostly by their orders), having been deprived by Macquarie of their terrifying jail in New South Wales, set to work to re-create it in two smaller and more remote penal settlements at Port Arthur and Norfolk Island.

The consequences were inevitable. Depravity and brutality, the one intensifying the other, became the recognized brands of the two penal settlements, with which every man sentenced to them either as official or prisoner was sooner or later marked. Their conditions bore no relation to those of the Australian settlements at large; they were unique and appalling phenomena. The scandal could not be hid. Prisoners deliberately committed crimes punishable with death in order to escape from these living hells. When, in 1837-8, the British Parliament appointed a committee to investigate the whole problem of transportation, it was largely on the evidence drawn from these establishments (particularly on that given by William Bernard Ullathorne, the Catholic vicar-general at the Antipodes) that the system was roundly condemned; whereupon the British authorities ordained the abolition of transportation to New South Wales (whose 'milder' system the committee had noted), but continued it in Tasmania and Norfolk Island, the seats of the worst horrors. Some pastoralists in New South Wales protested, seeing that their main source of cheap labour was about to vanish; but their abler leaders knew that self-government—

which was their goal—could not be granted to a convict settlement, and accepted a decision which gratified the rather turbulent townsfolk. So in 1840 transportation to New South Wales was officially abolished, and in February 1841 the last convict transport reached Port Jackson.

Before discussing the great changes in the colony's status and fortunes which this abolition brought about, we must refer briefly to three series of events between 1821 and 1840—the progress of explorations, the foundation of new colonies, and the fate of the aborigines when brought into close contact with European 'civilization'. With regard to explorations a mere summary must suffice. The impetus given by Macquarie lasted on through succeeding governorships. Oxley, sent by Brisbane northwards in search of a site for a new penal station, entered Moreton Bay and discovered the Brisbane river. The same governor encouraged Hamilton Hume and William Hovell to undertake a journey across the south-eastern corner of the continent which resulted in the opening up of a route to Port Phillip and the discovery of several important rivers on the way. Northwards he sent Alan Cunningham, who had been with Oxley in 1817 and was anxious to find a practicable approach to the Liverpool Plains, a promising pastoral area which Oxley had entered from the west. Having found this, Cunningham continued under Darling's patronage to explore those regions: in 1827 he penetrated to the Darling Downs on the tableland west of Moreton Bay, and in the next year found a passage¹ between them and the coast. In that same year began the work of Australia's greatest explorer, Charles Sturt, who with Hume tracked the Macquarie down to the Darling and mapped that river and its feeders, and in 1829–30 made his famous boat voyage down the Murray and back. In 1831 Sir Thomas Mitchell, Oxley's successor as surveyor-general, who had by then completed the survey of the settled districts, commenced a series of explorations which in five years mapped eastern

¹ Despite this discovery the tableland for many years afterwards continued to be reached direct from Sydney, and its occupants resented bitterly the later ordinance which connected them officially with Brisbane.

Australia from the Darling to Bass Strait. In 1831-2 he extended Cunningham's survey of the northern Liverpool Plains; in 1835 elaborated Sturt's discoveries along the Darling; in 1836 worked down Evans's Lachlan to Sturt's Murray and joined that river with the Darling; then he penetrated the area between the Murray and the south coast, reached Portland Bay, and returned to Sydney as nearly in a direct north-easterly line as could be. Gippsland, a corner which he had not touched, was opened up in 1839 by McMillan and Strzelecki.

Since Macquarie's time the mainland of Australia had seen more permanent changes than mere exploration could account for. The scare of French annexation, which had set King to the occupation of Tasmania, lasted to Darling's period and the visits (already mentioned) of de Bougainville and d'Urville. Both Darling and his superiors in London felt apprehensive, and it was thought wise to secure the whole of the mainland for Britain before France could step in.¹ Edmund Lockyer was therefore dispatched in 1826 to occupy the region of King George's Sound; the north coast was secured by a settlement first on Melville Island (1824), then at Port Essington (1829); and the western coast was formally annexed and made into the colony of West Australia in 1829 by Captains Stirling and Fremantle. Stirling's colony began badly with grandiose plans for a community settlement on land obtainable at eighteen pence the acre. No one had the forethought to discover in advance whether the land was worth even that; for farmers accustomed to English conditions it was not; and by way of destroying all possibility of success it was arranged that purchasers should choose their blocks in order of size—those who wanted large blocks getting first choice. Consequently, the easily accessible land was disposed of in blocks of fifty and a hundred thousand acres, and the small farmers on whose successful tillage everything really depended were forced inland to locations many miles distant from the colony's one market. Some immigrants

¹When Louis-Philippe was made king of the French in 1830 he at once looked abroad for spectacular annexations that might delight his new subjects. He found Britain in occupation of all Australia, and failing to anticipate her in New Zealand was forced to content himself with the Society Islands.

held on doggedly to their farms, others took the earliest opportunity of deserting to the eastern colonies, and in 1840 Western Australia—which had absorbed the King George's Sound settlement—was barely existing.

Farther east another new colony sprang into existence between 1830 and 1840, and for a time gave every indication of faring as badly. The founding of South Australia demands more detailed explanation, because it involved the development of new forces in colonization. Edward Gibbon Wakefield, a gentleman of leisure who in the 1820's had found himself in jail for a silly and sordid attempt at abduction, devoted his term of imprisonment most unusually to a consideration of the sad state (in so far as his information went) of New South Wales. In 1829 he published *A Letter from Sydney*, written ostensibly about the colony's disadvantages by a new-comer to it; the gist of the complaint was that gentlemen could not exist there, since there was no permanently leisured class and no means of creating one—servants and labourers could easily save enough money to buy land and then they were the gentlemen's equals. The remedy obviously was to make land dear, to sell it not at its face value but at a higher price which would put it beyond the labourer's reach and provide funds wherewith to pay for the labourer's outward passage. By carefully proportioning the number of assisted migrants to the amount of labour needed, and establishing a 'sufficient price' for the land, landowners would be rich and leisured and labourers adequate and contented. In 1830 Wakefield founded a colonization society to work along these lines, and asked the British Government to give it all the area lying between the settled districts of New South Wales and Western Australia. (Sturt's discoveries on the lower Murray had just become known in England.) This failing, in 1834 he tried again, asked for a smaller area, founded a 'South Australia Association', obtained much support from influential politicians of the day, and gained acceptance for a scheme in which not only the price of the land but also the sex and domestic condition of migrants would be controlled by a board of commissioners. Three mistakes militated seriously

against the success of this scheme. Authority was divided between the board (which controlled land affairs and migration) and the British governor who administered everything else; the price of land was made uniform and bore no relation to the varying values of different areas; the whole scheme was conceived *in vacuo*, as though there were no neighbouring British communities to be affected by it and ready to serve as a refuge for discontented new-comers. The 'Province of South Australia' was founded at the end of 1836, with its capital at Adelaide; over the site of this city, as over many other important matters, the governor and the board's representatives were continually at variance; in 1838 the British Government stepped in, recalled all the disputants, and replaced them with a single ruler, George Gawler. But he had come too late, and found the settlers so disorganized and poverty-stricken that relief works were the only apparent remedy. Gawler used the whole of his own fortune and heavily strained the credit of the British Government in paying for these works, and when he was recalled in 1841 the colony was practically bankrupt. Its existence, however, had already left a mark on its eastern neighbours. Its promoters had found it impossible to demand high prices for South Australian land while just across the border in New South Wales land was cheap; they induced the government, therefore, to ordain that New South Wales prices should be raised to their level, that is to say, from 5s. (the 1836 price) to 12s. in 1838, and in 1840 to £1. As there was still a demand for eastern properties the land revenue there increased more than fourfold, the amounts available for assisting immigration increased in proportion, and the stage was set for an artificial 'boom' which ended in the grave financial crisis of 1842.

Meanwhile, the foundations of a third new colony were being laid on Port Phillip. This region had been neglected for many years after its discovery, the attention of settlers having been given to Western Port, a much less promising area slightly eastward. But in 1835 John Batman, a Tasmanian settler in search of new cattle pastures, crossed the straits and entered Port Phillip. He penetrated to the reef that marked the head of tide-water on

the Yarra and noted: 'This will be the place for a village.' He also bargained with several aboriginal tribal leaders for the transfer to him of about 600,000 acres of fairly good land north and west of the bay, and went hastily back to Tasmania to register his claim.¹ While he was away another Tasmanian party arrived on the mainland, headed by John Pascoe Fawcner, a Launceston innkeeper and lawyer who had intended to settle at Western Port; finding it unsuitable he passed on to Port Phillip. In his turn he entered the Yarra, found the village site—and, being a townsman, promptly founded a town. Batman's friends warned him off, but unavailingly; both he and Batman appealed to Governor Bourke, who officially controlled that territory as part of New South Wales. Bourke denounced them both as trespassers, but failed to disturb them. In the end Bourke persuaded the British Government to let him solve the problem; then he officially adopted the new settlement, giving Batman and his squatter friends the splendid pastoral areas west of Geelong and allowing Fawcner and his townsfolk to organize Melbourne. A third settlement, made in 1834 on Portland Bay by the Hentys, migrants from the Western Australia débâcle, was afterwards connected with the Port Phillip region by the spread of Batman's party westwards, and with it helped in later years to form the colony of Victoria.

It has already been mentioned that at the advent of Europeans to Australia two aboriginal races were in long undisturbed possession of the land—on the mainland a Dravidian race, in Tasmania a negroid. Of the former a miserable remnant still exists, but the Tasmanian blackfellow has disappeared from the earth. We shall consider here the manner of his disappearance.

Such records as remain of this race depict it as not unfriendly but shy and intensely suspicious. The most careful study of it was made by Péron, a naturalist who accompanied Baudin's expedition to the South Seas, and the pictures and measurements given in the narrative of that expedition are our chief

¹ The so-called 'treaty' was a legal document drawn up with meticulous care, and obviously intended rather as a protection against later British settlers than to express the vendors' feelings. But Batman was trying to be just on all sides, and his payment was made in articles of real value to tribes.

authority about the vanished people. They lived tribally and mainly along the sea coast (though they had no canoes); the tribes were probably families, for none numbered more than fifty, and the whole number of natives at the time of the British occupation was barely 2,000. Unfortunately the type of white man with whom they came in contact was usually the lowest—escaped convicts, bushrangers, sealers, and the like; and their earliest collisions with the official landing parties resulted from misunderstandings on both sides, as when at Risdon a tribe engaged in kangaroo hunting was fired on by soldiers who thought their camp was being attacked. Consequently they obtained a reputation for savagery and untrustworthiness, although they seem to have suffered many cruelties in silence until in 1820 an Australian blackfellow, Musquito, organized one tribe and began a war of retaliation. For the next ten years they spasmodically avenged their wrongs by promiscuous murder, until in 1830 Governor Arthur felt bound to take drastic measures against them. His plan was to drive the two most untamable tribes, as one drives game, into a natural corral formed by the Tasman Peninsula, where they might be detained without harm to themselves or danger to the settlers. (For some reason this enterprise has become notorious as 'The Black War', a name unfair to Arthur, whose aboriginal policy was meant to be humane.) The drive failed hopelessly, and Arthur at once adopted a new policy: George Augustus Robinson, an ex-bricklayer who had been tactful with black prisoners on Bruni Island, was commissioned to bring in the tribes peacefully. In four years he had succeeded in persuading nearly the whole aboriginal population to surrender to Hobart, whence after some discussion they were deported to Flinders Island in Bass Strait. Robinson suggested Maria Island where conditions were akin to those the blacks understood, but the fear of native atrocities was still strong on the authorities, and a distant home was considered the only safeguard. So on Flinders Island, barren and swampy where it was not rocky, the miserable remnant slowly 'died in the sulks, like so many bears', to quote an informant of James Bonwick. The original 2,000 had dwindled to 250 when

Robinson brought them in; in 1835 100 were left, and in 1847 (when they were brought back to Tasmania) only 44. The last of them, Truganini, who had been one of Robinson's helpers, died in 1876.

The fate of the Australian aborigines has been less tragic, but wretched indeed. In their case too, the repeated efforts of governors to maintain friendly relations were as repeatedly thwarted by the thoughtless or malicious behaviour of the white men who came actually into contact with them; their one safety lay in the vast inland areas to which they could retreat, but these were often barred against the refugees by the custom which allotted definite hunting-grounds to each tribe. The first contacts, with the coastal tribes of the Sydney locality, were on the whole friendly, because Phillip and his immediate successors could exercise their personal influence, and settlement scarcely touched the native hunting-grounds. Macquarie paid much attention to them, founding a school for their children and contemplating the establishment of tribal reserves in the Blue Mountain valleys. But as soon as the mountains were crossed and flocks began to spread north and west over the foot-hills and plains, the matter was out of any governor's hands. The problem was simple enough, but insoluble—how to find room for black men's hunting and white men's pasturages in the one not too fertile region. Kangaroos and their like, which were a staple food for the black, ate the grass and drank the water which the whites needed for their sheep and cattle; they were shot down or were driven away. Deprived of this food the natives naturally used the new food-animals which they found wandering in the old hunting-haunts; then *they*, too, were shot down or driven away as sheep or cattle stealers. The area in which these things happened was for the most part outside the reach of the law; the men to whom they happened—the aborigines—were incapable of combining against their oppressors (as the Maori would have done). Moreover, they were accustomed to consider any member of a tribe responsible for a crime committed by another member of it. The aggressors, white employees of the squatters and often ex-convicts, despised the

furtive black man and reckoned him scarcely a human being, and had no compunction about kidnapping and ill-treating his women. Protesting natives were shot or otherwise got rid of; so their tribesmen's retaliation was wreaked on any white man who could be caught unawares. Raids answered murders, provoking more murders. In 1839 a whole tribe was massacred in cold blood by stockmen, and in 1842 a real Black War began, practically all the tribes between Portland Bay and the Darling Downs combining for the first and last time in attacks on the nearest white settlers. Governors, far away in the coastal capitals, did their best to restrain both sides. Robinson, for instance, was borrowed from Tasmania to placate the tribes of western Victoria, but in unfamiliar surroundings was not a success. As long as pastoral settlement pressed inland, so long were collisions inevitable and the aboriginal consistently suffered.

CHAPTER IV

SQUATTER RULE

TRANSPORTATION to New South Wales being abolished, its inhabitants were in 1843 given a measure of genuine representation. The legislative council constituted by the British Act of 1842 included six official, six non-official nominees, and twenty-four members elected by freeholders and householders within 'the Bounds of Location'; six of these represented the Port Phillip district. The governor was still his own premier and controlled administration and all affairs which involved British interests, but could not make laws or spend locally raised moneys without consent of the council. Among its new members were several men of great ability and ambition, notably William Charles Wentworth and Robert Lowe, and a struggle for further concessions was soon manifested. The chief causes of quarrel were the land-revenue and land-regulations. Wentworth and his friends maintained that the land of New South Wales belonged to the people of New South Wales, and that all revenue obtained from it should be administered by the elected council. Gipps, the governor of the time, and the British Government took the opposite view. 'The lands', said Gipps, 'are the unquestionable property of the crown; and they are held in trust by the Government for the benefit of the people of the whole British Empire.' At the same time land-revenues should be devoted to the benefit of the colony, but not necessarily administered by its representatives; a British Act ordained that half of it must be paid into an immigration fund administered by a commission sitting in London, and from the other half payments must be made for protecting the aborigines, for making roads and bridges in the inland districts, and for establishing a Border Police. What was left might be paid into general revenue. As for the land-regulations, Wentworth objected to the fixing of the sale-price by the London Commissioners (known as the Colonial Land and Emigration Board and concerned with all British colonies), and to the fixing of the

squatters' licence-fees by Gipps on his own responsibility. The fight, embittered by personal ill-feeling between the governor and Wentworth, went on for several years, while Gipps—probably the ablest colonial governor since Macquarie—stoutly upheld the British view even where he personally disagreed with it. Then a new government in England came into power whose ministers contemplated the eventual break-up of the Empire, and it was decided that the colonists should have everything that they asked for, so long as the demands did not run counter to the opinions of the new colonial minister, Earl Grey. Governor Gipps resigned. His successor, Sir Charles Fitzroy, had no opinions and no prejudices, and only wanted to get on peaceably with his nominal subjects. He was, as it happened, the best choice ministers could have made; for in his time grave problems came up for solution, angry and obstinate men on both sides attempted to solve them, and no intermediary but a universal lubricant could have saved the situation. When Wentworth raged Fitzroy let his suave and tactful secretary, Edward Deas Thomson, negotiate with him as one colonist with another; when Earl Grey (who cared nothing about land questions but a great deal about constitutional mechanism) tried to force on the colony his theories of local government, Fitzroy—probably on Deas Thomson's advice—parried the minister's attacks and soothed him into postponing them. The disputes of the Gipps epoch were settled, mainly in Wentworth's favour, but more important disputes were imminent. The residents of Port Phillip demanded immediate and complete separation, alleging that Melbourne revenue was spent in Sydney. To emphasize their demand they elected Earl Grey himself as Melbourne's representative in the Sydney Council, since an absentee member was just as useful to them as a Sydney man. On the other hand, the British Government, while endeavouring to relieve Tasmania of the flood of convicts which was swamping it (for, though transportation to the mainland was abolished, transportation to Tasmania still continued and was all the heavier), proposed first to establish a new convict settlement at Port Curtis in Queensland, then to revive transportation

to New South Wales under ameliorated conditions, then to send out convicts with conditional pardons or on ticket-of-leave. Departing from their original principles, Wentworth and the squatters favoured both these last proposals, which would provide the cheap labour they longed for; but the Sydney and Melbourne townfolk broke into fury, and when in 1849 ticket-of-leave men were brought to Hobson's Bay and Port Jackson it was found impossible to put them ashore. Fitzroy, always the lubricant, had them quietly shipped onwards to Moreton Bay, where the squatting class was predominant and the objectionable immigrants could be easily absorbed. To clinch matters, an Anti-Transportation League was formed on the mainland and extended to Tasmania, so that the British Government found itself practically helpless before so impenetrable an opposition.

What really startled Earl Grey was his election for Melbourne; something, he felt, must be wrong. So he delegated to the British Board of Trade (which many years earlier had concerned itself with colonial affairs) the construction of a scheme that should satisfy these unaccountable colonists. On the Board's recommendation in 1850 Parliament passed an Act separating Victoria from New South Wales, giving it and Tasmania and South Australia legislatures of the 1842 type, and allowing them to submit schemes for their own reform and the enlargement of their powers. However, before they could take advantage of this concession, all eastern Australia was in chaos.

But before we approach this new development—which resulted from the discovery of gold in payable quantities—we must note what had happened outside New South Wales during the previous ten years. Tasmania suffered meekly under the influx of convicts until a British minister suggested that the Norfolk Island criminals should also be unloaded on the wretched island; then the free settlers were roused to fight, and after a time obtained support from the mainland's Anti-Transportation League, so that, though Earl Grey stubbornly refused redress, his successor in 1852 granted release from the burden. (It was to mark this final abolition of the convict system that the island

—which all these years had been known as Van Diemen's Land, the name given by its original discoverer, Tasman—was formally renamed Tasmania.) South Australia, taken severely in hand by George Grey—who was afterwards to govern New Zealand and Cape Colony—developed unexpected mineral resources (the first Australian copper-mines), and also began to supply its eastern neighbours with wheat and dairy produce. Consequently by 1849 it was paying its way and had 50,000 inhabitants, which gave it the status of a regular colony. Western Australia, on the other hand, having no such advantages, obtained labour by importing boys from Parkhurst Reformatory, and in 1850 was driven to accept the convicts, whom its eastern neighbours were so vehemently rejecting. Meanwhile at the northern end of New South Wales the Moreton Bay settlement, absorbing the pastoral areas on the tableland behind it, and strengthened by the arrival of over 4,000 Scottish farmers who populated the fertile area near Brisbane, was preparing itself to become in its turn a new colony.

These lesser colonies, still coastal or nearly so as to the occupied part of their territory, were during these years vastly enlarged on the map by exploration. Western Australia, which George Grey in 1838-9 had fitfully examined on the north-west coast and southwards from Shark Bay, was in 1841 given some knowledge of its south coast by the journey of Edward John Eyre from Fowler's Bay to Albany, and in 1846-8 J. S. Roe and the brothers Frank and Augustus Gregory by careful research widened its bounds inland and discovered coal and other minerals. South Australia, then, and for many years a small settled district behind Adelaide, was warned off further extensions northwards by Eyre's discovery in 1840 of the salt swamps called Lake Torrens and Lake Eyre. He had been hoping on that journey to make a way across the continent; when Sturt in 1844-5 sought the way by avoiding the swamps and working up the Darling and (roughly speaking) along the 142nd meridian, he was blocked by the droughts and by sandhills and a plain covered with quartz pebbles, that he called the Stony Desert. He returned a broken man, and his colony

resigned itself to narrow limits. But some cross-country connexion with the Port Essington settlement must be found, since for half the year it was unattainable by sea. Gipps in 1843 suggested a coastal route from Moreton Bay to Halifax Bay and then a direct cutting of corners to the Gulf of Carpentaria and so to Van Diemen Gulf. The next year Eyre offered to attempt that route, but Mitchell asserted superior claims to the venture; meanwhile a young Prussian, Ludwig Leichhardt, having equipped a small expedition of his own, left the Darling Downs in October 1844, and fourteen months later startled Port Essington by arriving there with the loss of one man. Leichhardt had chosen a route parallel to the coast, so Mitchell, when he started in 1845, took the inland track, but could only reach the Barcoo before his provisions gave out. Still, both Mitchell and Leichhardt were able to report the finding of large areas fit for pasture, and the Moreton Bay settlers soon began to take advantage of the finds. In 1848, however, two disasters damped their ardour: Kennedy, a subordinate of Mitchell's, lost his life in an unlucky attempt to establish a track along the Cape York Peninsula; and Leichhardt—who was after all no bushman, but merely an adventurous amateur—disappeared while attempting to cross the continent from east to west.

CHAPTER V

THE GOLD RUSH AND ITS CONSEQUENCES

AT the beginning of 1851 Australia comprised five separate British communities, all much alike in composition and occupations. Pastoral pursuits, diversified near the chief towns with a little agriculture, were the stand-by of all, and the interests of the squatting fraternity dominated all local politics. By the end of the year pastoralists were of minor importance in the two eastern colonies, and almost every business was at a standstill.

It had been known for at least twelve years—and suspected before that—that gold could be found in various parts of the main range west of Sydney, but it was not until Edward Hargraves, fresh from experience of the Californian gold-fields, had identified gold-bearing gravel over an area seventy by forty miles in the valley of the Macquarie that the authorities in Sydney were forced to take the discovery seriously and allow eager seekers to prospect the country far and near. His first find was made in February 1851, and confirmed by the government in May; immediately a swarm of diggers thronged the Macquarie's tributaries, and in July a 106-lb nugget was unearthed. Then gold was dispatched from the field to Sydney at the rate of over 2,000 ounces a week. From all over Australia the diggers came, and Melbourne, proud of its economical status, feared that its population would disappear: a reward was offered for the discovery of payable gold in Victoria: discoveries poured in: Clunes and Mount Alexander, Buninyong and Ballarat and Bendigo, had all become recognized gold-fields before the end of the year, and in 1852 the Beechworth field added its riches to the turmoil. The effect on commerce and agriculture was alarming. Melbourne and Geelong were deserted, as were even the ships in harbour; if Sydney suffered less, it was because the fields were much farther inland and not quite so rich. (The yield at Castlemain, Victoria, alone was 2 tons a week.) More important still was the influx from the outside world, which

soon threatened to swamp resident Australians in a flood of adventurers and refugees, especially foreign political extremists who had good reasons for leaving their native countries. The population figures tell their own story:

1850	.	.	.	.	.	405,356
1851	.	.	.	.	.	437,665
1852	.	.	.	.	.	513,796
1855	.	.	.	.	.	753,260
1858	.	.	.	.	.	1,050,828

The foreign element was a great danger, particularly among Victorian diggers, the mass of whom were crowded together within a hundred miles of Melbourne and showed no signs of becoming permanent residents—only the British immigrants brought their families with them. One obvious source of trouble was the monthly licence-fee levied on all diggers, lucky or unlucky; the British Government and the local administrator, Charles Latrobe, suggested the substitution of a royalty on gold exports (which would have affected the lucky men only), but the Victorian Council rejected the suggestion. There was recurring trouble on several of the fields; then, in October 1854, a riot at Ballarat over the murder of a digger was seized upon by the disaffected as an excuse for forming a Reform League with avowedly political objects and an executive including two Irishmen, a Welshman, an Englishman, a Hanoverian, and an Italian. They fortified a camp (the romantic 'Eureka Stockade') commanding the Melbourne road, and proclaimed the Republic of Victoria, but an early morning attack dispersed the rebels and the whole movement collapsed. Order once restored, the new governor, Sir Charles Hotham, brought the recalcitrant legislative council to reason, and the obnoxious licence-fee was replaced partly by an export duty, partly by the issue of an annual 'miner's right' which gave the holder the privilege of voting for the legislature. Peter Lalor, the Irish leader of the rebels at the Stockade, at first outlawed by the State, then acquitted by a jury, was elected in the following year, 1855, to the legislative council and remained in parliament until 1888.

Typical of the spirit of the young colony was the fact that this former 'rebel' who had attempted to set up a republic presided during seven years in the speaker's chair, and retired on a parliament grant—the people's tribute to a patriot.

These were Victoria's troubles. New South Wales, with fewer immigrants, was far more orderly; Tasmania, where gold-finds were few and scattered, profited by the hasty departure of its worst residents to the Victorian fields; South Australia, which lacked gold almost entirely, soon discovered that much profit could be made by supplying the eastern fields with provisions; and after a few years of turmoil Australia settled down again to exploit her new resources and accommodate her increasing population. A good deal, indeed, had been done during the restless years. Between 1852 and 1856 both Sydney and Melbourne provided themselves with universities and museums and public libraries. (Wentworth, the native-born recalcitrant of earlier years, was the 'founder' of the Sydney University.) Between 1853 and 1858 the first railways thrust their way outwards from Sydney and Newcastle and Melbourne and Adelaide. They had been contemplated before the gold-rush, but the private companies that were to build them failed (in some cases for lack of labour, caused by the gold-rush), and the New South Wales and South Australian Governments had to take over the work, as did the Victorian Government except where suburban lines were concerned.

But the main achievement of those years was the fuller development of the colonial constitutions. As we have seen, a wise British ministry left this work in the hands of the local councils, and they in 1854 sent to London schemes which varied only in detail, and were accepted without serious amendment by the British Parliament. The old single-chambered, partially nominee legislature was obviously unsuited to rapidly growing communities with extremely complicated interests, and in any case had to disappear as soon as it was decided to give the colonies 'responsible' government—a system which had grown out of the two-chambered British legislature and seemed to demand similar mechanism elsewhere. So each colony received two

chambers—an *Assembly* elected by voters with a small property qualification (in South Australia six months' residence sufficed), and a *Council* which in New South Wales was temporarily nominee, but in the other three colonies elective on a high property franchise and usually elected in batches. The theory was that the assembly would indicate what a colony wished at a particular moment, while the council would continue to represent the average of public opinion over a period of years. Between them it was hoped that a reasonable compromise of reform and conservatism would be secured.

This reform of the legislatures necessitated the gravest change yet attempted in colonial government. Before 1856 the final decision in political affairs had rested with the governor, the representative in each colony of the British Government and Parliament; his powers had been gradually limited, but he and his masters in London were in the end supreme. Even under the Constitution of 1842 he had been his own premier and administrator; however willingly he might delegate his powers to a friendly politician, it was his privilege to choose the politician. But under the new conditions that choice was taken from him. Except for a few matters of moment to Britain concerning which he retained a power of veto, he must for the future accept the administrator of whom the legislature approved, counter-sign the decision arrived at by a parliamentary committee in whose appointment he had no voice and become in most people's eyes a mere figure-head. One power, however, he retained for many years: if he strongly objected to his advisers' policy, he could dismiss them, provided that he could secure other advisers who agreed with him; but he must have some ministry, some group of politicians, between him and the electors. The chief interest, therefore, of Australian politics from this time forward is diverted from the character and doings of the governors to those of the leading politicians.

It would be impossible in a narrative such as this to discuss fully the political history of Australia's next forty years. Much of it was petty and ephemeral, the product of personal jealousies. We need only consider the chief topics of controversy—and the

most vital and perennial in each of the Australian colonies related to the distribution of land. Before the gold-rush, as we have seen, squatterdom had ruled everything; the whole system of sales and leases and licences was contrived to give the flock-owner as much land as he required on the terms he thought fair. Under this system practically the whole accessible territory of eastern Australia was by 1851 controlled by pastoralists, and agriculture was confined to areas within reach of the capital cities, which for the most part were fed with imported provisions. But the gold-fields, inland and packed with hungry workers, required food grown at close quarters. Eager growers were plentiful—many diggers found vegetable-growing far more profitable than digging—but the land and water, both indispensable to crops, were reserved by neighbouring squatters. This difficulty was greatest in New South Wales, where the gold-fields were scattered over the pastoral districts and were farthest from city supplies, and least in Victoria, where the fields were mainly in barren hill-country, not far from Melbourne, and were fairly well supplied with foodstuffs from South Australia. It was in New South Wales, therefore, that the hostility between crop-grower and flock-owner first came to a head, and the first legislation intended to wrench fertile land and perennial water-supplies from the squatter's grasp was formulated.

The Orders in Council of 1847, a product of the Earl Grey-Governor Fitzroy period, had allowed any squatter to buy at the rate of £1 an acre any portion of his run; in practice, the purchase of land surrounding a single waterhole secured for him in that dry country the occupation of thousands of acres beyond it. Champions of the small farmers, therefore, saw no better way of redressing their clients' grievance than by giving them the same right of purchase. John Robertson, a squatter within the settled districts, after much opposition passed an Act which allowed any one to occupy a block of leasehold land, and to gain legal possession of it by five years' residence and the payment of the purchase price in small instalments. The exact boundaries of the land could be determined later, often much later. The system was called 'selection before survey'. In the settled

districts, which Robertson knew, it did no harm since squatters had long since bought the land they needed, and selectors were not likely to claim the land they did not intend to use. But among the 'stations' (extensive pastoral tracts) farther out its effects were disastrous. Its laxity allowed men who had a grudge against any squatter or who merely hoped to blackmail him, to ruin his property by settling on choice patches of his run until he was forced to buy them out; the squatter in his turn, after exhausting his credit to buy the choice patches himself, was driven to fraudulent 'selection' of them by persons in his employ, or by relatives, who would transfer the land back to him at the earliest opportunity. The intention of the Act was rarely attained. In twenty-two years over 60,000 selections were recorded, and of them 'more than two-thirds were either "dummies" or failures', to quote A. Jose's *History of Australasia*. This misuse of the Act by blackmailers on the one hand and dummying squatters on the other created a bitter hostility between the two classes, which blended with and accentuated the already cordial dislike of the poorer townsfolk for the rich landowners. Much of the vindictiveness which in recent years has characterized the relations between the employees and the employers, both in town and country, may be traced to the Act which ranged squatters and selectors—both classes necessary to the welfare of the State—in opposing and irreconcilable camps.

In all the other colonies (except South Australia) this disastrous legislation was copied sooner or later, but with less grave effects. In Victoria an Act of 1862 imitated Robertson's, but comparatively few selectors took advantage of it; the Victorian diggers, mostly immigrants and townsfolk, when unlucky went back to their old trades (with results we shall be considering shortly), since the wheat supplies from South Australia sufficed the gold-field's need of provisions. Tasmania, which had actually adopted the 'selection before survey' method before New South Wales and had already lost many of its selectors to Victoria, was better off as its better watered territory afforded less scope for blackmail. In Queensland, however, when that colony obtained separation, Acts of the Robertson type were passed,

but the distances were too vast and the communications too uncertain for petty interferences with the great runs. South Australia, already devoted as much to agriculture as to squatting, managed very well without any such laws until 1872, and then insisted on survey before selection, which took the sting out of the dummyming and blackmailing alike. Only in New South Wales were the immediate effects deplorable, and the nomadic character of the country population spread the virus of a class warfare over the whole continent.

We have mentioned the separation of Queensland. This was achieved in 1859, after much disputation about the nature and the boundaries of the proposed new colony. The British Government desired a colony converging on Brisbane and stretching north to Port Curtis or thereabouts, a manageable area which left the far north still under British control and available for other uses. Unfortunately for this plan (which was supported by the Rev. Dr. Lang) it was suspected in Australia that one of the uses would be to found a new convict settlement; to avoid this the Sydney legislature—whose voice could not now be neglected—insisted that the new colony should comprise all the regions north of the New South Wales border, no matter how difficult it might be to govern them from their far south-eastern corner. Again the Moreton Bay advocates of separation were anxious to include in their domain the rich New South Wales districts, Grafton and all the country north of that town. This claim was disposed of by evidence showing that the Clarence River settlers preferred to be attached to New South Wales, and in 1859 the mis-shapen colony of Queensland was formally established.

Its drawbacks were further emphasized by a series of explorations which accompanied and followed the stages of its separation. The disappearance of Leichhardt, already mentioned, stimulated the dispatch of several expeditions to search for him, of which the most important were led by Augustus Gregory. In 1856 he traversed, somewhat to the south of the earlier man's tracks, the region already opened up by Leichhardt in 1844-5; in 1858 he started from a district west of

Brisbane and in a long curve penetrated through to Adelaide, the areas that had previously proved so fatal to the hopes of the explorers Eyre and Sturt. But where Sturt had found droughts and stony deserts, Gregory found flowing creeks and grassy plains; where Eyre had imagined a salt lake barrier across South Australia's path northwards, Gregory found dry land and fair pasturage. The South Australians responded to the good news and began to send inland a series of explorers to thrust their way at all costs northwards to the other side of the continent. The best of their men was John McDouall Stuart, a member of Sturt's party in 1844-5; he began his work with a disclosure of the value of the area between Lake Eyre and the Bight (1858); in 1860 and 1861 he forced his way more than half across the continent, naming 'Central Mount Sturt' on the way. (It was an over-excited governor who altered the 'Sturt' to 'Stuart'.) In 1862 he broke through the last barriers of scrub and reached northern sea-waters at the mouth of the Adelaide River. (This achievement of his counted most in securing for South Australia the right of supervision over the Northern Territory when British ministers in 1863 wished to be relieved of its responsibilities.) Really, he was the first man to cross the continent from south to north; but the technical credit was wrested from him by a very different set of explorers.

In 1857 the Philosophical Institute of Victoria, anxious to use the colony's great wealth in subsidizing exploration, but finding no unexplored area within its own colony, conceived the notion of completing the task which had brought Leichhardt to his death—the crossing of the continent from east to west. As a useful preliminary it was decided to establish a depot on Cooper's Creek (where Sturt's and Gregory's tracks had crossed) and use it as a base for further excursions north and west. The establishment of this depot was entrusted to Robert Burke, a worthy but inexperienced superintendent of police, with whom went William John Wills, as scientific expert, and thirteen other white men. After troubles too numerous to detail here, the party reached Cooper's Creek on the 11th November, 1860, and five days later Burke and Wills with two other

white men started on a desperate attempt to reach northern sea-waters in the Gulf of Carpentaria. On the 12th February, 1861 they reached tidal waters—but not the sea-coast—on the Flinders river, and hastened back (their provisions were almost exhausted) to the depot. But they had delayed too long; the party at the depot, which had been ordered to wait three months for them, waited four months and then departed southwards. Burke found the camp deserted, refused to follow the deserters (as he considered them), and forced Wills and the one man they had brought back from the Flinders to accompany him westwards towards the South Australian border. Weary, half-starved, and ignorant of bush-lore, the three unfortunates wandered away from all possible help, and in trying to crawl back Wills died and then Burke. The third man, King, was rescued and fed by an aboriginal tribe until help came. The Victorian promoters, worried by the long gap without news of the expedition, sent off Howitt on the 26th June with a relief party, which on the 15th September discovered King and heard the tragic story of the others. That story has been told here in some detail because it is possibly the most famous and most pathetic of Australian exploration stories. But its historical value consists, not in the work done by the unlucky heroes, but in the discoveries made by those dispatched to rescue them. Howitt had started from Melbourne; in addition Walker was sent westwards from Rockhampton in Queensland, Landsborough south from the gulf, and McKinlay north from Adelaide. By the time all four had investigated every possible refuge of the lost men (for of course the other three did not know till afterwards that Howitt had found them), the whole back country of Queensland was mapped out in all essential details, and the young colony found itself mistress of almost boundless stretches of good, occasionally excellent, pastoral regions.

CHAPTER VI

THE COLONIES UNDER RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT

THE history of Australia's next thirty years, if written in detail, would be found to consist of a tangled mass of controversies (often more concerned with persons than with principles), very few of which had any lasting importance. Among the few were the disputes over fiscal policy, over educational policy, and over the policy of restricting immigration so as to minimize the Asiatic element in the population. Towards the end of the period a new topic blended with political life in Australia, exciting occasionally some controversy, but for the most part overshadowing party strife and gradually moulding the six rather quarrelsome colonies into a single nation. This began as a problem of defence (*a*) against outside aggression, by means of adequate and suitable defence forces raised in the country, (*b*) against the acquisition by foreign nations of territory too near the Australian coast, from which at some future time attacks might be launched. We shall discuss these issues in turn.

The early tariffs of New South Wales were for revenues only and included preferences to British goods; but by the date when responsible government was granted, free trade had become the recognized policy of Britain, especially of her most advanced section of politicians. In the mother colony, therefore, the policy of the mother country was steadily adhered to, and Henry Parkes—the former Birmingham Chartist—was its most prominent and influential advocate. Occasionally a ministry with protectionist tendencies introduced a few protective duties, but its successor regularly abolished them. In Victoria different conditions prevailed. That colony had to accommodate a host of disappointed diggers who (as has already been noted) were determined to take up their old trades in the new country. Urged on by a successful digger, Ebenezer Syme, who with his winnings bought the *Age* newspaper and devoted it to advocating protection, they put such

pressure on the government that in 1865 a majority of protectionist members was returned to the assembly, and in 1866 the first really protective tariff was made law. Once enacted, protection was never abandoned or even lessened, and by 1892, when the last modifications were made, the *ad valorem* ran to 45 per cent. on some articles, and specific duties ran to 100 or even 200 per cent. The few free traders who occasionally gained office dared not run counter to the overwhelming popular feeling; no premier, whether he belonged to the McCulloch-Duffy-Berry dynasty, protectionists to a man, or to the milder Francis-Kerferd-Service-Gillies line, tampered with the sacred tariff. When in 1891 Federation of the Colonies became a live question it was at once seen that, as between New South Wales and Victoria, the fiscal problem was 'the lion in the path'. The immediate effects of the Victorian tariff was to encourage local manufacturers, particularly of apparel, textiles, and furniture; trustworthy figures are hard to obtain, but in 1890 New South Wales, with its million inhabitants, had 46,000 persons employed mainly in preparing raw material for further manufacture, whereas Victoria with a practically equal population had nearly 60,000 engaged in manufacturing articles for use. Further, the value of the New South Wales plant was about £4½ millions, and of the Victorian over £6½ millions. With such results visible at close quarters it is not surprising that South Australia and Tasmania should lean towards a protective tariff also; but the local markets of these colonies were too small to justify high duties. Queensland, which depended for its prosperity on pastoral production and on the rapidly increasing sugar industry, saw little value in high tariffs and for the most part followed the example of New South Wales.

In this formation period of Australian history new policies of national education were determined. Prior to 1830 education was chiefly left to private schools, and government-aided minor establishments where the system of teaching only the Anglican religion caused dissatisfaction among people outside that religion. Although in 1836 Governor Bourke had unsuccessfully advised the adoption of the 'Irish National System' no general

government policy was disclosed until 1841, when a 'denominational' system was formally adopted, whereby government grants were made to all schools, irrespective of creed, on the basis of the numbers of children enrolled. Despite opposition the system continued until 1848, when, as a compromise, the system of 'Dual Control' was inaugurated, whereby two educational boards were established—one to allocate funds to the national schools, and the other comprised of representatives of all creeds, to distribute government funds to denominational schools. In 1850 the national schools of New South Wales numbered 43 and there were 52 in preparation, while the denominational schools numbered 185. Rivalry between the two boards and bitter religious differences afforded opportunity to Henry Parkes, in 1867, to establish a Council of Education which distributed the government educational grants on such conditions as naturally favoured the national schools. 'Secular' education was insisted on in denominational schools and 'Non-sectarian' religious teaching was equally insisted on in national schools. Still the problem remained unsolved, and in 1880 Henry Parkes was once more responsible for a change in the system. His solution was simple from the point of view of the supporters of the national system. By the Public Instruction Act all subsidized education was placed under a responsible minister, teachers were made civil servants, and education was to be made secular in the main, with non-controversial Bible excerpts and history included in the curriculum. Ministers of religion might visit national schools for the religious instruction of their own flocks. In the other colonies of Australia similar developments of educational policy and similar solutions were evidenced. For the most part Presbyterians and other smaller religious bodies acquiesced in the new arrangement; Anglicans gradually fell into line in primary instruction; but Catholics have continued in opposition to the system to the present day, and have expended millions of pounds in building their own schools and subsidizing their teachers and pupils, independently of government aid. The system with only a few amendments, such as compulsory education between the ages of 6 or 7 to

14 years and freedom from fees, has continued. According to figures in the *Commonwealth Year Book* of 1934, 934,075 pupils are enrolled in the government schools, and 220,723 in the private schools. It is estimated that 193,648 pupils attend the private schools conducted and financed by the Catholic Church (cf. *Australian Catholic Directory*, 1936).

As was natural with new constitutions, whose exact bearing was not well understood, a good many years were occupied with bitter quarrels over constitutional details; but the chief alterations of this kind that have permanent importance are the introduction of voting by ballot (which Victoria and South Australia introduced almost simultaneously in 1856, the other colonies slowly following suit), and of payment of members, with which Victoria experimented from 1870 onwards, the other colonies adopting the system in 1887-9. Further, towards the end of the period South and Western Australia gave women the vote. But a far more serious problem remained to be dealt with when once the fiscal and the land problems had been mastered. For these and similar difficulties concerned Australia alone, and the British Government of the time could be trusted not to interfere. But attempts to control or prohibit the immigration of foreigners involved Britain, since foreign nations considered her responsible for the behaviour of her colonies; Britain, therefore, was scarcely sympathetic with such attempts. Asiatic immigration, which was the chief source of the trouble, had been suggested after 1830 to provide the cheap labour which pastoralists so eagerly desired. Wentworth objected to it for fear of lowering the racial purity of the colonists, but after 1850 altered his opinion and advocated the immigration of Indian coolies. About the same time a few Eurasians were brought in, notably a batch of printers, whom Henry Parkes thought more assiduous and contented than the Australian variety; and the scarcity of labour during the first years of the gold-rush was partly met by the introduction of Chinese coolies.¹ These arrivals, however,

¹ Among the importers we find a name worth remembering. Robert Towns brought in Indian coolies in 1844, Chinese (over 2,000 of them) in 1852, and Kanakas for his cotton plantations in Queensland from 1863 onwards.

were not of a character to cause alarm. It was the unsolicited inflow of Chinese to the goldfields—mainly employees of Chinese merchants digging for a wage under contract, and sending back to China half a million pounds' worth of gold every year—that roused both diggers and officials to hostile acts and regulations. A riot that threatened at Bendigo in 1854 was averted, and the foreign invaders grew from 2,000 in 1853 to 17,000 in 1855 and nearly 40,000 in 1857. When Victoria tried to restrict their entry, they came in through South Australia. Drastic Victorian legislation (including the levying of special taxes both on resident Chinese and on new arrivals), aided by a miners' raid on the Chinese camp near Beechworth, drove most of the unwelcome race across the border into New South Wales, where in 1860–1 more violent raids on them at Lambing Flat near Young preluded similar legislation; then the agitation died down, until in 1875 a new field in the far north of Queensland was invaded by 7,000 Chinese, and the Queensland parliament proposed to discriminate heavily against Asiatic and African aliens.

This, to every one's surprise, upset the British authorities gravely. Queensland's discrimination was not in essence more severe than the Victorian and New South Wales laws of 1857 and 1861; but the governor reserved the Bill, one Colonial Secretary insisted that free intercourse with China was to the Empire's advantage, and another asserted that Chinese labour would be very useful in the Australian tropics. Queensland resented bitterly this invasion (as it deemed it) of its powers of self-government, and called to its aid the other colonies, but without success. Victoria promised help, South Australia wanted more information. New South Wales thought the imperial authorities were in the right. Queensland retorted by passing an Act on the lines of its critics' 1861 legislation, and the turmoil simmered down. Within a year, however, a fresh development of Chinese labour involved all the eastern colonies and brought the whole trouble to a climax. The most powerful shipping company in Australia began to substitute Chinese for British crews in its coastal trade. Immediately the seamen

struck; coal-miners refused to work if the company's vessels were supplied; public meetings subscribed large sums for the strikers; Queensland withdrew its mail subsidy and the first Trade Union Congress ever held in Australia demanded a heavy poll-tax on Chinese immigrants. News came, too, that British Columbia and the Pacific States of the United States of America were restricting Asiatic immigration, and men feared that the Chinese shut out from these areas would descend on Australia. To clinch matters, there was an outbreak of small-pox in Sydney, and suspicion fell on the Chinese, by whom on two earlier occasions that disease, as well as the dreaded leprosy, had been introduced. A conference of colonial premiers in 1881 agreed on joint measures to check the alien inflow, mainly by imposing an entrance tax and limiting the number any vessel might bring in; in 1887 all the colonies were at one in this regard, and at the colonial conference held that year in London the subject was not even mentioned.

Then, out of what looked like a clear sky, the storm burst. The Chinese Government, which had in that year protested formally in London against the exclusion of its nationals from British territory, determined to force the issue, and allowed large bodies of Chinese to sail for the Northern Territory, some with small-pox rife among them. In April-May of 1888 four vessels carrying Chinese reached Port Jackson, and the Sydney folk demonstrated outside Parliament House against letting them land, and Henry Parkes, who had already begged the British Government to enter into negotiations with China, instantly took action. He blocked the landing, brought in a Bill to make an entrance tax prohibitive, and defied Britain and China alike:

Neither for Her Majesty's ships of war, nor for Her Majesty's representative on the spot, nor for the Secretary of State for the Colonies, do we intend to turn aside from our purpose, which is to terminate the landing of Chinese on these shores for ever.

The defiance proved unnecessary. A Chinese immigrant who had been refused admission both at Sydney and at Melbourne sued the Victorian Government for prohibiting his entrance

although he had proffered the legal fee. The Victorian Courts upheld him, but the Privy Council in London decided that any self-governing colony might exclude any immigrant if it believed his admission would endanger the public peace—‘an alien has no legal right enforceable by action to enter British Territory.’ This solved the problem, and later restrictions were mere matters of detail which are no longer interesting.

What is interesting, however, is the reason for these successive attempts to exclude Asiatic immigrants. At first sight the movements seem, one after another, to have been prompted by the antagonism of miners, or seamen, or townfolk of the employee class, to the competition of cheap labour. That reason existed, of course, and was at times powerful. But behind it, and especially in the minds of the prominent politicians who devised the restrictions, there lay always deeper and more cogent reasons—the ‘racial purity’ of Wentworth, the resemblance of coolie labour to slave labour as emphasized by Earl Grey, and the drain of gold to China in the 1850’s. In 1881 Henry Parkes discerned and expressed the final reason—that he thought Asiatics ‘incapable of assimilation into the body politic, strangers to our civilization, out of sympathy with our aspirations, and unfitted for our free institutions’. It was that declaration that transformed the economic anti-Asiatic campaigns of the nineteenth century into the White Australia creed of the twentieth, which will be set forth in due course later on.

A side issue of one economic campaign may be noted in Queensland’s difficulties with Kanaka labour. Shortly after this colony’s foundation the American Civil War deprived Europe temporarily of much needed supplies of cotton and sugar, and enterprising Queensland landowners did their best to fill the gap, as the coastal climate favoured both crops. To lessen the cost of production, Robert Towns in 1863 introduced labourers from the adjacent South Sea Islands—Melanesians mostly, from the Solomons and New Hebrides, and known generally as Kanakas. He used them on his cotton plantations; neighbouring cane-growers took the hint and imported more for work on their cane-fields; and, since cotton proved an un-

certain crop and sugar a sure source of profit, it was with the sugar industry that Kanaka labour was thenceforth identified. Unfortunately, the growers cared little how their labour was procured so long as they got it, and the method by which the islanders were entrapped soon became a scandal. In 1868 kidnapping was prohibited; in 1871 agents were placed on each recruiting vessel to supervise the trade; in 1872 the British Navy took a share in the supervision. But the scandals continued. When in 1884 recruiters began to work in New Guinea and the disgrace came too near home, Queensland was forced to set a limit (1890) to recruiting and to control the conditions of work on the plantations. But the industry was too powerful for the humanitarians; in 1892 the traffic was resumed, for the cane-fields only, despite protests from all the other colonies and from Britain. When in 1901 the Commonwealth came into being and took over the management of affairs involving foreigners, the general public feeling of Australia at last had its way. By an Act of that year recruiting must cease in 1904, and by the end of 1906 all Kanakas must be repatriated except the few who had freehold property in Australia, or had lived there for twenty years or over. This measure had really nothing to do with White Australia; it was directed partly against cheap foreign labour, but mainly against the cruelties and treacheries that seemed inseparable from the recruiting traffic.

We must not forget one result of the Kanaka traffic that is still likely to affect Australian politics. The restrictions were imposed on planters who lived mainly in the north by a legislature composed chiefly of members from the southern districts. Now Queensland, as we have seen (p. 1109), is a distorted colony, elongated beyond reason; Brisbane, its capital, is a good deal nearer to Bass Strait than Torres Strait, and at least eighteen times as far from Cape York as from Tweed Heads, the colony's southern boundary. Further, the barely semi-tropical conditions of the southern districts afford no criterion of the definitely tropical conditions that obtain over the northern three-quarters; as soon, therefore, as Brisbane began to assert its authority against northern experience, an agitation for

separation sprang up. The wish to bar convicts from the far north, which had been the motive controlling the original delimitation, had long since been fulfilled. For many years, therefore, Queensland politics were diversified with the manœuvres of separationists, some of whom wanted two colonies only, a northern and a southern (the former with its capital at Townsville), whereas others asked for three—a northern ruled from Townsville, a central ruled from Rockhampton, and a southern still depending on Brisbane. Perhaps the most interesting point about these movements for readers to-day is that no one contemplated, even for a colony that stretched seven or eight hundred miles inland, any capital except a seaport. And seaport capitals have this perpetual disadvantage, that each of them is more or less a rival to the others, and, therefore, none too amicably inclined to them. Seaport hostilities have had more than most people suspect to do with that friction between colonies which so persistently hampered the federation of all the Australian colonies.

A good deal of this section concerns all Australia, but certain events particularly connected with the outlying colonies deserve mention. In South Australia, for instance, one aspect of the land problem was solved by its first legislature. In nearly all European countries a good deal of trouble has to be taken before any landowner can be sure of his title to his land; that comes of the many centuries during which the land has been private property, and the difficulty of preserving intact ancient documents in private custody. But the common sense of the South Australians noted that all Australian land-titles were of a very recent date, and could be very easily verified and recorded in a public office; so in 1858 was passed a Real Property Act, usually known by the name of its author as the Torrens Act, which guaranteed to every landowner sure title to any land registered in his name, and provided that all kinds of sales or mortgages of the land should be valid only when similarly registered. Under this 'Torrens title' nearly all Australian land is now held, and the system has been adopted by Canada, New Zealand, Norway, Denmark, and many West Indian

islands, and States of the United States of America. South Australia's second claim to special notice during these years lies in the construction of the overland telegraph-line from Adelaide to Port Darwin. A South Australian explorer had traversed the central deserts and reached the Arafura Sea; when in 1860 it was suggested that the area thus opened up should be divided between Queensland and a new colony, South Australia raised serious objections and persuaded Britain to aggregate the greater part of the area as the 'Northern Territory' and allow its southern neighbour to administer it. Having fixed the territory's capital at Port Darwin, the least she could do was to join it up by telegraph with her own capital—more particularly as arrangements were already being made to connect Port Darwin by telegraph with the outside world. So during 1870–2 this colony of fewer than 20,000 people spent nearly half a million pounds in building two thousand miles of land-line across what were then almost impassable deserts, and in October 1872 Sydney and London were in telegraphic communication, thanks mainly to the enterprise of South Australia.

Of the other colonies, Tasmania remained happily undisturbed by political crises, slowly developing her land and occasionally excited by discoveries of tin or gold or silver-lead or copper among her northern hills.

Western Australia, cut off from her eastern fellows both by distance and by the use of convict labour (which cost her something very like a boycott), was for most of the time a home of squatters and farmers only, devoid of mineral wealth and manufactures. In 1868 transportation of prisoners was abolished, and in 1870 the new free colony was granted a legislature of the 1842 type, with similar powers. Responsible government would have been granted at once if the colonists had been willing to surrender the huge unoccupied north-easterly area that was nominally included in their sphere; but Britain saw no reason—especially with Queensland as a warning—to hand over so vast a region to a handful of settlers in the far south-western corner. Then in 1884 the search for gold (which had been going on steadily ever since 1861) was rewarded by the discovery of a

rich field in the north-eastern corner, inland from Cambridge Gulf. Thus encouraged, prospectors in 1887 found the Southern Cross (Yilgarn) field, and in 1888 one in the Pilbara area behind Roebourne; population increased, the occupied area was greatly extended, and in 1890 self-government was granted without any conditions. More fields were opened up, in 1891 on the Murchison, in 1892 at Coolgardie, in 1893 at Kalgoorlie, in 1894 at Kanowna. Until 1900 the discoveries went on, and between 1890 and 1900 the colony's population quadrupled. By the end of the century she was still a southern region of settlement with a huge unsettled northern annex; but the remarkable development of her resources, existing and prospective, had made her people an important section of the Australian population. And, though West Australia continued to be cut off from the east by vacant spaces still believed to be desert, explorers had proved these spaces not impassable; using the overhead telegraph-line as an eastern base, Warburton in 1873, Forrest in 1874 (he had already in 1870 skirted the Bight to Adelaide), Giles in 1875-6 established connexions between West and Central Australia. The Wells, Carnegie, and Lindsay expeditions after 1890 finally elucidated the nature of the arid plateau along whose edge goldfields seemed almost inexhaustible.

For that matter, all the colonies had since the grant of responsible government materially improved their position. Railways had spread over most of the settled districts and joined—with some disabilities—most of the capitals. In New South Wales they extended from Sydney west to the Darling at Bourke, south-west to the Murrumbidgee at Hay, as well as to Wallangarra in the north on the way to Brisbane and to Albury in the south on the way to Melbourne. Victoria, besides tapping the Murray at Echuca and the rich western squattages by a railway through Geelong, met the New South Wales trunk line at Albury and the South Australian at Serviceton on the western border. South Australia, enterprising as usual, not only continued the trunk line from the Victorian border to Adelaide but ran two lines from that centre into her 'outback' territory,

one crossing the New South Wales border to serve the silver-mines at Broken Hill, the other traversing the empty area behind Lake Eyre in the hope of some day prolonging itself to the Northern Territory. Queensland alone built really separated systems, since Brisbane was too inconvenient a starting-point for her northern districts; Brisbane was connected with the New South Wales border and with pastoral areas immediately west, but other main lines ran inland from the northern ports at Rockhampton and Townsville. In Tasmania, a line connecting the two chief towns (Hobart and Launceston), with branches tapping the valleys of the Derwent, the Esk, and the Mersey, and an isolated line from the north coast to the western mines, sufficed. Western Australia was content to join up Perth with Geraldton in the north, Albany in the south, and the mines far away east.

A few of these lines were constructed and run by private companies, but the bulk of them were the property of the colonies which they served, and were not designed to serve any neighbouring colony. This disservice was made easier by an unfortunate early mistake which caused the adoption of three distinct gauges, the New South Wales lines being built to a gauge of 4ft. 8½ in., the Victorian (and the Adelaide connexion) to a gauge of 5ft. 3in., and the rest of the South Australian and all the other lines to a narrower and cheaper gauge of 3ft. 6in. Thus a traveller in those days, from Brisbane, say, to Broken Hill, changed from a narrow-gauge train at the New South Wales border to one of 4ft. 8½ in. gauge; from that again at the Victorian border to one of a broader gauge; on that gauge he might travel to Adelaide, but not far beyond it must change back to the narrow gauge for the rest of his journey. This constant unloading and reloading hampered goods traffic particularly, and—what was worse—stimulated the separatist feeling between colonies, each of which felt itself a disconnected unit whose seaports were its normal means of communication with the rest of the world.

Two matters need notice before we finally part with this strange collection of unsisterly communities. In the first place,

the mineral wealth of Australia has been vastly increased, not only by the gold discoveries already mentioned, but by the finding of very rich silver- and copper-mines in New South Wales (Broken Hill and Cobar) and in Queensland, gold at Mount Morgan, and tin and copper farther north behind Cairns. Moreover, the coalfields of New South Wales—the only colony then known to possess black coal of really good quality—had been developed many miles inland from Newcastle as well as in localities west and south of Sydney.¹ In the second place, the growth of trade unions (we have already noted their influence on the alien immigration question), though originally concerned with industrial problems such as the eight-hour day, began to affect politics. A maritime strike in 1890 paralysed the shipping trade and threatened to cut Australia off from the world outside. In 1891 and 1894 strikes of shearers went near to paralysing the all-important wool industry. All these strikes failed, and the defeated bodies decided to strengthen their positions before striking again by securing a hold on the legislatures. Thence arose, after many vicissitudes, the various labour parties which almost from their inception dominated local politics—not so much by their numbers, which were for many years small, but because in almost every colony the bigger political parties were evenly balanced, so that even small bodies could obtain much that they desired by an avowed policy of ‘support in return for concessions’.

¹ Sydney, it appears, is situated over the centre of a saucer-shaped coalfield, which lies 3,000 feet below Port Jackson but approaches the surface at Newcastle in the north, Lithgow in the west, and the Illawarra area in the south.

CHAPTER VII

FEDERATION

TO all observers outside Australia the eventual union of the various colonies under a single central government had for many years seemed not only natural but indispensable. When in 1849 the British Board of Trade reported in favour of separating Victoria from New South Wales, it appended a strong recommendation that for certain purposes—customs, taxation, post-office services, navigation laws, &c.—all the colonies should have identical laws, to be passed by a ‘General Assembly of Australia’ which the governor of New South Wales might convene as governor of Australia. The Act of 1850 conferred that title on Fitzroy, but left the rest of the recommendation to the initiative of the colonial councils. In the New South Wales constitutional proposals (see p. 1106), which were mainly of Wentworth’s devising, the establishment of such a general assembly was included, but omitted from the final Act which gave the colony responsible government. Nothing daunted, Wentworth in 1857 suggested to the Colonial Office that any two colonies might be allowed to federate and elect an assembly capable of dealing with light-houses, tariffs, and postal matters. The Victorian legislature favoured some such scheme and even suggested Melbourne as the future capital of Australia, whereupon the New South Wales legislature promptly dropped it, and no more was heard of federation for several years, though the customs union was repeatedly advocated.

But the dissension between the colonies on internal policies was too embittered to allow of any union based on internal needs. The true beginning of the federal movement developed from a question of foreign policy, and the desire to check the immigration of Chinese. But this involved British policy; British ministers saw no reason to hurt the feelings of a friendly Power, or to interfere with the one colony (Western Australia) which at the moment did not wish to check the Chinese influx. Two years later another matter of foreign policy troubled

Australia greatly. Scared by a rumour that Germans were preparing to occupy eastern New Guinea (the western half was admittedly Dutch), the Queensland Government hoisted the British flag at Port Moresby; the British Government of the day disavowed the annexation; an inter-colonial convention unanimously supported Queensland's action—which was of course legally invalid—and demanded that New Guinea should be taken over, Australia willingly sharing the costs of its administration. All through 1884 petitions and deputations pestered the colonial secretary, Lord Derby, who vaguely asked whether the Australians would not prefer a world to themselves. In December he seemed to concede the point, for the southern part of the longed-for territory was annexed; but the prime minister, Gladstone, had all the while been negotiating with the German Government, and three weeks after the British annexation Germany took over the northern part of New Guinea and the islands north and east of it. The disgusted Australians protested, and were told bluntly that their wishes would be considered more readily when they chose to speak with one voice; ephemeral conventions could not formulate a permanent policy, and nothing less than a permanent body speaking for all Australia would be listened to.

Not even this broad hint was taken at once, though several of the colonies created a federal council that looked well but had no real powers. The further necessary stimulus was given by the unsettled condition of Europe after 1880, which raised the question of colonial defence in case of a European war. This was considered at a colonial conference in London in 1887, from which resulted (*a*) the provision at Australia's expense of a squadron of small cruisers destined to defend her coasts during war-time, (*b*) the appointment of a British general to report on the local defence of the several colonies. Now the squadron, paid for by the colonies but controlled by Britain, might exist alongside the six disunited communities, which it was supposed to defend; but no military force of any possible value could be formed from six small bodies of troops under separate control. Henry Parkes, who had been waiting his

chance, in October 1889, when the military report came, challenged his fellow premiers not to shirk any longer the problem of uniting the continent under a single government which could handle defence, alien immigration, and foreign policy in general on equal terms with the British Government. Public opinion forced them to yield, and in March 1891 a 'National Australasian Federation Convention' met at Sydney ('Australasian' because New Zealand took part in it), and a Federal Constitution was drawn up for submission to the colonial legislatures. The legislatures were by no means so eager for federation as the public was, and that of New South Wales deliberately postponed action to settle some local problems first; the other legislatures placidly accepted postponement, and nothing was done until 1895.

Then George Reid, the new premier at Sydney, adopted suddenly a plan which the friends of the federation had been advocating for some time. The legislatures obviously had no desire to displace themselves by creating a superior authority; but the public, through leagues and unofficial conferences all over eastern Australia, was signifying its desire for some sort of unity. Reid, therefore, in 1895 suggested that a new conference should be held, its members being elected by popular vote. (The 1891 convention had been nominated by the legislatures.) Accordingly, in 1897-8 a convention, consisting of ten selected members from each of the eastern colonies, except Queensland (New Zealand had dropped out), and ten nominees of the Western Australian legislature, reconstructed the Constitution of 1891 and considered amendments suggested by the various parliaments. In June 1898 the result of their labours was submitted to a popular vote in the east. Victoria, South Australia, and Tasmania accepted the new Constitution; in New South Wales a majority, but not legally a sufficient majority, voted for it; further amendments, to satisfy New South Wales, were embodied in it before it was again submitted in 1899; and by September of that year all the colonies except Western Australia had accepted it. Then it was sent to London for formal adoption by the British Parliament, where it

encountered some small opposition from men who wished to retain the supremacy of the British Privy Council over all Imperial law-courts. This difficulty was met by admitting such a supremacy in all private matters, but leaving matters concerned with the Australian constitutions to the final decision of an Australian High Court. On the 1st January 1901 the Commonwealth of Australia came into existence,¹ Western Australia having accepted the constitution—under pressure from her goldfields population—before the union of the other colonies was actually accomplished.

The Constitution deserves a little study. Its vital defect was that it had no chance of acceptance unless the colonial legislatures—without whose consent it could not even be submitted to the voters—were allowed to retain a good deal of their old powers. Henry Parkes's original notion was to leave to the 'States' all the area they had been able to settle, handing over the rest to the new Commonwealth as Federal territory on which it might plant its own settlers. But this suggestion was hastily scouted, and each State was left in possession of all the lands within its colonial boundaries. Each State also retained independent control of its railways, its education system, and other instrumentalities which would have prospered more from administration under a single authority; finally every power not expressly handed over to the Commonwealth remained with the States. The transferred powers included jurisdiction over overseas and inter-state trades, defence, customs taxation, postal and telegraphic affairs, the restriction (but not the encouragement) of immigration, external affairs (i.e. dealings with all oversea communities, British or not), and a good many minor matters more conveniently handled by a single authority; also—and this has caused a great deal of confusion in recent years—arbitration on disputes extending beyond the bounds of a single State. The federal mechanism consists of a governor-general appointed by the king; a senate

¹ The actual dates of the various stages may be noted: Commonwealth Act assented to, 9 July 1900; Western Australia came in, 31 August 1900; Proclamation of the Act issued, 17 September 1900.

elected by and purporting to represent the several States—six senators from each, chosen by all adult voters acting as a single constituency; and a house of representatives elected, also on adult suffrage, by seventy-five constituencies whose population is as nearly equal as possible. In financial matters the house has the sole initiative, but the senate may 'suggest' amendments. If the two houses disagree irreconcilably, as when a Bill sent from the house has been twice rejected by the senate, a 'double dissolution' is allowed, all members of both houses going to the country at once; otherwise only half the senate is elected at a time.

The Commonwealth's first parliament, like its first ministry, was rather an indefinite affair. Except for the fiscal question, no one had any clear notion of the coming trend of federal politics, but most people believed in giving the institution a good start by setting Australia's best men to work on it. Thus the parliament included practically every prominent politician of the various States (the new name for what had been colonies), and the ministry under Edmund Barton (who had helped to draw up the original constitution of 1891 and had ever since been the champion of the federal campaign) was composed mainly of ex-State premiers. No definite leading could be obtained from such a cabinet; the tariff—which had to be an early measure—was a compromise, and most of the other measures were concerned with the creation of necessary mechanisms such as the high court. One subject only could be dealt with on which practically all ministers and members were unanimous. This was the putting into concrete form of the doctrine known as 'White Australia'.

Until that doctrine—which has become for Australians almost a religious creed—is comprehended, it is impossible to understand the later history of the Commonwealth. Here there is no space to develop adequately a detailed discussion of it, but the annexed quotation from A. Jose's *History of Australasia* (p. 207) furnishes an explanation in brief form:

The White Australia policy, which originated as a protest against the intrusion of Chinese on the goldfields, and developed (more

especially in Queensland) into a protest against the importation of cheap labour, became in the end a determination to keep out of the Commonwealth all immigrants whose racial traditions and ideals are inconsistent with those of Australia. The colour of their skins is a mere accident, and has nothing to do with the policy. The 'cheap labour' objection matters not at all in a community that is committed to wage-fixing and arbitration courts. The policy is firmly based on the fact that under adult suffrage every permanent resident in the Commonwealth has a voice in public affairs, and the resolve that no one whose traditions and ideals differ substantially from Australian traditions and ideals (i.e. those of Western Europe) shall be given a chance of influencing those affairs.

It so happened that the legislation embodying this policy was in the first parliament combined with that directed against the use of Kanaka labour on the Queensland canefields, of which an account has already been given, thus to some extent confusing the issues. But the White Australia laws were concerned with future arrivals, not with persons already resident. At the request of the British ministers who had to handle soothingly such foreign nations as might consider themselves offended by exclusion, the method employed was a nominal education test; any immigrant might legally be required to write out at official dictation a passage of 50 words in any European language. It was understood at the first, and reiterated by Australian ministers whenever the subject came up, that no European immigrant would be subjected to this test, which, indeed, Australians have always looked on as a subterfuge forced on them by the imperial authorities for imperial, not Australian, reasons. The important thing was that it acted; after a few attempts to evade or override it, prohibited aliens found themselves unable to obtain passage inward aboard any ship, since the owners of the ships would have been compelled to repatriate the alien at their own expense. To complete the discussion of this subject it may be mentioned here that later legislation provided for the admission under licence of Asiatic students, merchants, and other such visitors for definite periods, at the end of which they must leave the country.

Indefinite though the composition of the parliament was, it comprised three parties—the ministerialists, led by Barton and Deakin, who were on the whole protectionists; the opposition, led by George Reid, who professed free-trade; and the Labour party, led by J. C. Watson, whose fiscal views varied but who stood for the utilization of all governmental mechanism to help the poorer section of the community against the richer—which, still under the influence of the old squatter-selector quarrels, it believed to be tyrannical and domineering. Its immediate aims were the establishment of an arbitration system which should secure fair wages for employees, no matter who was the employer, and the putting of pressure on the rich landowners to make them dispose of their fertile land to men who would cultivate it to its full capacity. It was repeatedly denounced by its opponents as ‘socialist’, but deserved the title only as to its methods; no Australian of those days could wish to abolish private property, since every man in his turn looked forward to becoming a propertied citizen and probably an employer. European critics, indeed, called the then Labour creed *Le Socialisme sans Doctrines*. As such it remained, despite a gradual infiltration of European socialism (even of communism), until the War of 1914–18 took many of its best supporters away. At this stage the moderate doctrine of labour began speedily to be influenced by the more advanced opinions of theorizers and immigrants from the other English-speaking nations.

Before the first parliament was dissolved, Barton (who had rendered himself unpopular by concluding a new naval agreement¹ with the British Government) left office to become a judge on the High Court bench, and his successor, Alfred Deakin, entered on a stormy but exceedingly productive term of office, during which the basic principles of federal development were proclaimed and given substance. Never in the seven years of his supremacy had he a majority at his back; twice he was temporarily ejected from office by the Labour Party, which

¹ The agreement of 1887 stipulated for a special squadron which Australians considered their own; the agreement of 1902 substituted for this a mere strengthening of the British squadron in Australian waters and a subsidy paid by the Commonwealth towards the cost of it.

wished to hasten his deliberate methods of reform; but practically every Act passed in these years, and many, which for various reasons failed to pass then but have become law more recently, carried out his policy and bore his personal mark. It was he who, as Barton's attorney-general, carried through the White Australia legislation of the first parliament and established the High Court. In the second Parliament (1904-6) he forced ephemeral ministries (Watson's and Reid's) to pass an Act establishing an arbitration system on his pattern, and put through legislation—which the High Court of the day chose to regard as unconstitutional—for obviating the misuse of monopolies, the use of protective tariffs to raise prices, and the sweating of protected manufacturers' employees. In the third parliament (1907-10) he built up a genuinely protective tariff—including substantial preference for British imports over those of foreign nations—and enunciated his proposals for national defence. For a short time Labour ousted him, but, returning to office with the anti-Labour Party behind him, he succeeded in initiating his defence schemes and in coming to an arrangement with the discontented States about their share of the Commonwealth revenue. Always his personal supporters were a minority; Labour supplied his majority in 1905-8, the anti-Labour party (Reid's, afterwards Cook's) in 1909-10.

The strain of such conditions proved too great for him, especially when aggravated by an over-strenuous political campaign in England. He had gone there in 1907 to represent Australia at a colonial conference at which he hoped to gain some tariff concessions in return for the preferences he was giving Britain. Disappointed in this by the obstinate free-trade policy of the Campbell-Bannerman ministry, he entered on a campaign of oratory which began with preferential trade but developed into the advocacy of a new imperial idea, and of 'state action systematically directed towards the development of every means of binding our peoples together'. In the England of those days the campaign failed, and the failure, overburdening a nature already strained to its limits by enormous physical and mental efforts, broke him down.

In 1901, after a hotly fought election, Andrew Fisher headed a Labour ministry with a big majority behind it, and devoted the next three sessions to embodying Labour policy in suitable Acts, as well as to stabilizing a defence policy on which all parties were practically in accord. The imposition of the federal land tax—in addition to whatever land taxation the States had already imposed—penalized still more heavily land-owners who refused to put their land to its best use; consequently between 1901 and 1916 the area of farmed land (as opposed to pasturage) increased by about 50 per cent. (12 to 18½ million acres). The founding of a Commonwealth Bank was designed to provide means for financing measures of public policy through an institution less opposed to Labour's aims than the existing private banks were supposed to be; these banks were also deprived of their note-issuing power, and their issues (which were liable to discount in other States) replaced by a Commonwealth note-issue current all over Australia. Labour's arbitration policy, which was inconsistent with the Federal Constitution as it stood, was submitted to public vote at two referenda, rejected at both, and had to stand over for some years. Its defence policy, which differed only in detail from Deakin's, is worth closer study. Land defence was already provided for nominally by Acts of 1903-4 empowering the governor-general to call out all males between 18 and 60 for war-service with the Commonwealth. The futility of such proceedings was obvious, and it was understood that the actual defence of Australia must be left to a small body of partially-paid and of volunteer troops. But in 1907 Deakin returned from the imperial conference convinced that the next war, whenever it came, would require a more substantial defence force than this; he therefore accepted a suggestion which had already gained popularity, that the 'males between 18 and 60' should be given some notion of their war duties by a system of compulsory training while young. Both parties adopted this principle, and the details were worked out for them by Lord Kitchener, who visited Australia in 1909 for the purpose; he proposed to draw an army of 80,000 men from recruits called

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wished to hasten his deliberate methods of reform; but practically every Act passed in these years, and many, which for various reasons failed to pass then but have become law more recently, carried out his policy and bore his personal mark. It was he who, as Barton's attorney-general, carried through the White Australia legislation of the first parliament and established the High Court. In the second Parliament (1904-6) he forced ephemeral ministries (Watson's and Reid's) to pass an Act establishing an arbitration system on his pattern, and put through legislation—which the High Court of the day chose to regard as unconstitutional—for obviating the misuse of monopolies, the use of protective tariffs to raise prices, and the sweating of protected manufacturers' employees. In the third parliament (1907-10) he built up a genuinely protective tariff—including substantial preference for British imports over those of foreign nations—and enunciated his proposals for national defence. For a short time Labour ousted him, but, returning to office with the anti-Labour Party behind him, he succeeded in initiating his defence schemes and in coming to an arrangement with the discontented States about their share of the Commonwealth revenue. Always his personal supporters were a minority; Labour supplied his majority in 1905-8, the anti-Labour party (Reid's, afterwards Cook's) in 1909-10.

The strain of such conditions proved too great for him, especially when aggravated by an over-strenuous political campaign in England. He had gone there in 1907 to represent Australia at a colonial conference at which he hoped to gain some tariff concessions in return for the preferences he was giving Britain. Disappointed in this by the obstinate free-trade policy of the Campbell-Bannerman ministry, he entered on a campaign of oratory which began with preferential trade but developed into the advocacy of a new imperial idea, and of 'state action systematically directed towards the development of every means of binding our peoples together'. In the England of those days the campaign failed, and the failure, overburdening a nature already strained to its limits by enormous physical and mental efforts, broke him down.

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up for training in 224 areas, the training continuing through two years for 'junior cadets' (12-14), four years for 'senior cadets' (14-18), and seven years for 'citizen forces' (18-25). The boyhood training was to be devoted mainly to the inculcation of discipline and the last seven years to genuine military work. A college for officers was opened at Duntroon, near Canberra, in 1911.

The naval defence scheme—since it concerned work at sea, where other nations would recognize Australian forces only as a section of the British Navy—had to be devised in consultation with the Admiralty. A conference held in 1909 recommended what was known as the 'unit' scheme, whereby a Pacific fleet would be constituted of three 'units' to be provided by Australia, the British East Indies Squadron, and the British China Squadron respectively; each unit was composed of a battle-cruiser of 18,000 tons or so, three light cruisers (5,000 tons), six destroyers, and three submarines. The Australian unit was to be paid for and controlled by the Commonwealth, and in the end manned by Australians trained to Admiralty standards. This well satisfied Australian pride and patriotism, and the building of the necessary ships began at once. A naval college for the training of officers was established at Jervis Bay, and a training-ship for recruits from the compulsory training scheme (in which the navy was given first choice from the 18-year-olds) was stationed in Port Jackson. The unit scheme, however, came to naught; Australia did her share, but the Admiralty decided¹ that battle-cruisers were too badly needed in the North Sea to permit of sending them to the East Indies or China. Consequently, the Australian squadron was never given a chance of training alongside the other units as part of the full-sized fleet.

During the Fisher régime a question of considerable importance to the Commonwealth was settled. To please New South Wales the constitution included a provision that the federal capital city should be within New South Wales territory but (to

¹ Australians did not grumble at this decision, which was of course amply justified in 1914, but they did grumble that they, as partners in the scheme, were not given notice of the alteration.

please Melbourne) at least 100 miles from Sydney—so petty were the jealousies that disturbed constitution-makers in those days. In 1904 the Federal Parliament decided on a site near Dalgety in the upper Monaro, and the New South Wales Government refused to grant it; the refusal had no legal force, but Deakin did not want unnecessary quarrels, and let the matter drop. In 1908 a new choice was made—Canberra, in the foot-hills south of Lake George, a good deal nearer Sydney, and not quite so chilly in winter as Dalgety. In 1910 the Federal Capital Territory was delimited (for the capital must be on federal, not on State territory), and in 1913 the actual building site was dedicated and formally named—Canberra.

Meanwhile, the Commonwealth had acquired two other territories—Papua (the south-eastern section of New Guinea) from Britain in 1906, and the Northern Territory also from Britain but indirectly from South Australia—which, as we have seen, had been allowed to administer it—in 1911. Papua has been, on the whole, well and successfully governed, with as much consideration for the interests of the native tribes as was shown by the best of the earlier British administrators. The Northern Territory, however, has proved a more difficult and irritating problem. The Fisher Government attempted to carry through a rather grandiose scheme of leasehold settlement aided by experimental farms and the encouragement of tropical agriculture. Later on private companies were induced to start meat-works for dealing with the product of the cattle-stations which were and still are the territory's only wealth-producing asset. The high cost of labour killed both projects, and the territory remains almost unused. Of late years it has been divided into two, the southern half being separately administered as Central Australia; this is an attempt to realize the true solution of the problem, which is—as in several other cases already noted—the difficulty of ruling huge inland areas from a remote seaport. Port Darwin is situated in the hottest, dampest, and the most unhealthy district of the territory, and was originally occupied as the nearest to foreign countries, and therefore the most easily seized by enemies; apart from

this defensive value it is in every way unsuitable as a centre of government, being in addition difficult of access from the west of Australia. Natural colonization of the territory would be far easier if proceeded with from the Queensland border, in a comparatively temperate climate with uninterrupted communication with the States, and over fairly watered cattle-country where closer-settlement might be gradually installed.

In 1913 a reaction, due mainly to the fear of agriculturists that they would be affected by the Labour policy of compulsory arbitration, replaced Cook in office, with a majority of one in the house and a strong adverse vote in the senate. The machinery was obviously unworkable, and Cook used the double dissolution (see p. 1129) to procure a stable situation. The 1914 elections brought Labour back into power; but, before they were even held, all local quarrels and policies were swamped by the outbreak of the War. Australia's reaction to it was astonishingly unanimous. Cook and Fisher both pledged the Commonwealth's support to whatever action Britain might take, and offered a contingent of troops to serve wherever needed. The Australian squadron was immediately placed at the Admiralty's disposal, and after a few months of service as a squadron in the Pacific¹ was dispersed among various sections of the Imperial Navy. The battle-cruiser *Australia* joined the Grand Fleet in the North Sea, and the light cruisers escorted the Australian troops to Egypt (on the way the *Sydney* fell in with, and destroyed, the *Emden*), then joined the patrol of the Atlantic coasts of North America and finally were also drawn into the North Sea fighting. The destroyers at first helped the China squadron to patrol the Malay Archipelago and the Bay of Bengal, and were in 1917 transferred to the Mediterranean to fight German and Austrian submarines; the two Australian submarines were lost, one off the shores of New Britain and the other in the Sea of Marmora, which she was the first British vessel to enter in war-time. Australian troops performed even

¹ The details of this service, which consisted partly of escorting small expeditions to annex German islands, partly of patrols in the western Pacific, were settled entirely by the Admiralty.

more varied and distinguished services. In 1915 they were employed on the Gallipoli peninsula, where as part of the Australian and New Zealand Army Corps they originated and immortalized the name of ANZAC. After the evacuation (which was planned in all its details by an Australian officer) and a short rest in Egypt, they were in 1916 transferred to France, where their courage and skill in emergencies were soon recognized alike by their allies and opponents. Under an Australian general they bore a splendid part in the battle of Amiens, 8th and 9th August 1918—the first victory in the Allied counter-attack, which Ludendorff describes as ‘Germany’s bad day’. The Light Horse were sent to Palestine and brilliantly co-operated in the victory of Beersheba and the subsequent operations that expelled the enemy forces from Palestine and Syria. Australians also shared in the fighting in Mesopotamia and on the Caspian, and in the naval blockade of German East Africa.

In Australia itself, meanwhile, the war was becoming a strain. To form, and to keep reinforced, the various Australian contingents in Europe and Asia 330,000 men were sent overseas from a population of less than 5 millions; of these, 60,000 never came back, and the percentage¹ of casualties considerably exceeded that of any other part of the Empire. In 1916 it became clear that volunteering could not effectively keep up the contingents at full strength, and W. M. Hughes, then Prime Minister, proposed to fall into line with Britain by introducing conscription for service overseas. This could not be done without the consent of the people, and in October 1916 and December 1917 the matter was twice submitted to them by referendum. On both occasions the voting was adverse, even the troops on active service voting against the proposals.

The Commonwealth had entered the war while Cook was prime minister; his successor Fisher carried on for a year, and in October 1915 was followed by William Morris Hughes. Both these were Labour leaders, whose pre-occupation in war-time administration set them widely apart from the more

¹ 68½ per cent. Next came the British troops with 52½ per cent.

advanced policy that the Labour Party had recently adopted. By this cleavage they incurred the dislike of militants in their party, whose position grew stronger as the old type of Labour youth departed for the front, while pacifists from other parts of the world thronged to a country which had refused conscription. When Hughes and many others of the former Labour leaders definitely advocated conscription, the local Labour organizations, now dominated by men adverse to war, broke away from their old associates and expelled these from the party. It was at that stage, and on that point of divergence, that the non-Socialist, non-doctrinal body we have described above (p. 1131) disintegrated, and was replaced by a bitterer and more Socialist party, which threatened to withdraw Australian troops if it obtained office, and assimilated itself to some degree with the anti-war and anti-capitalist Socialists of Europe. When at the War's end the home-coming troops infiltrated this body with more moderate ideas, the Labour Party gradually reverted to moderation and more sober methods of progress. But a small and noisy section of militants have never quite lost their influence, and in spite of official prohibition have affiliated themselves with the revolutionists of Russia. Even the more moderate members of the Labour movement have proved impatient of delaying and moderating influences; in Queensland in 1922 they abolished the legislative council in order to give their majority in the assembly, however small, undisputed control of affairs; they insured the permanence of their majority by instituting vote by proxy, so that the Labour premier, with all his party's proxies in his pocket, could carry any proposal he chose at any moment, even if all the other members were absent. A similar attempt to make the New South Wales Assembly autocratic was made when the Lang government passed a Bill for the abolition of the legislative council in December 1930. In the the two following years the High Court of Australia and the Privy Council held that the Act was unconstitutional. This extreme Labour government, under the leadership of J. T. Lang, which had brought the State to the verge of financial ruin and had essayed to flout important principles of State and

Federal constitutions, was dismissed by the governor on the 13th May 1932. The governor's action was upheld by an overwhelming majority of the electors, who returned the Stevens' government in order to rehabilitate State finances. This government has since been re-elected for a further term of office. After the débâcle of 1932 the Labour Party was split into several factions both in New South Wales and throughout the Commonwealth, and, lacking unity and competent leadership, has lost the power and influence which characterized it in the past, and which it had often used with considerable advantage to the country. By a referendum, held in May 1933, reforms were approved in the constitution of the New South Wales legislative council, altering its powers, reducing the numbers of its members, and limiting their tenure of office in rotating periods. With the exception of recent experiences in New South Wales the extreme tendencies of the Labour Party have been more marked in the councils of their unions than in the governments in which they held office. And these tendencies were always more manifest in the State parliaments than in the Federal, where the divergent views of six States were represented. However, the vote of the people is generally swift and inconsiderate of any party which has failed when occupying office.

The War's aftermath in Australia was varied. Expenditure was lavish, partly because it was hoped that the whole cost of the War would in the end be paid by Germany: that proving impossible, Australia was burdened for the first time with a huge unproductive debt. At the same time, the repatriation and resettlement of the troops demanded much further expenditure to provide land for them, mainly by the extension of irrigation colonies; up to June 1925 £154 millions had been spent on this and other forms of repatriation. Britain was faced with the same problems, but lacked land on which to place her returned troops, so that by degrees a scheme was evolved which would allow the British Government to advance money for internal developments if the Australian Governments would set aside part of their lands for British soldiers. It was also

decided that the Commonwealth's war debt to Britain (for the support of Australian troops and similar purposes) should be fixed at £92 millions, to be paid off in thirty-five years. Further, the States, finding money easily obtainable from London, embarked on a series of railway extensions, road improvements, &c., which sometimes absorbed 12 millions annually; so that it is not surprising to find that in 1934 the public debt of the States and of the Commonwealth amounted to £1,222,558,798. Of this sum the Commonwealth has over £218 millions, including post-war debts redeemable in Australia to the value of £218 millions and £90 millions redeemable in London. This total also includes £393 millions for public works, £218 millions of which are redeemable in Australia. The debt controlled by the States amounts to £829 millions, of which half is redeemable in Australia.¹ For a population of less than 7 million people this is a staggering burden at the best of times; when it happens, as it did in 1929-30, that the prices obtainable for wheat and wool, Australia's two staple products, fell heavily and simultaneously (wool from 17*d.* to 8*d.*, and wheat from 5*s.* 3*d.* to 2*s.*) financial distress became inevitable. With the more recent rise in wool prices, and after the placing of the national debts under co-ordinated and regulated control, there is no longer need for the anxiety that was felt a few years ago. In 1935 the total Commonwealth population was estimated at 6,706,438, of whom approximately half reside in the capital cities. On this population basis the national debt is £183 per head.

During the War an 'Advisory Council of Science and Industry' investigated the resources of the Commonwealth with a view to their further use and development. In 1921 this body was stabilized as the Institute of Science and Industry, and in 1926 reorganized as a Council for Scientific and Industrial Research. Under all its titles it had one aim—to promote the welfare of the Commonwealth, still burdened with empirical and slipshod methods of cultivation and research, by ascertaining the full extent of Australia's resources, and the most effective way of utilizing them. Besides acting as a means of liaison between

¹ Cf *Quarterly Summary of Australian Statistics*, Bulletin 139, 5th March 1935.

existing and projected research institutes in the several States, it aids the training of research workers, and subsidizes research along particular lines, especially concerning itself with plant, soil, and insect problems, animal diseases, and forestry. In this way alone can be solved the always urgent problems of accommodating enough immigrants to swell the population towards the safety limit. Empty as Australia may seem to oversea observers, it has been argued that her colonizable areas are already maintaining a population adequate to their development under existing conditions; it is by improving those conditions, by discovering the correct methods of treatment for each type of soil and climate, and by learning how to provide from her own resources many necessities that have now to be imported, that the Commonwealth will consolidate her economic position and extend her boundaries of settlement over areas now useless.

Apart from these economic developments, post-war political history has little of permanent interest to show. The transformation of the Labour Party already described prevented for many years its election to power in the Commonwealth, and the 'Nationalist' coalition which Hughes formed after his expulsion by Labour held office for eleven years: five with Hughes as Prime Minister, six under his successor, Stanley Bruce. The change was effected by the protests of a new party (the 'Country Party') which nominally desired the modification of protective tariffs and other agencies which it considered hampering to primary industries, but which gathered round it all the politicians whom Hughes had antagonized during his eight years of power. Finding that the Nationalists needed its support, this party stipulated that Hughes should resign, and he agreed on condition that Bruce, his latest treasurer, should replace him. During the latter's term the Federal capital was established at Canberra (an unfortunate expression, perhaps, of national vanity, costly, and an unnecessary venture in times of financial stringency), the responsibility for State debts was formally taken over by the Commonwealth, and the borrowings of both Commonwealth and States, whose disastrous effects

have been noted earlier, reached their highest point. The core of his policy was to bring States and Commonwealth together in as amicable relations as possible; one of the most frequent and irritating causes of friction was the clash between the State and Federal systems of arbitration; failing to induce the States to subordinate their systems, Bruce proposed to reduce the sphere of Federal Arbitration to a minimum, appealed to the country to support him in this, and in 1929 was defeated on the issue. By this time the Labour Party had regained a good deal of its old moderation, and so was put into office under James Henry Scullin, who had learnt politics from Fisher and the earlier Labour leaders. The grave condition of Commonwealth finances hampered all his administration, loans being unobtainable and ordinary revenue incapable of providing the sums due for interest; and just when an agreement between him and the State premiers seemed likely to tide over the crisis, the extremists of his party revolted against him and forced another general election (November 1931). The Lyons-Latham Government, known as the United Australia Party, succeeded on a 'balance the budget' policy, and in October 1934 was re-elected for a further term of office.

An important alteration in the official relations between Australia and Britain was effected during Bruce's term of office and utilized by Scullin. Before the War Britain was theoretically supreme in the Empire; the governors and governors-general were appointed by the king on the advice of the British prime minister, and certain legislation could be reserved by them for consideration in London before assent was given to it. During the War, however, Dominion prime ministers sat in an Imperial War Cabinet with the British ministers, and at Versailles the treaties of peace were signed not only by the British delegates for the Empire as a whole, but by each Dominion delegate for his Dominion. It resulted that Dominion ministers soon claimed to be independent of London's control, and established themselves as ministers of the Crown on an equal footing with the British Cabinet. At the Imperial Conference of 1926 this equality was formally conceded, and it was settled that the

prime minister of each Dominion had a right of direct access to the king, and of giving him advice on which he would act in respect of that Dominion exactly as he acts on British advice in respect of purely British affairs. This settlement was embodied in an Act known as 'The Statute of Westminster', which after submission to all the Dominion legislatures was passed into law by the British Parliament in 1931. In pursuance of this agreement Mr. Scullin in 1931 advised the king to appoint as governor-general Sir Isaac Isaacs, the Australian-born chief justice of the Commonwealth, not as a precedent requiring future governors-general to be Australian-born but as a proof that a well-qualified man would not be debarred from the post simply because he was Australian-born. In 1935 an English-born governor succeeded him.

Despite the heavy load of war expenditure and the burdens of high taxation and reduced world prices for staple products, the Commonwealth has made remarkable progress. Between 1901 and the most recent years population has grown from $3\frac{3}{4}$ to $6\frac{7}{10}$ millions, cattle from $8\frac{1}{2}$ to 12, sheep from 70 to 106 millions. In 1901 Australia had only just begun to export wheat; in 1932-3, 119 million bushels of wheat and 30 million bushels of flour were exported. Australian wool in 1933 was 28.4 per cent. of the total world production. Such progress, on the other hand, has naturally brought about its special problems in recent years when world trade has so considerably fallen. Railways in 1934 extend 27,000 miles and direct railway communication is provided along the eastern coast and thence across the continent to West Australia.

Meanwhile, Australia has increased her responsibilities to the outside world. At the very beginning of the War her troops, supported by her squadron, at the request of the British Government, occupied the German Territories in northern New Guinea and the neighbouring Island groups. During the peace negotiations in 1919 it was decided that occupied German colonies should be retained by the occupying power under a 'mandate' which made them especially responsible for the welfare of the native tribes and established the League of Nations

as supervisor. Australia has the mandate for the former German settlements in the western Pacific south of the equator, and shares with Britain and New Zealand the mandate for the valuable guano-producing island of Nauru. Her administration is reported on annually by a Committee of the League, and has been regarded as just and tactful.

CHAPTER VIII
SOME OBSERVATIONS ON AUSTRALIAN
LITERATURE

It is an arguable point whether colonies can have a literature of their own. French colonies have none except, of course, French Canada, which has developed one because it is no longer under French rule. German colonies (when there were any) and Dutch colonies have made no attempts to develop one; still it is further arguable that they are not colonies in the strict sense, but merely garrisons in alien climes. The point really concerns three overseas dominions, Canada, South Africa, and Australia, and for our present purpose can be limited to the latter. Since, however, Australia has outgrown colonial status, it may be asked: has Australia enough written work to her credit, of a type sufficiently differentiated from that of the mother country, to entitle it to the name of Australian Literature? We may feel inclined to answer that question after reading this short catalogue and description of what written work there is.

For fifty years and more the mass of writing produced in Australia was utilitarian; the English language was used in accordance with contemporary English conventions to describe and discuss local problems or local scenery. Collins and Oxley and Sturt and Mitchell narrated their explorations, as would any travelled Englishman telling his fellow Englishmen about foreign parts. Wentworth and Lang and Lowe and Henry Parkes spoke and wrote about emancipist grievances and squatterdom and the atrocious conduct of governors in exactly the same idiom as was being used at Westminster and in Fleet Street. Even the few writers of such verse as could be considered non-utilitarian were deliberately imitative. The earliest efforts in verse—Michael Robinson's 'laureate' poems and Wentworth's Cambridge prize poem and Charles Tompson's naïve agricultural lyrics—might easily, apart from their subjects, have found place in Dodsley's anthology of eighteenth-century

verse. One thing alone differentiated them—an assertive freedom of attitude (as if Australia had gone to their heads) that encouraged the convict poet Robinson to hail the autocratic governor as ‘friend revered’ and led the undergraduate, Wentworth, to confront Cambridge dons with a picture of vanquished and humiliated Britain supplanted by triumphant Australia. We may note that overriding of conventions; it will account also, probably, for the daring plunges into the doggerel of Barron Field the colonial judge, and Henry Parkes the political leader. But it does not of itself create an Australian literature.

That began, according to some authorities, with Harpur (1817–68), a poetically minded recluse who did his best to reproduce Wentworth’s methods, and at any rate described the bush from a lover’s, not a visitor’s, point of view. His disciple, Henry Kendall (1841–82), outdid him in both spheres, and not infrequently soared into true poetry; but the verses he sent to London were unfortunately of an insincere stock pattern and, being politely commended there, set the fashion for Australian poets for another thirty years. His unlucky contemporary, Gordon, whom many English critics seem still to regard as a leading Australian poet, was a perennial schoolboy with a facility for versifying and a fund of high spirits that suited admirably the free open-air life he enjoyed in South Australia and Victoria; consequently his rollicking verses appealed to young Australians far more than did the most exquisite sentimentalities of Kendall, and superficial critics lauded him as the Australian bard *par excellence*. But little of his verse is poetry, and his best product is almost exclusively English in thought and matter. The third notable writer of this epoch, Marcus Clarke, a *prosateur* with flashes of genius, was even less Australian in his outlook and temperament; his one lasting achievement, *For the Term of His Natural Life*, is a prose epic of British (not Australian) jail life, and his work is otherwise marked chiefly by malign caricatures of the ‘bush’. His best antidote is the work of ‘Rolf Boldrewood’, a young Englishman whose devotion was always to his mother country, but who used his wide knowledge

of up-country conditions and considerable skill in narrative to dramatize the lives and adventures of the bush-folk—pioneers and diggers and bushrangers alike—with a genuine affection for them in their environment.

By this time the British settlement in Australia was almost a hundred years old, and was beginning to develop an individuality of its own. This attained expression in the *Sydney Bulletin*, a weekly newspaper committed from the first both to unconventionalities and to the exact description of everything that was characteristically Australian, if possible by men who were personally concerned with what they described. It is impossible in the space here available to mention a tithe of the writers who, careless of style and form, but intensely occupied with the matter of their narrative, made of the *Bulletin* almost a shrine of Australian nationality. Many of them were very minor acolytes, and their crudely fashioned work has long since been forgotten; it was the accumulation of their efforts that weighted the spear whose head, piercing and irresistible, was Paterson and Lawson. The former, whose racy horse-loving rhymes have interpreted the bush to every young Australian (and since the War to every one who has associated with Australians), is an excellent type of that buoyant youth out of which the new nation is being moulded. The latter, who learnt his Australia on the diggings and the 'track', is usually paraded as a poet—which he rarely was—rather than as a writer of short stories that at their best are fit to rank with the best product of Europe and at their worst are essentially Australian in feeling and expression. Here, at any rate, if not earlier, may be discerned a literature truly Australian; and in it, side by side with Lawson and Paterson though of far other quality, must be reckoned the work of Daley—whose Irish magic is illuminated with Australian sunlight—and the more sombre and polished utterances of Brennan and O'Dowd.

Strangely enough, the union of Australian States under one Commonwealth has had little if any effect on the country's literature. The Commonwealth was hailed by several poets before its arrival, but they have been singularly silent about it

ever since. The verse-makers who so assiduously filled the *Bulletin* with their vigorous lyrics of the 'bush' are dead or disillusioned; their successors have turned to the cultivation of style. On the other hand, recent prose—which for many years confined itself to the short story form—has thrown up a series of long novels, mainly historical, which in spite of their present flattery of British writers, show noteworthy signs of developing a genuine Australian literature.

Apart from creative literature, other writings of Australian authors since the beginning of the Commonwealth have been numerous (in proportion to the population) and valuable. Australian history is being written according to the best methods of research by men trained in that work, such as A. Jose, E. Scott, S. H. Roberts, G. Mackaness, C. E. W. Bean, A. C. V. Melbourne, E. O. G. Shann, and others. The purely scientific works of Australians cover a wide range of subjects, and are regarded as authoritative contributions to knowledge—e.g. the published works of Sir W. B. Spencer on the Native Tribes of Australia. As in most other countries, so in Australia, the economic problems of these times (1932) have raised up a school of well-informed writers on sociological and political matters.

CHAPTER IX

A BRIEF SKETCH OF NEW ZEALAND

TO British readers it may seem natural to regard Australia and New Zealand as neighbouring countries in the far Pacific inhabited by a comparatively homogeneous British community. In fact, both the countries and communities differ themselves in almost all essential features. Australia is a huge, mainly semi-tropical expanse of poorly watered plains and plateaux, with a small proportion of fertile shoreline; it was originally inhabited by unwarlike hunters loosely grouped in small tribes, and is now developing a British type that begins to think of itself as a new nation. New Zealand is a couple of small islands, a backbone of high mountains with inconsiderable coastal plains, well watered and with a temperate to cold climate; its native tribes were fine fighters, highly organized and closely settled, cultivators themselves and therefore an obstacle to European colonization. Its British settlers, mostly arriving in bodies organized from London by various and rarely concordant agencies have never lost the sense of close attachment to the mother country, and are apt to resent being thought of as Australians or like Australians. The story of New Zealand, therefore, requires separate narration.

Just as the earliest known inhabitants of Australia were at the white man's advent confined to the small island of Tasmania, so the true aborigines of New Zealand—the Moriori—were driven five or six hundred years ago off the main island altogether. Their last resort was the Chatham Islands, 600 miles east of Christchurch, where now only a few half-castes remain. They were expelled by the Maori, who arrived in the North Island about the time of Edward III from an uncertain land they called Hawaiki; they are of the race which populates most Pacific Islands, especially the Samoan, Tahitian, and Hawaiian groups, and which seems to have spread over that area from New Guinea, where distant kinsmen of theirs still survive in the north east of the Mandated Territory. They brought with

them to their new home the art of cultivation; the taro and the sweet potato were their chief crops and, with dried fish, their main sustenance. The islands they occupied had no large animals (except perhaps the huge flightless moa, now extinct); perhaps to make up for this, they were habitual cannibals.

The first European whom we know to have sighted the islands was Tasman, who in 1642 found the natives hostile when he attempted a landing and named the shores he sailed past 'Statenlandt', under the impression they were part of a mysterious continent which some other explorer thought he had discovered near Cape Horn. When this was seen to be impossible, the Dutch authorities re-christened the island by its present name. The next white voyager was James Cook, who in 1769-70 carefully circumnavigated and charted the coasts of both the main islands, and paid short visits to them in 1773 and 1777. Meanwhile French navigators—De Surville in 1769, Du Fresne in 1772—made landings, but in both cases managed to quarrel with the Maori; Du Fresne, indeed, was killed and eaten. Cook, too, friendly though he tried to be, had several encounters with the natives, and his subordinate, Furneaux, lost a boat's crew to a cannibal feast; wherefore the tribes gained an evil reputation, and all succeeding visitors went armed and suspicious, a thing very likely to breed quarrels and atrocities.

There was no lack of visitors, for all that. The islands provided convenient stations for whalers and sealers (a notoriously violent type of men); the kauri pine of the North Island was found to be excellent timber for shipwright's purposes, and occasional refugees from New South Wales made themselves useful to the fighting chiefs and obtained admission to the tribal circle; Pakeha Maori they were called, and most of them merely added debasements to the Maori's natural cruelty. Authority to control Europeans was non-existent; theoretically the islands were a part of New South Wales, for Phillip's commission extended over 'all the islands adjacent in the Pacific Ocean', but in practice the only supervision was exercised by the East India Company, which from 1792 onwards claimed to control the

whalers. Governor King made friends with a notable chief, Te Pehi, sent him live stock, and invited him to Sydney; there he met Samuel Marsden, the Anglican chaplain, who a few years later found another young chief ill in London, procured him a passage back to New Zealand and a supply of wheat to make a new food-crop, and took out at the same time three missionary settlers who were to give the Maori not only Christianity, but the simpler arts of cultivation. Unfortunately, just when this party reached Sydney, the misunderstandings and the passions of violent men, who thrust themselves uninvited into the complicated mysteries of Maori custom, culminated in the particularly tragic massacre of the crew and passengers of the timber-ship *Boyd*. Macquarie at once prohibited Marsden's expedition, and ordered a fine of £1,000 for any future quarrels with the tribes.

In 1814, however, the ban was lifted, and Marsden established a small missionary settlement at Kerikeri on the Bay of the Islands. Hongi, the chief who sold him the land for it, had ambitions; in 1820 he went to England, was entertained by George IV, helped in the compilation of a Maori grammar, and took back with him to Sydney a mass of valuable presents. These he exchanged for muskets and ammunition, with which during the five following years he ravaged and conquered the greater part of the North Island. For the next few years the islands were left very much to themselves, and the few parties of immigrants—some missionaries and some traders—who attempted to settle among the tribes abandoned the attempt either through fright or Maori hostility, though Marsden's colony remained undisturbed under Hongi's protection and in 1832 began to grow grain-crops. But the disorders provoked or encouraged by whalers and traders had by 1829 become an unbearable scandal, and Governor Darling felt bound to interfere. The British Government in 1817 decided that the islands were not under British control, but British subjects settled there were; so Darling, on the report of an unusually scandalous transaction in which a British shipmaster had aided a chief, Te Rauparaha, in acts of torture and cannibalism, decided to appoint a British

Resident at the Bay, and suggested Sturt as the first. In London, however, a civilian was preferred, and in 1832 James Busby was appointed, with orders to exercise a 'moral influence' only—safe orders, since he was given no guard of any kind, and no legal authority to arrest even British offenders. Busby therefore concentrated on a scheme of bringing the tribes together in some sort of independent and powerful federation. In 1834 he provided them with a so-called national flag; in 1835 he persuaded the Bay chiefs to declare themselves 'The United Tribes of New Zealand', a self-governing unit under British protection; his scheme was regarded unfavourably in Sydney and London, and British protection was not accorded. In 1837 a new danger threatened. Charles Baron de Thierry arrived, claiming sovereignty over a large area of the North Island; and the master of a French whaler bought land at Akaroa in the South Island and formed a French company to settle it. The New South Wales government took alarm, though the authorities in London procrastinated. But at the moment Edward Gibbon Wakefield, who had been toying for years with the notion of New Zealand colonization, formed the New Zealand Company. The company sold in London a large area of land, which had not yet been secured from the Maori, and in May 1839 dispatched to New Zealand a batch of settlers under E. G. Wakefield's brother, Colonel William Wakefield. That stirred the British government to action; authority was given to annex to New South Wales as much of the islands as might be acquired from the tribes, and Captain William Hobson (after whom Hobson's Bay is named) was sent off as lieutenant-governor to work under Governor Gipps.

Wakefield was there first. He had been given definite orders by his brother to ensure that the land was fairly purchased and Maori customs intelligently observed. He failed to observe his instructions closely, however, taking no trouble to make sure that the sellers understood what they were doing, and included fire-arms and gunpowder in the payments; consequently his transactions were challenged, his good faith discredited, and his settlers left dissatisfied. For Hobson, issuing from Sydney a

proclamation that all sales of land must be approved of by commissioners he would appoint, went on to the Bay of Islands and there concluded, with as many chiefs as he could collect, the famous Treaty of Waitangi (5 February, 1840), whereby the Queen of England obtained 'rights and powers of sovereignty' over the islands; but the tribes retained full and undisturbed possession of their lands. This treaty was then taken to other chiefs, and in the end agreed to by the bulk of the tribes in both islands. On it rests the whole fabric of British rule in New Zealand to-day. The French danger Hobson expelled at once. On the 21st May he proclaimed the British sovereignty over the whole group of islands.¹ It was proclaimed in June on the South Island, and for further assurance magistrates' courts were held on the Akaroa Peninsula early in August. A French warship in charge of the Akaroa settlers reached the Bay of Islands in July, accepted Hobson's assurance that the British annexation was complete, and saw the settlers placed on the land bought for them later in August; they worked hard and gave no difficulty, but were unable to make a success of the settlement and in the end sold out to the New Zealand Company.

That company, meanwhile, had given Hobson a great deal of trouble. William Wakefield claimed to have bought 20 million acres in the Wellington and New Plymouth districts, and appealed over Hobson's head to Gipps, who gave him 110,000. As it was fairly obvious that separation from New South Wales must come inevitably, the islands were taken away from Governor Gipps's sphere. Hobson (who became the first governor) received instructions from London to allot the company about a million acres; before this could be done, however, a new government came into power in Britain, the company's friends lost their influence, and Hobson regained freedom of action. But he was stationed in the North, on the Waitemata; the company's centre was at Wellington on Cook

¹ Cook had named the three main islands North, Middle, and South. But the southern of the three is so small that at a later date they were renamed North, South, and Stewart.

Strait; its settlers continued to arrive, stating that they had bought land in London and ought to be put in possession of it at once. Presently they began to occupy blocks which Wakefield claimed to have purchased, though the local tribes denied his claim; there were complaints and collisions, and, in 1843, a fight in which another Wakefield brother (Arthur Wakefield, R.N.) and eight settlers were killed. Hobson was already dead, mainly of worry; his section of the new colony subsisted on government money and a little whaling. But the only thriving area was (for the time) that occupied by the Frenchmen at Akaroa. The next governor, Robert Fitzroy, further confused the situation. He gave concessions to the company that emptied his treasury, levied customs duties that drove away the New South Wales trade, and forgave the natives who had killed Arthur Wakefield. The white men had been the aggressors; but to their way of thinking such clemency was unjust because they had already surrendered. According to the Maori way of thinking the massacre was justified; moreover, they despised the whites who would not pursue revenge. The immediate result was a series of attacks by natives on the Bay of Islands settlement which for two years (1844-6) kept the north in dangerous turmoil. Fitzroy was repeatedly thwarted and insulted by friends and enemies alike. At last Fitzroy was recalled, and the work of rehabilitation entrusted to George Grey, who had already set South Australia on its feet after a failure almost as complete.

Grey understood the Maori, and they grew to understand him. His first business was to restore peace; he broke the rebellion at the Bay of Islands by storming the great pah at Ruapekapeka, doubted the loyalty of the powerful Ngatitoa chief at Cook Strait, Te Rauparaha, whom he imprisoned, and put down a fresh outbreak at Wanganui. Then he set to work to establish among the tribes complete confidence in British justice. He never tired of insisting on the full validity of the Treaty of Waitangi, created a police force and a magistrate from among the Maori themselves, founded schools for chiefs' sons, and employed a great deal of Maori labour in building

roads between the scattered European settlements. To gain a fuller sympathy with them, he learnt their language and studied their traditions. In consequence he was trusted by them most thoroughly—they called him ‘pride of the tribes’. This confidence sustained him usefully through a long fight with his superiors in England, who from 1846 onwards were partisans of the New Zealand Company as well as (at any rate in Earl Grey’s case) doctrinaires. Earl Grey began by dispatching to New Zealand a brand-new constitution bolstered by instructions that would have nullified the treaty. Governor Grey retaliated by refusing to accept either constitution or instructions, supporting his refusal with protests from the Anglican bishop (Selwyn), the chief justice, and the chiefs of the Waikato region. Earl Grey—who was sometimes open to conviction—withdrew his proposals, assured the chiefs that the treaty was inviolable, and asked Governor Grey to draw up his own constitution. Thus victorious, he went on with the work of the settlement, allowed the company to establish in the South Island (where natives were few) two communities on the Wakefield model—the Scottish Presbyterian in Otago, with its centre at Dunedin, the Anglican in Canterbury, with its centre at Christchurch—balanced them with settlements of military veterans (who were predominantly Catholics) round his own capital at Auckland in the North Island and finally presented Earl Grey with a constitution that should amicably unite them all.

Auckland was a government affair. New Plymouth (Taranaki), Wellington, and Nelson were offshoots of the original Wakefield enterprise. Canterbury and Otago were later Wakefield colonies with special features. Grey therefore gave each of these ‘Provinces’ a large measure of local independence, administered by an elected superintendent and council. For the central administration—of affairs connected with land, customs, taxation, the post office, &c.—he proposed a governor appointed from London and working with two houses of parliament, the one nominee, the other elected on a broad franchise. The governor had a veto on all provincial measures, and sole control of all matters affecting the Maori. The proposals were

adopted, and in 1852 New Zealand became a regularly organized colony of Britain, with a local governing assembly, consisting of legislative council and a house of representatives. Responsible government began to function in 1856. Two defects soon became apparent. Land problems could not be dealt with uniformly, owing to the various degrees of Wakefield orthodoxy current in the various provinces, and the quiet provincials of the South Island grumbled at having to contribute to the expense of Maori wars in the North; that grievance had to be borne, but land legislation was made a provincial affair, and with that amendment Grey's constitution lasted for nearly a quarter-century.

The most noteworthy occurrences of those years were the Maori wars, which arose out of the perennial trouble over the transfer of land from native to European ownership. Theoretically, of course, natives might sell their land only to the government, and white men must purchase from it; this ensured scrupulous attention to native customs and prevented subsequent disputes over title. But a good deal of illicit purchasing went on, natives disposing of areas to which they had no title (no individual Maori could own land, and an interest in tribal land was often claimed on the strangest pretexts—e.g. that the claimant's ancestor had been buried there); further, a new governor, Gore Browne, was less sympathetic than Grey had been, and in 1856 a council of chiefs held near Lake Taupo decided that no more land should be sold to any one. (They also resolved to increase their prestige with the British Government by choosing one chief to be their 'King', so that he could meet the governor on equal terms.) In 1859 the trouble came to a head in the Taranaki (New Plymouth) district, where land titles were doubtful and constantly disputed. Governor Browne wished to buy a block there to enlarge the white settlement; when various chiefs refused to sell, he denied their right to interfere, bought the block from natives who professed to own it, and when the chiefs hampered the survey, denounced them as rebels and proclaimed martial law in the district. Unfortunately, this expression was translated into Maori as 'the law of fighting';

inter-tribal fighting had been the most popular Maori amusement before Europeans came; and the tribes welcomed joyfully the revival of their dearly-loved sport. They obeyed orders exactly—only at Taranaki was there fighting, but contingents came from many neighbouring tribes to take part in it. Grey, who had been transferred to South Africa, was sent for hurriedly and reinstalled as governor; he soothed the chiefs—though he could not persuade them to abandon the King movement—and after inquiry sustained the native objection to the Taranaki purchase. Now, however, he had to work through ministers, for the rule that Maori affairs should be controlled by the governor alone had been abrogated. Ministers vacillated and the chiefs grew restless; in 1863 war broke out again, this time under the direct control of the King leaders, and therefore in many districts throughout the North Island. The two main campaigns were fought out on the Waikato—where the siege of the Orakau Pah became almost heroically famous¹—and near Tauranga on the Bay of Plenty, where British troops were badly defeated at the Gate Pah. But after later defeats in both these districts, the King leaders withdrew their tribes into the region north and west of Lake Taupo, and proclaimed it forbidden country to both Europeans and loyal Maori. The Taranaki rebellion flared up suddenly in a frantic (and occasionally cannibal) religious movement known as the Hau-hau, which spread to the east coast before it was crushed; but the crushing had to be done by Grey himself, with locally raised troops, since the British general misunderstood the situation, thinking it was merely another attempt to seize Maori land, and refused consequently to employ British troops on such an errand.

This achievement, unluckily, was Grey's deathblow as a governor. He was not popular in the southern provinces, which thought Maori wars wasteful and none of their concern. The Colonial Office was always mildly angry with him for what it considered his tendency to insubordination (he really believed

¹ Summoned to surrender, the defenders replied *Ka whawha tonu matou, ake, ake, ake!* 'We will fight to the last, for ever, for ever, for ever!'

that he, the man on the spot, had a more intimate knowledge of New Zealand's needs than the Office had). Now he had quarrelled with the military authorities, and it was decided in London that he should go. Before leaving, however, he was able to put through legislation that established the Maori as citizens; one Act embodied their land-customs in New Zealand law, another re-established land-courts with juries of both races, a third admitted four natives, elected by the tribes, to the colonial legislature. In 1868 he left the islands. His successor, Sir George Bowen, was scarcely installed when Hau-hau disturbances were renewed on the west coast and a sympathizer with them, Te Kooti, massacred settlers at Poverty Bay on the east coast. The one British regiment left in the colony was at once withdrawn by British ministers, and Bowen was forced to raise locally—mainly from the tribes—a force to restore order. It was thus by loyal Maori that the last Maori rising was quelled, and from 1870 onwards Maori and white men have lived peacefully side by side—though the recalcitrant King country tribes, who had refused to take any side in the Te Kooti disturbances, stubbornly isolated themselves round Lake Taupo for many years longer.

The later history of New Zealand is concerned mainly with quiet local development, but a few landmarks must be noticed. In 1870 began a decade of lavish expenditure on public works, paid for out of loans; during it, in 1875 the constitution was revised, the provinces being replaced by a system of county councils administering purely local affairs, while the central legislature took over all important matters. It sits at Wellington, which had been made the colony's capital in 1865, and consists of a nominee council (maximum 40 members, 2 of whom are Maori representatives) and a house of representatives of eighty members, elected on adult franchise—four of the eighty must be Maori.

The colony still relied mainly on agriculture and squatting for its prosperity, but since 1861 had been enriched with gold-yields from the South Island diggings in Otago and on the west coast, where a new province, Westland, was created in 1873;

the North Island goldfield in the Thames Valley was hampered for some time by the opposition of Maori land-owners, who dreaded an invasion of possibly turbulent diggers. In Westland, also, was discovered the best steam-coal known to Australasia, from which both the British and the Australian squadrons in the Pacific obtained their rapid steaming power.

But agriculture was recognized as the staple industry. When in 1879 the period of borrowing ended, and it became necessary to face a period of depression, men turned, as they had in New South Wales after the gold-rush, to the remedy of putting the land to its proper use. It was in New Zealand that land taxation was first used for that purpose; large pastoral estates were taxed according to their natural value as farmlands, but the owners were (within bounds) allowed to fix the values themselves on condition that the government could buy the estate at that value—plus a certain ‘compensation for disturbance’—whenever it chose. Squatters of course began by undervaluing their land, but that was set right when the government bought a large estate for very little and cut it up into farms which soon proved immensely profitable. It was New Zealand also that devised the first system of compulsory arbitration, copied afterwards by nearly every Australian State, and which led the way in bringing hospitals and public services under governmental control, and entering into competition in the life and fire assurance business. In those years, too, the island colony drew nearer the colonies of the mainland than ever before or since, joining in several protests made by Australian premiers about British mishandlings of Pacific affairs, and even sending delegates (one of whom was George Grey, then a simple citizen of New Zealand) to the Australian Federation Convention of 1891. The names of Ballance and Seddon, the prime movers in the progressive measures just referred to, were almost as familiar and respected in Australia as in their native country. In 1907 the style and designation of the Colony of New Zealand was altered to ‘The Dominion of New Zealand’. Later on, when the Commonwealth began to reorganize its defence forces, New Zealand also consulted Lord Kitchener and adopted his

scheme for compulsory training, which differed in details from the Australian scheme but had the same end in view; but, true to the New Zealand principle of minimizing unavoidable severance between colonial and British conditions and methods, the Dominion's scheme of naval defence consisted in the gift of a battle-cruiser to the Imperial Navy and the maintenance of a few vessels directly attached to the China squadron. Since 1913 New Zealand has supported a division of the Royal Navy including several ships of its own in Dominion waters, which were handed over to the Admiralty at the outbreak of the War of 1914-18. On active service New Zealanders were as renowned as Australians; they contributed two letters to ANZAC, and fought in France and Palestine, and at home adopted conscription. At the beginning of the war, they had, by the direction of the British Government, occupied the German colony of Western Samoa; and at the end of the war, by mandate of the League of Nations, this island was entrusted to New Zealand administration. The Dominion's sphere in the Pacific now includes Samoa, the Cook and Chatham Islands, and a share in the mandate over Nauru. They have shared too, in the financial depression that has recently enveloped the world. The population of New Zealand (1932 figures) is 1,510,940, of whom 68,194 are Maori. Education (by the Act of 1877) is free, compulsory, and secular, and controlled as a State Department.

Nearly 15,000 Maori children are receiving education. Religious and private schools educate about 26,000 children.

The principal exports are wool, dairy products, and frozen meat. In 1936 a change in political control was effected, with the election of a Labour Government.

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